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WEST BENGAL

LAND AND LAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT

THE TRIBES AND CASTES
OF
WEST BENGAL

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IN THE COURSE OF THIS TRIAL your lordships will see with horror the use which Mr. Hastings made, through several of his wicked and abominable instruments, chosen from the natives themselves, of these superadded means of oppression. I shall prove, in the course of this trial, that he has put his own menial domestic servant—a wretch totally dependent—a wretch grossly ignorant—the common instrument of his bribery and peculation;—he has enthroned him, I say, on the first seat of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which was to decide upon the castes of all those people, including their rank, their family, their honour, and their happiness here, and in their judgment, their salvation hereafter. Under the awe of this power, no man dared to breathe in murmur against his tyranny. Fortified in this security, he says, who complains of me?—No, none of us dare complain of you, says the trembling Hindu. No! your menial servant has my caste in his power. I shall not trouble your lordships with mentioning others; it was enough that Kanto Babu and Ganga Govind Sing, names to which your lordships are to be familiarised hereafter,—it is enough that those persons had the caste and character of all the people of Bengal in their hands. Through them he has taken effectual security against all complaint.

From Burke's Speech in the trial of Warren Hastings (3rd Day, 15th February, 1788)

ORTHCOMING CENSUS is the first census of a Free Republican India. It is also the first census of a partitioned India. The enumerators will, therefore, visit homes of India's millions of citizens as representatives of a new institution and we shall have to adapt ourselves to a new basis of comparison and tabulation. The Constitution, for the first time, recognises the important role of census. It has been specifically provided that the data collected at successive censuses should form the basis for the delimitation of territorial constituencies. There is also another departure from past practice. Formerly there used to be elaborate caste tables which were required in India partly to satisfy the theory that it was a caste-ridden country and partly to meet the needs of administrative measures dependent on caste divisions. In the forthcoming census this will no longer be a prominent feature and we can devote our energies and attention to the collection and formulation of basic economic data relating to the means of livelihood of the people and other economic activities of the individual and the State.

From Speech of the Hon'ble The Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, opening the Conference of Census Superintendents in New Delhi on 23 February, 1950

PREFACE

I

THE CENSUSES HAVE MADE the largest single contribution to the study of ethnology, and even anthropology, in India and chapters on castes and tribes in Census Reports have been some of the most readable and enduring contributions to a study of the peoples of our country. Although it has been emphasised by every Superintendent that discourses on castes and tribes are matters that are appropriate not for a census but for seasoned ethnologists yet the largest single inquiry in our land, covering every human life regularly every ten years, has been too much of a temptation and opportunity to be brushed aside, especially when there has never been a dearth of keen scholars eager to go to any length of trouble and pains to unravel the niceties of a system so strange to their own country. In the circumstances, the literature has been voluminous, careful, objective, and singularly free from preconceived dogma, enlivened by keen observation, good humour and scholarly humility. At the same time there has been no part of the work of a Census Superintendent more difficult, troublesome and fraught with pitfalls than the compilation of caste tables. 1872 marked the beginning of the great Enquiry with the first Census Reports, the observations of Ibbetson, Nesfield, Hunter, and Sherring, but the mere beginning had opened up such a thorny path that a committee of experienced census officers appointed to report on the preliminaries of the census of 1881 expressed the view that "………there is no part of the work of compilation which presents so many difficulties, involves so much labour, and at the same time is so much unsatisfactory when completed, as the working up of the caste tables. They add enormously and we think needlessly to the bulk of the reports and the frequent occurrence of unknown and illegible subdivisions of castes in the enumerator's schedules involves the census office in endless correspondence and encourages the fudging of the abstracts by the clerks employed in compilation". The committee proceeded to state that "we are inclined to think that the statistics on this head, if it be thought desirable to group them together, should form the subject of a special compilation to be undertaken by an antiquarian rather than a statistical authority, and entirely independent of and apart from the establishment or officer employed in tabulating the census figures". The course of events, however, took a different shape and in 1901 and 1911 anthropologists of the eminence of Risley and Gait were at the helm of affairs, their Reports on the two censuses were largely anthropological, and their chapters on castes and tribes have come to stay as ethnological classics. The last two decades of the nineteenth century had not had a lean time either, as the protests of the committee might persuade one to imagine. Plowden had produced his lists in the census of 1881 and Risley his monumental 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal' in 1891. The census of 1921 seems to have paused for breath but the following census burst forth into brilliant scholarship under Hutton in charge of India and Porter of Bengal. Although the signs of 1941 and 1951 are not propitious, it is to be hoped that the working of this vein, which still seems to promise an enormous store, has not stopped once and for all.

Plowden, as Census Commissioner of 1881, recommended that lists of castes and occupations should be prepared for each district and district officers asked to collect information regarding the castes and occupations of their people. This was promptly followed up by the appointment, in 1885, of Risley on special duty for a period of two years to conduct an inquiry into castes and occupations throughout Bengal, which then consisted of Bihar, Orissa, Assam and Bengal. The fruit of his inquiry was his unsurpassed 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal' published in 1891, which determined the fate of the next three censuses. A census now was tied to the apron-strings of castes and tribes and looking back on these censuses it is possible to argue that caste and tribe were indeed overdone. From 1891 onwards Census Superintendents paid more and still more attention to caste statistics so much so that in 1911 an attempt was made to classify and tabulate statistics of *every* caste found in East Bengal. Caste Statistics became a nightmare to census officials more so because "the return of caste, tribe or race, excited the only interest aroused by the census in the general public". In 1901 Risley attempted a list of castes according to their rank in society, incidentally sowing the dragon's tooth of 'depressed' and 'scheduled' tribes and castes, and as Hutton remarks, "all the subsequent census officers in India must have cursed the day when it occurred to Sir Herbert Risley to make the attempt". Risley failed but left a most troublesome legacy and a vast field of political and social manoeuvring. He became,—although he was perhaps not a conscious, by which I mean a pernicious and malevolent, architect—our modern Ballala Sena. Every census thereafter provoked a pestiferous deluge of representations, adorned with highly hypothetical histories, asking for recognition of some alleged fact or hypothesis or demanding withdrawal of similar hypotheses from other castes, of which census as a department is not legally competent to judge and of which its recognition, if accorded, would be socially valueless. But a Census Superintendent was a creature of circumstance and became to his Government what Kanto Babu of Kasimbazar had been to Warren Hastings. The Registrar General's decision in 1951 not to tabulate 'non-backward' castes individually, and to call upon State Governments to declare for their States, which are their 'non-backward' castes, thus relieving

Superintendents of the dubious glory of *arbiters*, has therefore been welcomed with relief by census officials.

Beverley's Report of 1872 is a pioneer and painstaking study of the castes. In 1881 Bourdillon tabulated for every district of Bengal statistics of sixty-six castes, each of which had a population of not less than one hundred thousand, and, as in 1872, classified them into eighteen occupational groups. Tabulation in 1891 was more elaborate and made for no less than one hundred and ninety principal castes and two hundred and sixty-five minor castes for every district, while every 'caste' having a population of more than one thousand in any district was tabulated down to the thana. Many of these latter castes are not appended to the Census Report of 1901; neither are they recorded in Risley. Many were undoubtedly names of 'sub-castes', 'septs' or 'sub-septs' rather than castes and tribes. Some may since have been absorbed in bigger castes, a process which continues to this day. The 1891 Report also classified castes into broad occupational groups.

But Beverley had dropped a casual stone into a sea which produced an ever-extending circle of ripples and 1901 beat all previous tabulations hollow. An attempt was made this year to compile statistics of *all* castes and tribes, as a result of which tabulation for each district was made for no less than three hundred and fifty-eight 'major' and seventy-two 'minor' castes, of which about two hundred and ninety related to Bengal proper, most of the remainder being peculiar to Orissa. This apparently limitless and everwidening horizon was, however, circumscribed in 1911 with the confining of tabulation only to those castes which subscribed 50,000 or more to the population of the Province, or 25,000 to the population of a district, and to those others of special local importance or ethnological interest. But a new sector, the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, was intensively explored and complete statistics were compiled, district by district, of one hundred and ninty-six 'major' and about one hundred and forty-one 'minor' castes. The number of castes in the list for Eastern Bengal ultimately stood at more than four hundred and fifty in 1911. No mean achievement of ingenuity and patient research, but it failed to amuse the intelligentsia and voices of protest were raised from one end of the country to another demanding that a caste must be capable of being grouped under some occupation or it could not be recognised as a caste at all. Two powerful movements now became articulate—(*a*) Hindus were quick to detect the seeds of disintegration in these inquiries and, determined to keep themselves united, set afoot the movement that no Hindu henceforth should return his caste; and (*b*) while closing their ranks, realising that strength lay also in recruitment, they employed their energies in claiming all borderline and aboriginal peoples into the Hindu fold. While response to the first was lukewarm, the second movement caught on, owing to the age-old glamour that Brahminism held over the people.

It was evidently time to cry halt and in 1921 figures arranged by districts were extracted for only fifty-six 'non-Mahomedan' castes, that is, for only those castes which contributed one per mille or more of the total population of the Province. To them was added an Appendix containing figures for forty-six other castes and races arranged by selected districts. Together, the two lists accounted for all but four per cent. of the non-Mahomedan population of the Province. But this, as has been remarked already, was a pause for breath and in 1931 extraction was attempted with renewed energy. One hundred and forty-one castes and tribes were tabulated districtwise according as they were Hindus, Tribals, Muslims or Christians. In addition figures for several districts were given (for the first time) for Kasthas, Khairas, Khandaits, Koiris, Nunias and Suklis.

In 1941, districtwise tabulation was made of a large number of castes at the orders of the Bengal Government. The selection was made to include (*a*) all scheduled castes, including Hindu members of sixteen tribes; (*b*) all other castes which had at any time been considered for inclusion in the *schedule*; (*c*) such other castes as according to the census of 1931 were found to have a strength of not less than 4 per mille of the total population of Bengal; and (*d*) Bauris, Agarwallas (non-Jains), Baidyas and Rajputs. Tabulation was done districtwise only of Hinduised members of the Scheduled tribes; those who returned themselves as professing the tribal faiths being excluded from the extraction, although the total populations of selected tribes, including both Hindu and non-Hindu were published separately. Thus Bhotias, Lepchas, and Mrus were not *scheduled* in 1941, but their total populations for the Province, and for the districts in which they were particularly numerous, were compiled and published. Similar figures were compiled for Mundas, Oraons, Mechs, .Santhals and thirteen other tribes irrespective of their religion.

The 1941 list of 'scheduled castes and tribes' issued on the authority of the Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order of 1936, contained the names of 62 scheduled castes and 14 scheduled tribes. In addition to their districtwise extraction, figures were tabulated for fifty-six other castes and three non-scheduled tribes. In short, a total of 118 castes and 17 tribes unscheduled as well as scheduled were tabulated down to the district.

For 1951 the President of India, under Articles 341 and 342 of the Constitution named by public notification fifty-eight 'scheduled castes' and seven 'scheduled tribes' for West Bengal. These castes and tribes have now been tabulated at the instance and expense of the West Bengal Government, according as they are Hindu, Tribal, Muslim or Christian.

II

It has been proved many a time by official statistics and non-official literature that the extraction of caste in the census cannot be accurate, and, in some cases, not reliable even in a general way. Apart from the great variety and confusion of strange names and distinctions they offer, the power of which is not to be underestimated although it is generally overestimated by the uninitiated reader, there are real stumbling blocks and booby traps in the census returns themselves of which he is not expected to be aware. A fundamental point to remember about a census is that the enumerator is obliged to record whatever is tendered. He may challenge what he recognises as a deliberate lie, and report it to his superior, but is *not* at liberty to record a person's information according to the best of his own knowledge and belief although he, the enumerator, may have lived with the person as next-door neighbours for years. Apart from the fact that a large section of Hindus is opposed to the return of caste in any form—not even mention of a person's surname or title if it leads to a reasonable surmise of his caste—there is an amount of reluctance to return caste in the name by which it is familiar or current in the locality of enumeration (Porter, 1931). Thus many Aguris, Bagdis, Rajbanshis, Kayasthas, Mahisyas and even Sunris and Oraons would describe themselves as simple Kshatriyas. Some Dhobas would call themselves Vaisyas, while some Sankharis would like to be called plain and simple Vaisyas. Such returns are liable to shuffle comparative statistics. A still greater source of error, inaccuracy and confusion is false pretences—a desire deliberately to name a caste very different from the one to which a person really belongs. This is a red herring across the course of all conscientious tabulation. Thus many Jaliyas and Tiyars claim to be Rajbanshis. Patnis sometimes return themselves as Mahisyas. Some again are returned under ambiguous titles like Mallik, Chaudhuri, Rai, Samanta, which become anybody's guess. Some return their occupations and these may be traditional occupations of castes to which they *do not* belong: thus a 'weaver' may be a Pator, a Tanti, a Jugi or a Sukli. Lastly one may return one's sub-caste only, and different castes may have sub-castes of the same name. There are difficulties of yet other sorts: thus Gains may be members of a Nepali caste and also Doms or Bediyas; Kisan is not only a general term for cultivators but also specifically used for Nagesias; Kotal is not only a caste name but also a title of Bagdis, Namasudras, Haris, and other 'low' castes employed as chaukidars (watchmen). Majhis form a Nepali caste, but Santals and Bagdis may share the name. Naiya is the name of priests among Santals, Bhuiyas and other tribes but it is also the name of an iron-working caste found in the Santal Parganas. Rai is again a Nepali caste but a fairly common title for anybody. Kaora is often considered a sub-caste of the Dom but is also the name of an independent caste. Accurate statistics are fairly impossible (*a*) unless the enumerators are learned anthropologists, really versed in their subject—who will be very few indeed considering the population to be counted, (*b*) unless they are given the freedom to record to the best of their knowledge, judgment and belief, and (*c*) unless all doubtful entries are carefully checked before tabulation with reference to standard glossaries. It is true that lists of vague, indefinite, or ambiguous names together with a fairly long index of castes and tribes were circulated among census workers on the eve of enumeration in 1901, 1911, and 1931, which certainly served to minimise palpable inaccuracies, but a few random examples from these self-same years of the numbers of several of the more prominent castes about which there ought to be few mistakes, will show that they did not improve matters appreciably and that the differences in most cases are irreconcilable.

III

It is possible to attempt a classification of scheduled castes and tribes in several rational ways: it is possible to make a list of castes and tribes—(*a*) whose appearance is peculiar to particular districts; (*b*) according to the localities where individually they are most numerous; (*c*) by class intervals of numerical strength; and (*d*) by their function or occupation in society.

(*a*) According to the first method of classification it will appear that Kasthas, Kandras, Kaoras, Lodhas, Mahars, and Pans are mainly found in Midnapur; Kotals in Burdwan; Khairas and Lohars in Bankura; Pods, Pasis, Tiyars, Lalbegis and Kaoras in 24-Parganas; Konais and Konwars in Birbhum and Murshidabad; Mallahs and Methors in and around Calcutta; Nagesias in Jalpaiguri; Jhalos in Nadia; Doms, Haris, Bagdis and Bauris in large numbers throughout the Burdwan Division.

(*b*) We may roughly have the following scheme in the second way:

Bihar (14 castes and tribes)—
Bahelia, Beldar, Bind, Chamar, Dosadh, Gonhri, Lohar, Malla, Malpahariya, Musahar, Nunia, Pasi, Rajwar, Khatik.

Orissa (3)—
Kandra, Mahar, Pan.

Chhotonagpur (12)—
Bhuiya, Bhumij, Ghasi, Kaur, Kadar, Khaira, Mahli, Munda, Nagesia, Oraon, Santal, Turi.

East Bengal (5)—
Doai, Mru, Jalia, Patni, Bhuimali.

North Bengal (7)—
Bhotia, Koch, Palia, Rajbanshi, Lepcha, Mech, Rabha.

Central and Western Bengal (24)—
Bagdi, Bediya, Baiti, Bauri, Dhoba, Dom, Hari, Jhalo Malo, Karanga, Kastha, Khaira, Konai, Konwar, Kora, Kotal, Lalbegi, Lodha, Mal, Methor, Muchi, Namasudra, Pod, Sunri, and Tiyar.

[NOTE: Hindusthani Dhobis are mainly Biharis, Kasthas claim to be Bengali Kayasthas. Methor is a generic term rather than a caste name. Lalbegis are a borderline caste: more Mahomedan than Hindu. Many Methors are Biharis by origin. Risley thinks that Methors are a sub-caste of Haris. Lodhas are numerous in Singbhum and Madhya Bharat. Bediya is the name of a number of gypsylike groups of whom it is difficult to say whether they can properly be described as castes (Risley). Koras are, according to Risley, probably an offshoot of the Munda tribe. Risley says that the term Khaira may mean—(1) a small caste of Hazaribag, (2) a sub-caste of Bagdis, and (3) a synonym of Kora. Risley would describe Bagdis, Karangas, Koras, Kotals, Mals, and Tiyars as "Dravidians" and Gait thinks that Pods and Chandals (Namasudras) are probably of the same origin.]

(c) In contrast with the great castes like the Bagdis, the Bauris, the Pods or the Namasudras, several scheduled castes have much fewer numbers, and there are signs that they are fast dwindling. We may classify them by class intervals of numerical strength as follows: Less than 1,000; 1,001 to 2,500; 2,501 to 5,000; 5,001 to 10,000; 10,001 to 25,000; 25,001 to 50,000; 50,001 to 100,000; 100,001 and above. There are several small castes and tribes like Nekuas, Kichaks, Kol, Kamars, Hayus, Kans, Yakkas, Totos, Siyalgirs and Kadmas, which may become extinct or absorbed within a short while. The process of Hinduisation is steadily changing the customs and organisation of aboriginal tribes at such a fast pace that in the case of these and other numerically weak tribes extinction, or the gobbling up by big fish of small fry, may be a matter of only a few decades. It is desirable from many points of view to collect details of some of these castes and tribes which enjoy ethnological importance, separately, in the next census or through some other vehicle, whether or not they are *scheduled*. Our knowledge of the manners and customs of the less-known castes and tribes has not been substantially added to since the publication of Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*.

(d) Castes may be classified according to occupations, a comparatively safe and certain method of arriving at firm conclusions, if we are to believe at all that caste in India has always been a function of society. This classification was attempted in every census with less contentious conclusions than in other fields, and secured a maximum of unanimity as well as correspondence with tradition. As in 1891 so in 1931 Hutton listed the castes according to their usual occupations and we may summarise some of the castes as follows: Bagdis, Bauris, Pods, Rajbanshis, and Namasudras, the five largest scheduled castes to whom large portions of our State belong, are primarily agriculturists by profession. Some are landless labourers. But they are nearest to the soil. Kandras, Kadars, Dosadhs, and Musahars are mainly labourers. Baitis, Doais, and Doms are mat-makers. Doms, Karangas and Pans are *also* basket-makers and workers in woody material. Baitis are traditionally lime-burners while Nunias are makers of saltpetre. Khatiks are vegetable-sellers; Pasis and Sunris are distillers of spirit; Beldars, Koras, and some Karangas are earth-workers, diggers, and stone-cutters. Fishing and boating are the main occupation of Gonhris, Jalias, Jhalos, Malos, Patnis, Mallahs, Tiyars, and of some Ghasis, Pods and Binds. Malpaharias and Lodhas are cultivators, collectors and sellers of forest produce, charcoal-burners and professional hunters. Bediyas and Bahelias are also professional hunters. Konais are either cultivators or drummers and dealers in hides. Scavengers and sweepers include Methors, Lalbegis, and sections of Haris, Doms, Ghasis, and Bauris. Kotals are cultivators and professional watchmen. The tribal groups and other castes are in general cultivators. Incidentally, this short list which covers the greater part of castes discharging their traditional occupations in society demonstrates how rapidly caste as a function of society,—the concept of a particular coin for a particular slot,—is disintegrating.

IV

THERE IS NO CRITERION by which one can objectively determine a particular caste to be *depressed* or *scheduled*. There is as a matter of fact no satisfactory definition of *caste* either. Porter critically examined the various criteria proposed: *e.g.*, exclusion from the services of Brahmans and Barbers; Pollution by touch, food, and drink; Taboos, etc., and came to the conclusion that, for Bengal at least, the attempt to regard any social usage or civic disability as a clear test by which to distinguish the 'depressed' classes is bound to fail. For a very detailed and able discussion the reader is referred to his valuable chapter on the Depressed Classes in the Census Report for Bengal and Sikkim (1931).

Things being as they are *Depressed Classes* or *Scheduled Castes* are a matter not of definition but of enumeration. For this reason the list of *depressed classes* or *scheduled castes and tribes* has varied between wide limits. That any such list must contain the so-called 'untouchables' and a number of aboriginal groups is obvious. But the essential point stands out hard and clear: a caste is *depressed* or *scheduled* according as it is so *in the opinion of the Government* and no other's. The Government alone holds the key and decides whether its economic, social, or educational status is so backward as to deserve the special protection of the Government.

Up to 1916, the expression *depressed* was unknown in Bengal. That year the Bengal Government prepared a list of classes which it considered *depressed*. The list included several criminal tribes and aboriginals and consisted of thirty-one

groups. It was this list which was used by the Calcutta University Commission in 1917-19. Thompson, the Census Superintendent in 1921, prepared a list of *depressed classes*. Porter in 1931 made a detailed inquiry and prepared another list While each contained a common nucleus of names, the three lists differed from one another. For example, Chasi Kaibartas (Mahisyas), Kans, Kasthas, Kairas (Khairas?), Khandaits, Koiris, Kurmis, Nuniyas, Rajbanshis and Suklis, were included in the 1921 list but excluded from the list suggested by Porter in 1931. The 1931 list was very elaborate and the following castes, finding their place in the 1931 list, have been omitted from the President's Schedule of 1951: Halalkhor, Kichak, Binjhia, Agaria, Asur, Birhor, Korwa, Berua, Bhatiya, Damai, Kalwar, Kapali, Kapuria, Nagar, Nat, Raju and Sagirdpesha. Names that were scheduled in 1941 but have been excluded from the President's Schedule of 1951 are: Agaria, Berua, Bhatiya, Binjhia, Garo, Hadi, Hajong, Halalkhor, Ho, Kan, Kandh, Kapuria and Nat. Chasi Kaibartas (Mahisyas) and Suklis were considered *depressed* by the Census Superintendent in 1921; Rajus were depressed both in 1921 and 1931; the Census Superintendent of 1931 considered Kapalis as *depressed*. All four are excluded from the schedule of 1951. On the other hand it is difficult to appreciate why Kasthas and Mrus have been retained in the 1951 schedule. Kasthas are a respectable caste of Midnapur corresponding to Kayasthas. In 1901 they were shown to be of the same rank as Navasakhas. Mrus are a tribe of Chittagong Hill Tracts and their number in the State in 1951 was 4,696.

According to the Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order of 1936, read with Article 26(1) of the First Schedule to the Government of India Act of 1935, *scheduled castes* means "such castes, races, or tribes, or parts of or groups within castes, races, or tribes, being castes, races, or tribes which appear to His Majesty in Council to correspond to classes of persons formerly known as the *depressed classes*, as His Majesty may specify". No person in Bengal who, for instance, professed Buddhism or a tribal religion was deemed to be a member of any scheduled caste. This limitation does not operate in 1951 and whereas in 1941 only Hindu members of the castes and tribes were scheduled, *scheduled castes and tribes* in 1951 include persons professing Buddhism or tribal faiths also, that is those who were excluded from the schedule in 1941. The schedules of 1941 had led to anomalous consequences not only within a province but between neighbouring provinces. Thus a tribal Santal was *scheduled* in Bihar in 1941 but not in Bengal. He had no special representative in the Legislative Assembly of Bengal, although the Hindu Santal had. The Christian Santal had a special representative not only in the Legislative Assembly of Bengal but also in the Federal Assembly but he was represented by a Hindu in the Council of States. The Constitution of 1951 has swept away these anomalies.

V

THE UTILITY OF CASTE TABULATION has been questioned. Sinister motives have been attributed and it has been criticised for promoting and perpetuating separatism and fission in the Hindu society. The political uses to which caste tabulation has been put have been many and caste has always been, in the distant as well as recent past, a powerful weapon of political and social manoeuvring in the hands of a Government. It has certainly been put to many startling uses in the last forty years. On the other hand, caste tabulation has been recognised to be a necessity in ascertaining the extent of social disability and backwardness which is often a function of the relative rank a caste holds in the social hierarchy. It has been acclaimed by others as indispensable to the study of the gradual disintegration of tribal organisations and their absorption into Hinduism, a fact, no doubt, of the greatest concern to ethnologists and, to a certain extent, to administrators, because a clash of cultures brings inevitably in its wake a tale of oppression, fraud and misery, in some cases even of virtual extinction of peoples, than which an ethnologist can find no subject more interesting; neither does an administrator find material more worthy on which to prove his mettle. Plowden was much agitated over the rapid effacement of the old aboriginal faiths and Risley discussed in detail (*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, xvi-xix, etc.) this "gradual Brahmanising of the aboriginal casteless tribes". He pointed out that a record of the customs of the people is as necessary to good administration as a cadastral survey of the land and a record of rights of its tenants. In India where theoretically custom overrides law, few would dispute Risley's statement.

In the hands of a Government which seeks to hold a country by force and guile, to rule by dividing the people, there can be few weapons as powerful and lethal as caste. But with a Government based on adult franchise and the goodwill of the people caste demands a wholly different use. It becomes an occasion calling for the beneficent protection of the law to nourish and fulfil the best in an individual. And to this is precisely what the Constitution has addressed itself.

The Constitution distinguishes between *Scheduled Castes* and *Scheduled Tribes*. Seats are reserved for both in the House of the People and in the Legislative Assemblies of the States for a period of ten years only (Art. 334). There will be a Special Officer for Scheduled castes and Tribes. The Constitution defines *Backward classes*, a third category of persons, by enumerating for each State its *Non-Backward classes* (which amount to thirty-three in West Bengal). Obviously, Scheduled Castes and Tribes are also *backward*. A commission will be, by the President, appointed with regard to these backward classes to prepare a 'report' about "matters referred to them" by the President, in which will be

set forth "the facts as found by them", and "such recommendations as they think fit" (Art. 340). On receipt of the Report the President will specify a list of backward classes, upon which the Special Officer for Scheduled Castes and Tribes will take them also under his care. His duty shall be "to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards" provided for his proteges and report to the President "upon the working of these safeguards" (Art. 333). There will be another Commission at the end of ten years from 1949 to report on the 'welfare' of the Scheduled Tribes (Art. 338). The State may, under Art. 16(4), reserve appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens. This is reinforced by Art. 335, under which Scheduled Castes and Tribes have the additional 'privilege' of having their claims taken into consideration in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State. Article 4 of the Fifth Schedule confers yet another privilege upon *Scheduled Tribes* only. Only they, and no other tribe, in addition to the Special Officer and the two Commissions mentioned above, will have a Tribes Advisory Council in the State to advise on "such matters pertaining to their welfare and advancement" as may by the Governor be referred to them.

VI

And do not call it fixity

THE ABOVE gives a brief survey of caste tabulation in successive censuses, of the political and legislative changes that have occurred in its wake.

It is idle to deny that caste has always been an important factor in the life of the community. Discourses on caste in relation to occupations have thrown light on the function it has played in the country's economic life and structure, trade, commerce and industry. Historical research has also demonstrated what a potent weapon caste has been in the hands of a conqueror who came to found a dynasty, how it helped in creating new alignments and new loyalties. But historical research has so far failed to bring out adequately the role of caste as a function in the economic life of the country, how the economic role in its turn earned for caste a political role, and how the two functions constantly interpenetrated each other to maintain perpetual movement. In short, too much has so far been written on caste as a static institution, a cast-iron, rigid phenomenon, almost the sole function of which has been to check social and economic progress. Periodic codifications have been primarily regarded as so many attempts to make the organisation infinitesimal, progressively rigid, rather than as so many milestones in its career as a vital function of society: vital, though not perhaps progressive.

Apart from literature of world-wide renown on the subject, four important books have recently been published in Bengali: a *History of the Bengali* by Niharranjan Roy, his *Bangali Hindur Barnabheda*, Kshitimohan Sen's *Hindu Samaj Byabasthar Sambandhe Jatibheda* and Nirmal Kumar Basu's *Hindu Samajer Garan*.

All four books have examined caste in relation to occupation and Niharranjan Roy may be regarded as inclined to equate caste with occupation, having attempted to trace the vicissitudes of castes in respect of their traditional occupations. But it is possible to make two complaints against work done so far. First, a satisfactory chronicle has yet to be written on the economic history of the past, its relation to the rise and fall of dynasties, the role various castes have played in controlling the economic life of different periods, the jockeying into position and overthrow of specific castes in specific periods of history. Secondly, the adaptability of castes, the hitting back by certain castes on moves on the part of conquerors to outmanoeuvre them in the political and economic fields, has not been sufficiently illustrated from history. If that were done, it might appear that caste has not been so immutable after all, as one is too willing to imagine, but a live and pliant force, sensitive to change, as any function of society must necessarily be. All the caste codes bear testimony to this struggle to get the better of the ruling power, or at least to compel the latter to recognise their particular virtue. This has been particularly so in Bengal, by which I refer to undivided Bengal, Assam, Bihar, and Orissa, where no dynasty has ruled for many years together, which contained the main centres of India's arts and crafts, commerce, industry, and overseas trade, where occupation was to be found in its utmost variety, and a constant tension prevailed between the ruler and the ruled; the home of revolt, Bulgakhana, as Akbar's Chronicler called it in horror and despair. In short it has not been adequately brought out that caste was an institution in movement changing by small degrees with time, that it tended to be immobile only under stable governments of long, uneventful, duration but sprang into activity as soon as a change was in the air. It is often forgotten that the role of caste vis-a-vis the state in the twentieth century has had historic parallels in the past, that even as in 1936 'His Majesty in Council' scheduled castes in appreciation of social and economic changes in his Empire, so it was with previous kings and potentates. Tension between the interested opinion of the Government and the will of the people on the question of caste was not a peculiar feature of the British rule but common to all predatory conquests where the ruling class was different from the people it ruled.

That race and colour and waves of conquerors helped to set up the skeleton of the caste system will be generally conceded. It looks as if occupational castes had their hey-day in powerful guilds in the Buddhist period. There was plenty of work and commissions everywhere, at home and far out at sea abroad, across mountains in the north and west. In that expanding economy

nobody with any skill to boast of lacked a livelihood, a shrinking market had not yet appeared to demand the rigours of monopoly. Skill, technique and design were available among all sections of the people, and guilds were perhaps formed to secure economy of effort. With the revival of Brahminism the Buddhist Order was broken up, skill and technique remained among the common people split into sections and castes, held together by tantra and occult practices which hoped to escape the Brahminical inquisition and guard their skill. The section which controlled wealth must have generally, as is the practice in all ages, aligned itself with the conqueror, and anybody who was both powerful and foolish enough to ignore the writing on the wall, paid through the nose. Thus Ballala Sena punished the Sresthi or Banker caste, the modern Subarnabaniks, because they had dared to refuse him money in his schemes of conquest.

But the Brahmin or ruling castes, who had aligned themselves with the conqueror, soon discovered that it would not pay to keep away from the masses, that the latter was possessed of enormous strength and vitality, that triumph lay in winning by yielding. Buddhist tantra assumed Saiva, Sakta and Vaisnaba forms: Brahminism made a compromise by yielding, accepting, transforming. The simple tale of Manasamangal is rich in instruction. Chand Sadagar, the enormously rich and powerful merchant, who has business connections as far as Patan, is a Saivite. He is a banker by caste allied to the ruling power. He refuses to bow to Manasa, goddess of the common people, the non-Brahmin, the aboriginal. The King or ruling power must recognise a custom if it is to hold sway and Manasa is determined that Chand should sanction her worship on earth by paying her homage, deprives him of all his wealth, his ships, his merchandise, his sons. He and all that he stands for are on the verge of extinction from the face of the earth. But such is his pride in his Brahminical Siva that at the moment when everything is offered to be restored if only he will offer a flower to Manasa, he will have none of it and turns away. It is only as a result of the most abject importunities that he is persuaded to cast a flower at Manasa, with his face turned away. Manasa is redeemed and so is Chand.

There are striking stories or fables of the interpenetration of Brahminical and aboriginal faiths, of a social and economic rapprochement, where superior Brahminism bows down to the beliefs of the soil, and the controller of the means of production makes up to those who produce. These rapprochements and tensions must have resulted in the enunciation of new social forms, new values, new forces of economy in successive periods of history. They must have been more numerous in Greater Bengal than elsewhere in India for the simple reason that this was the most important zone of industry, production, commerce, export and overseas trade, and attracted the largest number of short-lived conquests. Social and economic forces must have attained hectic activity on the eve of every new conquest and it should be an interesting task to unravel the tangled skeins of caste changes. Great rationalising movements meanwhile swept the country, for example, Jayadeva and the Vaishnava movement of Chaitanya.

It is often overlooked that functional or occupational castes were greatly interested in jealously guarding their traditions, in perpetuating a virtual monopoly over skill, technique, design, patrons and markets, in making themselves indispensable to the life of the community, just as modern federations or combines are, and therefore all too eager to restrict intercourse to a select number of families and regions so that 'patents' might be strictly guarded and handed down from generation to generation in a virtually closed community. We are so accustomed to accept the role of Brahminism as a great Procrustean mould imposed by the weight of Authority on a docile population, to imagine that Brahminism could push down unwilling throats any and every stultifying prejudice, that we are liable to lose sight of the fact that a great number of castes saw the possibility of their survival and prosperity, of perpetuating their monopoly in production in a greater rigidity of their caste custom, and in the success with which they could shut out interlopers. This aspect of 'family planning', of a closed community anxious to preserve its monopoly of skill, is responsible for much rigidity, as competition grew in intensity and volume, as specialisation came into demand when variety threatened to overwhelm. Many castes thus threw a ring of cast-iron voluntarily around their community, and it is not always that Brahminism did it. It might be fruitful to trace the migrations of castes, which might prove that migrations occurred with changes in the centre of industry, commerce and trade and 'spheres of influence' actuated by a desire to be nearest the biggest money market.

There is also another aspect which is often overlooked. Whenever two cultures meet, especially on different levels, there is a tendency on the part of the lesser culture to work in two directions. A part of it is attracted by the superior culture and imitates it, advantage of which is taken by the superior culture to dictate its terms and transform the lesser culture gradually. The other and more conservative part is repelled by the danger of absorption, draws its horns in, and makes every effort to preserve its identity intact by isolation, conservatism and refusal to have any truck with the superior culture. It thus lives like an island beseiged by a sea. But an island is sometimes washed away or submerged.

It is only in the course of the last eighty years, with the rapid and preternatural destruction of

traditional skills, designs, techniques, markets and patrons, with nothing in their place to offer to castes so long employed in them who suddenly found themselves cast off their moorings, obliged to take to vocations other than their own, that caste lost whatever significance it had in the organisation of production. Stripped of its functional content, caste now seemed totally pointless; an instrument of oppression of Brahminism and little more. Once their power was securely established and the British had no more use for the higher caste against the Mahomedan, their eyes fell on the lower castes as a wall against elements of progress. Simultaneously by the destruction of markets it was possible to drive a nail into the coffin of traditional caste occupations. It was, thereafter, a comparatively easy matter to expatiate on the rigidity of caste, the oppression of Brahminism, to raise communal demons. Caste was made to appear static, rigid, hidebound, a point of view henceforth developed with particular care. Side by side, a great movement of codification was afoot:- Dalton and Risley produced the Brihaddharma Purana of modern times, while Gait and others compiled the modern Brahmavaivarta Purana. It is not for a moment suggested that they were conscious demons. They were great scholars and codifiers, with the energy of voyaging explorers, whose work was employed to articulate the opinion of their Government on the position of castes in the political economy of their time. This is not to minimise the enormous power of Brahminism over caste, nor the role Brahminism in all periods has played over the destinies of other castes. Its role may be compared to the overriding power of the Pope in every walk of life up to the 16th century in Europe. Its power was even much greater. But it is to be hoped that effort will be directed to an exposition of the why, wherefore and how of the concentration of wealth in Bengal in different periods of history. Because those who controlled the wealth, agriculture, industry and trade of the country must not only have to a certain extent controlled the ruling power of the day but modulated the social and economic structure of society. And since caste was a function of society they must have controlled the structure of caste as well. There must have been much give and take and much change, perpetual adjustments, such as characterise a living organism. A full and penetrating social and economic history of Bengal will certainly explain many apparent mysteries of the organisation and rigidity of the system, particularly why it flourished in India alone and in no other places in such splendour or variety.

It is a matter of good fortune that we have a fairly inexhaustible store of literature to aid in this type of research, from the Charyapadas down to modern novelists, who have at every age dwelt minutely on the life of the common man, the primary and secondary producer, his disabilities, privileges, joys and sorrows. Even Lalbehari Dey, a church dignitary, who in his zeal of conversion ought to have dwelt on the blessings of the British Rule turned for his subject in his monumental *Bengal Peasant Life* to the Aguri (an ordinary peasant cultivator) and his family and instead of expatiating on his misery, as would have been natural in one who did not see the Light, spoke eloquently of his simple joys and human sorrows. It is no coincidence that in every critical period of history our literature is recruited by minute accounts of those who are nearest to the soil, that is, of those who are depressed and scheduled.

VII

A WORD is necessary in explanation of the arrangement of this book. The book opens with a discourse on the Śāstric origins of the Caste System by Shri Sailendranath Sengupta, which encompasses almost the whole range of the subject: his glossaries and appendices are perhaps the most thoroughgoing contributions in their line; they have certainly put Kane's glossary in the shade. This section is followed by the State Tables of Scheduled Castes and Tribes for 1951. The third section consists of a selection of extracts from celebrated authorities on the castes and tribes of Eastern India. While by no means pretending to be exhaustive, they are intended as illustrations of scholarly industry in subjects with which the investigator could not have commenced with any natural sympathy. The next section is a series of essays by Shri Sudhansu Kumar Ray: in a note prefacing them I have mentioned the circumstances under which they were written and finally took shape. An article by Shri Ashutosh Bhattacharyya on Dharma Puja in Bengal follows; it is an abridgement of a much longer discourse in Bengali. I had first intended to print the Bengali version, it was so well written and thorough, but on the author insisting on publishing an English abridgement, the latter is here presented. I can only hope the author will publish the Bengali original shortly. Professor K. P. Chattopadhyay has taken the trouble of contributing an article on the anthropometry of the Bengali peoples. I have thought fit to republish Risley's anthropometric measurements retabulated according to modern requirements which seem to establish that they do not deserve the opprobrium that has in recent years been showered on them. Shri Sailendranath Sengupta concludes this book with an article on the anthropometrical work conducted in this part of India so far. It is a piece of evaluation which will have both merit and scholarship to commend itself to the notice of physical anthropologists.

In concluding this preface I wish to express my obligations to my contributors. It has been a most pleasant, and perhaps worthwhile undertaking. In particular, I wish to thank the staff of the West Bengal Government Press, especially Shri Taraknath Chakrabarti for reading through the first proofs.

A. MITRA

Relevant Articles on Scheduled Castes and Tribes from the Constitution of India

16. (*4*) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State.

Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment.

334. Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this Part, the provisions of this Constitution relating to—

Reservation of seats and special representation to cease after ten years.

(*a*) the reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People and in the Legislative Assemblies of the States; and

(*b*) the representation of the Anglo-Indian community in the House of the People and in the Legislative Assemblies of the States by nomination,

shall cease to have effect on the expiration of a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution:

Provided that nothing in this article shall affect any representation in the House of the People or in the Legislative Assembly of a State until the dissolution of the then existing House or Assembly, as the case may be.

335. The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State.

Claims of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to services and posts.

338. (*1*) There shall be a Special Officer for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to be appointed by the President.

Special Officer for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, etc.

(*2*) It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under this Constitution and report to the President upon the working of those safeguards at such intervals as the President may direct, and the President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament.

(*3*) In this article, references to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be construed as including references to such other backward classes as the President may, on receipt of the report of a Commission appointed under clause (*1*) of article 340, by order specify and also to the Anglo-Indian community.

339. (*1*) The President may at any time and shall at the expiration of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution by order appoint a Commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the States specified in Part A and Part B of the First Schedule.

Control of the Union over the administration of Scheduled Areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribes.

The order may define the composition, powers and procedure of the Commission and may contain such incidental or ancillary provisions as the President may consider necessary or desirable.

(*2*) The executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of directions to any such State as to the drawing up and execution of schemes specified in the direction to be essential for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the State.

341. (*1*) The President may, after consultation with the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State, by public notification, specify the castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Castes in relation to that State.

Scheduled Castes.

(*2*) Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Castes specified in a notification issued under clause (*1*) any caste, race or tribe or part of or group within any caste, race or tribe, but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification.

342. (*1*) The President may, after consultation with the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State, by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State.

Scheduled Tribes.

(*2*) Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes specified in a notification issued under clause (*1*) any tribe or tribal community or part of or group within any tribe or tribal community, but save as aforesaid notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification.

Administration and Control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes

4. **Tribes Advisory Council**.—(*1*) There shall be established in each State having Scheduled Areas therein and, if the President so directs, also in any State having Scheduled Tribes but not Scheduled Areas therein a Tribes Advisory Council consisting of not more than twenty members of whom as nearly as may be, three-fourths shall be the representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State:

Provided that if the number of representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State is less than the number of seats in the Tribes Advisory Council to be filled by such representatives, the remaining seats shall be filled by other members of those tribes.

(*2*) It shall be the duty of the Tribes Advisory Council to advise on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the State as may be referred to them by the Governor or Rajpramukh, as the case may be.

(*3*) The Governor or Rajpramukh may make rules prescribing or regulating, as the case may be,—

(*a*) the number of members of the Council, the mode of their appointment and the appointment of the Chairman of the Council and of the officers and servants thereof;

(*b*) the conduct of its meetings and its procedure in general; and

(*c*) all other incidental matters.

THE CASTE SYSTEM IN BENGAL

SAILENDRANATH SENGUPTA

of the West Bengal Judicial Service

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THE CASTE SYSTEM IN BENGAL

PART I

I. Prefatory

1. UNDER orders of the West Bengal Government and at their expense the strength of each scheduled caste and tribe in each district has been compiled in this census, but according to instruction issued on the subject the tabulation of Castes and Tribes other than those scheduled will not be effected. By section 340 of the Constitution, the President can appoint a Commission to investigate the conditions of the 'socially and educationally' backward classes in India. Nowhere have Backward Classes been defined but the Government of West Bengal by its Home (Constitution and Elections) Department memorandum No. 879-A.R.3C-1/50, dated the 1st June 1950, published a list of Non-Backward Classes which was applied for recording answers to question 2(c) in the All-India Census of 1951. By a negative reasoning any person not belonging to any of these classes, which are really Bengal Hindu castes, will be deemed to belong to the borderline of Backward classes. By section 330 of the Constitution of India, read with section 334, seats shall be reserved in the House of the People of the State for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes for ten years from the commencement of the Constitution. Section 335 of the Constitution lays down that the claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be considered in the making of appointments to services and posts of the Union or the State. For every State her particular Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are required to be publicly notified by the President after consultation with her Governor. In accordance with this provision. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been notified for the purposes of the Constitution for each State.

(While a Scheduled Caste will necessarily be included in the category of Non-Backward Classes, the converse will not be true. In Appendix I will be found a list of no less than 65 castes, which are 'Backward' but not 'Scheduled'. To this list the Swarnakars, the Sankharis, the Telis, and the Jogis have also to be added. Though these castes with the exception of a few, are much more socially and educationally backward, yet they have no constitutional right to be specially considered for government appointments.

2. In 1921 and 1931, lists of 'Depressed Classes' were prepared at the instance of the Government of India. The lists are not identical. Thus Khandaits, Kurmis, Koiris and Suklis were included in the 1921 but not in the 1931 list. A list of Scheduled Castes was prepared under the Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1936, which excluded a number of castes that had been included in the 1931 list. These are Dalu, Kichak, Kurariar, Naiya, Pundari, Asur, Birhor, Korwa, Tipara, Damai, Kalu, Teli, Kapali, Nagar, Raju, and Sagirdpesha. These are not Scheduled Castes under the new Constitution.

3. In all Census Reports since 1881, caste has been given a prominent place and chapters on the castes are undoubtedly some of the most interesting in these reports. Tabulation of castes will disappear in 1961 and there will no more be any chapter on caste in Census Reports. The views of the scholars on the origin and development of the caste system in India, the organisation of the individual castes, the evolution of sub-castes and other cognate problems have been discussed in detail in previous Census Reports and special volumes on Castes and Tribes have been prepared by acknowledged authorities on the subject. For Bengal Castes and Tribes, Risley's monumental work has not yet been supplanted but it requires revision.

4. It is not proposed to discuss here in detail the various aspects of the caste system. For this the previous Census Reports and standard monographs are available. For the sake of comprehensiveness, however, we shall attempt to summarise the main characteristics of this unique system and discuss in some detail traditional views regarding the origin and development of the caste system according to the ancient and medieval writers of India, an aspect which has not been discussed in former Census Reports. Wherever possible the original text will be quoted. It is admitted on all hands that the rigidity of the caste system is gradually breaking down under the stress of modern ways of life. Restrictions regarding eating and what Dr. Hutton calls 'distance pollution' have almost completely disappeared in Bengal, especially in the towns. Restrictions about marriages are also less imperative but even now the caste system is a vital enough force and its power cannot be ignored. Hutton repudiates the suggestion that the recording of caste at the Censuses tends to stabilise the existence of the system. But it cannot be denied that the mere recording of caste is an important factor in keeping the castes, especially those in the lower rungs of the ladder,

more self-conscious. Hutton himself admits (*Census Report, India, 1931*, p. 433), that "every census gives rise to a pestiferous deluge of representations accompanied by highly problematical histories, asking for recognition of some alleged fact or hypothesis of which the Census as a department is not legally competent to judge and of which its recognition if accorded would be socially valueless. As often as not, direct action is requested against the corresponding hypothesis of other castes. The caste that desires to improve its social position seems to regard the natural attempts of others as an infringement of its own prerogatives." Some of these caste claims, claims to be recorded as one or other of the castes mentioned in ancient books, will be considered in some detail later.

II. Definition

1. To an Indian the word caste needs no definition for he is born in it, lives in it and dies in it. But to a foreigner it is difficult to convey "even an approximate idea of the extraordinary complexity of the social system which is involved in the word caste". Foreign writers have attempted to define the term, but it will be readily seen that these so-called definitions are often descriptions of only those characteristics of the caste system which the particular writer wishes to emphasise. As Senart has observed, no statement made on the subject of caste can be regarded as absolutely true. Nesfield defines caste as "a class of the community which disowns connection with any other class and can neither intermarry, nor eat and drink with any but persons of their own community". Baines defines it as "the perpetuation of status or function by heredity and endogamy". Gait points out that this definition applies almost as much to a sub-caste as to a caste. Senart says that the most general characteristics alone would cover the whole of the subject and describes, rather than define, caste as "a close corporation, in theory at any rate, rigorously hereditary, equipped with a certain traditional and independent organisation, including a chief and a council meeting on occasions in assemblies of more or less plenary authority, and joining in the celebration of certain festivals; bound together by a common occupation, observing certain common usages which relate more particularly to marriage, to food and to questions of ceremonial pollution, and ruling its members by the exercise of a jurisdiction the extent of which varies but which succeeds by the sanction of certain penalties and above all by the power of final or revocable exclusion from the group, in making the authority of the community effectively felt". Senart has emphasised the organisational aspect of caste which has been studied in great detail for the old Province of Bengal by O'Malley (*Census Report, Bengal*, 1911). Risley in his "The People of India", p 67, says: "A caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name, claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same hereditary calling, and regarded as forming a single homogeneous community". He then adds that a caste is almost invariably endogamous and sub-divided into a number of endogamous groups, known as sub-castes. Gait, in *Census Report, Bengal, 1901*, p. 354, says that caste is "an endogamous group or a collection of such groups bearing a common name who by reason of traditional occupation and reputed origin, are generally regarded, by those of their countrymen who are competent to give an opinion, as forming a single homogeneous community, the constituent parts of which are more nearly related to each other than they are to any other section of the society". Gait adds that the decision must rest with enlightened public opinion and not with public opinion generally. The weakness of the 'definition' is obvious, for it amounts merely to this that a caste is one which enlightened public opinion considers to be a caste. A simpler and more practical definition is Ketkar's, who defines caste as "a social group having two characteristics:—(*i*) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; and (*ii*) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group". The definition would apply to sub-castes as well, but caste and sub-caste are not words of absolute but comparative signification. Hutton points out (*Caste in India*, p. 43) that there are still parts in India where caste is fluid enough to make it possible for persons to acquire a caste into which they are not born. He refers to Chāṣās of Orissa and Sāgird-peshās of Orissa and Midnapore. It will thus be seen that the definition of caste, like the definition of nation, must in essence be a description, comprehensive but vague.

III. Theories regarding the Origin of the Caste System

1. The caste system is a unique institution. For the last hundred years or more, foreign scholars have speculated on the *origin* of this system. The present position is thus summarised by Porter with regard to the formation of a *new* caste (*Census Report, Bengal, 1931*): "It is unlikely that future researches will reveal any factors not already recognised which have been the immediate cause for the formation of a new caste; racial, tribal, or national distinctions, differences of occupation leading on the one hand to the formation of separate castes amongst those of the same group who follow different occupations; and on the other hand to the inclusion within one caste of persons following the same occupations in several groups; impurity of descent; peculiarities of social custom or religious belief and differences of habitat —have all been shown to give rise to castes at different times." (p. 438.)

2. Risley and Gait (*Census of India Report, 1901*) have discussed the process of the gradual and insensible transformation of tribes[1] into castes all over India. For an account of castes formed in

recent times by crossing, by migration and by changes of custom, Risley's 'The Peoples of India', pp. 74 ff., may be referred to.[1a] The origin of sub-castes also has been studied in detail by Risley (in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*) and Gait in *Census Report, Bengal, 1901*, mentions eight causes of origin of sub-castes: (1) Residence in a different locality; (2) adoption or abandonment of a degrading occupation; (3) difference in occupation; (4) variations in social practice; (5) pollution; (6) split in governing body; (7) greater prosperity of a group; and (8) difference in origin, real or imaginary. Ghuriye adds "peculiarities in the technique followed in connection with the same occupation" and also "adventitious circumstances". There are cases of castes who have in recent times succeeded in gaining recognition of their claim to be considered members of higher castes. Hutton gives three instances, of Kaibartas, who are now Māhisyas, of Vyāsokta Brāhmaṇs of Bengal and of Kayasthas of Bengal, who claim to be Ksatriyas[2]. The process of transformation is, in the words of Hutton, as follows: "Worldly prosperity and a high level of education enable a caste to rise first in its own estimation, later and much more tardily in the general estimation of other castes, so that in course of time it is able to establish recognition, grudgingly at first no doubt, but ultimately more or less general perhaps, in a group higher than that to which it belonged by origin......... ....." (*Caste in India*, p. 107)

3. There are perhaps as many theories regarding the origin of the caste system itself as there are writers on the subject. Thus, Nesfield denies that there is any racial heterogeneity in India and thinks that "function and function only was the foundation upon which the whole caste system of India was built up." Then again, "the rank of any caste as high or low depends upon whether the industry represented by the caste belongs to an advanced or backward stage of culture and thus the natural history of human industries affords the chief clue to the gradations as well as the formation of the Indian castes". This view is supported by Dahlmann. It will perhaps serve no useful purpose to discuss in detail the various theories propounded regarding the origin of the caste system. Most of the writers stress the importance of colour, of racial difference and the natural development of occupational exclusiveness in the evolution of the caste system. This is essentially the view of Chanda, Datta, Rao, and also Ghurye. This also underlies the theories of Risley and Slater. "Colour or race difference, real or fancied, together with hereditary function, gave birth to the caste system" says Chanda. Datta, however, attaches some value to the traditional origin of the castes as given in Manu's code. Datta thinks that among the pre-Aryans the occupational classes had already become endogamous on account of occupational prejudice and preservation of trade secrets. In order to explain the origin of commensality Ghurye refers to the primitive idea that qualities may be transmitted by food and explains that the idea of untouchability arose from ideas of ceremonial purity first applied to aboriginals in connection with sacrificial ritual, and the theoretical impurity of certain occupations. The importance of the idea of ceremonial purity is also stressed by Ketkar. Slater thinks that the caste system originated in the South,—a view not endorsed by other Indian writers, and that the occupational groups became endogamous due to magic, religious ceremonies and the natural desire to preserve trade secrets. Ghurye mentions another factor, also emphasised by Sherring and Ibbetson, namely, the priestly manipulation of the Brahmans in their anxiety to preserve the purity of the Aryan race, and exploit their pre-eminent position. Senart thinks that the system owes its origin to many factors, among which he lays special importance on commensality which he would derive from the family worship and family meal of the primitive gens or clan. Risley's views are also well-known. He regards the caste system as primarily due to racial differences and to a system of hypergamy resulting from these. In the words of Hutton, the invading Aryans married into indigenous peoples until a group had enough women to close its ranks and become a caste. This view regarding the formation of endogamous groups is also accepted by Bonerjea. Lastly we have the view of Ibbetson, who thinks that the caste system is mainly due to a combination of tribal origins, functional guilds and a "Levitical religion". In his own words: "........we have the following steps in the process by which caste has been evolved in the Punjab: 1. the tribal divisions common to all primitive societies; 2. the guilds based on hereditary occupation common to the middle life of all communities; 3. the exaltation of the priestly office to a degree unexampled in other countries; 4. the exaltation of the Levitical blood by a special insistence upon the necessarily hereditary nature of occupation; 5. the preservation and support of this principle by the elaboration from the theories of the Hindu creed or cosmology of a purely artificial set of rules, regulating marriage and intermarriage, declaring certain occupations and foods to be impure and polluting, and prescribing the condition and degree of social intercourse permitted between the several castes. Add to these the pride of social rank and the pride of blood which are natural to man, and which alone would reconcile a nation to restrictions at once irksome from a domestic, and burdensome from a material point of view; and it is hardly to be wondered that caste should have assumed the rigidity which distinguishes it in India." Sarat Chandra Roy (*Man in India*, xvii, 4,254) stresses the importance of the primitive ideas of taboo, mana and soul-stuff in the formation of the caste system, and also on the Indo-Aryan concept of Karma and a certain taboo-holiness that came to be attached to the Brahman because of his supposed spiritual power.

4. Hutton is of the view that without the ideas of soul-stuff, mana, magic and taboo, the caste

more self-conscious. Hutton himself admits (*Census Report, India, 1931*, p. 433), that "every census gives rise to a pestiferous deluge of representations accompanied by highly problematical histories, asking for recognition of some alleged fact or hypothesis of which the Census as a department is not legally competent to judge and of which its recognition if accorded would be socially valueless. As often as not, direct action is requested against the corresponding hypothesis of other castes. The caste that desires to improve its social position seems to regard the natural attempts of others as an infringement of its own prerogatives." Some of these caste claims, claims to be recorded as one or other of the castes mentioned in ancient books, will be considered in some detail later.

II. Definition

1. To an Indian the word caste needs no definition for he is born in it, lives in it and dies in it. But to a foreigner it is difficult to convey "even an approximate idea of the extraordinary complexity of the social system which is involved in the word caste". Foreign writers have attempted to define the term, but it will be readily seen that these so-called definitions are often descriptions of only those characteristics of the caste system which the particular writer wishes to emphasise. As Senart has observed, no statement made on the subject of caste can be regarded as absolutely true. Nesfield defines caste as "a class of the community which disowns connection with any other class and can neither intermarry, nor eat and drink with any but persons of their own community". Baines defines it as "the perpetuation of status or function by heredity and endogamy". Gait points out that this definition applies almost as much to a sub-caste as to a caste. Senart says that the most general characteristics alone would cover the whole of the subject and describes, rather than define, caste as "a close corporation, in theory at any rate, rigorously hereditary, equipped with a certain traditional and independent organisation, including a chief and a council meeting on occasions in assemblies of more or less plenary authority, and joining in the celebration of certain festivals; bound together by a common occupation, observing certain common usages which relate more particularly to marriage, to food and to questions of ceremonial pollution, and ruling its members by the exercise of a jurisdiction the extent of which varies but which succeeds by the sanction of certain penalties and above all by the power of final or revocable exclusion from the group, in making the authority of the community effectively felt". Senart has emphasised the organisational aspect of caste which has been studied in great detail for the old Province of Bengal by O'Malley (*Census Report, Bengal*, 1911). Risley in his "The People of India", p 67, says: "A caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name, claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same hereditary calling, and regarded as forming a single homogeneous community". He then adds that a caste is almost invariably endogamous and sub-divided into a number of endogamous groups, known as sub-castes. Gait, in *Census Report, Bengal, 1901*, p. 354, says that caste is "an endogamous group or a collection of such groups bearing a common name who by reason of traditional occupation and reputed origin, are generally regarded, by those of their countrymen who are competent to give an opinion, as forming a single homogeneous community, the constituent parts of which are more nearly related to each other than they are to any other section of the society". Gait adds that the decision must rest with enlightened public opinion and not with public opinion generally. The weakness of the 'definition' is obvious, for it amounts merely to this that a caste is one which enlightened public opinion considers to be a caste. A simpler and more practical definition is Ketkar's, who defines caste as "a social group having two characteristics:—(*i*) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; and (*ii*) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group". The definition would apply to sub-castes as well, but caste and sub-caste are not words of absolute but comparative signification. Hutton points out (*Caste in India*, p. 43) that there are still parts in India where caste is fluid enough to make it possible for persons to acquire a caste into which they are not born. He refers to Chāṣās of Orissa and Sāgird-peshās of Orissa and Midnapore. It will thus be seen that the definition of caste, like the definition of nation, must in essence be a description, comprehensive but vague.

III. Theories regarding the Origin of the Caste System

1. The caste system is a unique institution. For the last hundred years or more, foreign scholars have speculated on the *origin* of this system. The present position is thus summarised by Porter with regard to the formation of a *new* caste (*Census Report, Bengal, 1931*): "It is unlikely that future researches will reveal any factors not already recognised which have been the immediate cause for the formation of a new caste; racial, tribal, or national distinctions, differences of occupation leading on the one hand to the formation of separate castes amongst those of the same group who follow different occupations; and on the other hand to the inclusion within one caste of persons following the same occupations in several groups; impurity of descent; peculiarities of social custom or religious belief and differences of habitat —have all been shown to give rise to castes at different times." (p. 438.)

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recent times by crossing, by migration and by changes of custom, Risley's 'The Peoples of India', pp. 74 ff., may be referred to.[1a] The origin of sub-castes also has been studied in detail by Risley (in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*) and Gait in *Census Report, Bengal, 1901*, mentions eight causes of origin of sub-castes: (1) Residence in a different locality; (2) adoption or abandonment of a degrading occupation; (3) difference in occupation; (4) variations in social practice; (5) pollution; (6) split in governing body; (7) greater prosperity of a group; and (8) difference in origin, real or imaginary. Ghuriye adds "peculiarities in the technique followed in connection with the same occupation" and also "adventitious circumstances". There are cases of castes who have in recent times succeeded in gaining recognition of their claim to be considered members of higher castes. Hutton gives three instances, of Kaibartas, who are now Māhisyas, of Vyāsokta Brāhmaṇs of Bengal and of Kayasthas of Bengal, who claim to be Ksatriyas[2]. The process of transformation is, in the words of Hutton, as follows: "Worldly prosperity and a high level of education enable a caste to rise first in its own estimation, later and much more tardily in the general estimation of other castes, so that in course of time it is able to establish recognition, grudgingly at first no doubt, but ultimately more or less general perhaps, in a group higher than that to which it belonged by origin.............." (*Caste in India*, p. 107)

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4. Hutton is of the view that without the ideas of soul-stuff, mana, magic and taboo, the caste

system could not have developed. But he is careful to emphasise that these ideas are not alone sufficient to explain the system as it exists. The caste system in India is the result of many factors, geographical, social, political, religious and economic which are not elsewhere found in conjunction. Hutton's position is clear from his criticism of Ibbetson's theory. "These features—tribes, guilds, and religious monopolies,—have no doubt contributed to the growth and extension of the caste system, and done much to consolidate and perpetuate it, but they cannot be regarded as causes. Given caste, a tribe, a guild or a priestly order may very easily become a caste but failing the essentials of the caste system there is nothing in them, with the possible exception of the priestly order, which will produce a caste." (*Census, India, 1931*, p. 151). The most important feature of the caste system is its commensal taboo. In primitive people, it is either based on a belief in the magical effects of food, or on a belief that anything connected with a stranger is dangerous. This belief may be at the origin of the practice still obtaining in many castes in India which insists that food which is touched or even seen by persons belonging to a different caste must be thrown away. In some cases, a person cannot take the food even if it is cooked by his own daughter after she has been given in marriage. In the next place, it is also a very widespread belief among primitive tribes in Asia that not only animate but most inanimate objects, like the house, the boat and the implements of craftsmen are all endowed with life-matter, soul-stuff or mana. Even words are endowed with life-matter. What is more important is the belief that this life-matter may be attracted away or harmed by magic. Accordingly such life-matter must be protected by magic and taboo. This is not the place to discuss these primitive beliefs in detail, but their importance in explaining the origin of commensal taboos and caste differentiations will be readily admitted.

5. The geographical isolation of India is cited by Hutton as one of the reasons contributing to the emergence of her caste system. It may be noted that as early as 1868 Wilson discussed the influence of the geographical character of India, her isolation, her climate and her physical conformation in detail (pp. 237-41). Wilson observes: "Caste, which like rank luxuriant plants of the jungle could only have been generated under the inflammatory influences of a torrid clime, has been in no small degree perpetuated, until it became an omnipotent agency in Hindu social life, by the intense lassitude induced by the heat, and, the unwillingness to alter which is already established." In fact, the system is part of the Indian Character.[3]

6. It is now recognised that the indigeneous population of India before the Aryan invasion was matrilineal, as the Garos and the Khasis even now are. The matrilineal system is still widely in vogue in the south, in Travancore and Cochin, and among the Naiyars. The social practices of the Nambudri Brahmans, of the Devadasi (Basavi) system, and the fact that in some so-called backward castes the sister's son acts as the priest, and that the son-in-law has to win his bride by working in her family for a period—all these show that the matrilineal system was at one time widespread in India. We have referred to impact of races as one of the causes of origin of the caste system. Apart from racial difference as such, some of the features of the system may be referred to the clash of cultures and impact of matrilineal invaders on an indigeneous matrilineal population. (*See* Hutton *op. cit.*, pp. 129-45).

7. Though the caste system as it exists is peculiarly an Indian product, it must be admitted that the elements of the system existed or still exist in other countries also. One may refer to the colour problem in the United States of America as essentially a caste problem (though the commensal taboo does not operate there with any rigour), to Medieval Ceylon, to Ancient Iran[4] and to Ancient Egypt. One may refer also to the occupational hereditary groups in the Western Roman Empire as created by the Theodesian Code. Such groups could not have been created overnight unless the elements of social segregation were there. Ghuriye thus sums up his discussion of the subject: "Distinction by birth has been usually recognised by many primitive peoples.........Well-marked status-groups within a society, distinguished from one another by rights and disabilities, separated from one another by the absence of freedom of intermarriage, may be considered a common characteristic of the mental background and social picture of the Indo-European cultures. Specialisation of occupations, accompanied by solidarity within specified occupations and great unfreedom about their choice was a feature common to ancient and medieval times............ Suffice it for us to remember that in each case, it was the *special* conditions, making for political unity and commercial aggrandisement, that slowly killed the idea of status by birth and removed the unfreedom of occupation". (*Caste and Race in India,* pp. 140-41).

8. It is thus seen that the caste system owes its origin and development to many factors some of which are peculiar to India. The main factors (Hutton, pp. 164-65) may be summarised as follows:

(1) The geographical isolation and climate of India as a whole and of individual areas within it.

(2) Primitive beliefs (*i*) about the power of food to transmit qualities; (*ii*) suspicion of strangers; (*iii*) totems, taboos, mana and soul-stuff or life-matter; (*iv*) magic associated with crafts and trade-secrets.

(3) Clash of antagonistic cultures, particularly between cultures with patrilineal and matrilineal modes of descent.

(4) Clash of races and colour prejudice.

(5) Ideas of the exclusive family and ancestor worships and the sacramental meal.

(6) Idea of pollution, ablution, purification, and ceremonial purity with associations of ritual sacrifice.

(7) Development of classes with exclusive religious and social privileges and exploitation of the mass of the people by these classes. Evolution of a religious philosophy by these classes involving beliefs in reincarnation and the doctrine of Karma.

(8) Hereditary occupations, and hereditary guilds and associations for preservation of trade and craft secrets.

(9) Deliberate economic and administrative policies. Inclusion of isolated tribes and polities without absorption in larger administrative units.

As regards the origin and development of the caste system, we can do no better than conclude with an extract from Hutton's admirable study, p. 165: "The fact is many roads of migration have led into India—and have ended there. This has resulted in the accumulation of a large number of societies of very different levels of culture and very varying customs in an area in which they have neither been mutually inaccessible nor without some measure of individual isolation. The mere inescapable necessity of finding a *modus vivendi* on the part of a number of different cultures has probably played a not unimportant part among the various factors that have combined, that have caused the caste system to develop."

"The caste system must probably be regarded as having developed as a sort of organic response to the requirements of the particular case" of India. To quote the same authority again: "Geographical circumstances have imposed a certain unity on the inhabitants of the peninsula, whereas diverse origins of the people have dictated variety......it is caste which has made it possible for both requirements to be satisfied within a single social system, a system moreover which has proved historically to be very stable. It has proved capable of absorbing any intrusive society and no intruders have yet succeeded in revolutionising it.... ...." (p. 1).

IV. Effects

1. Sherring describes the caste system as a monstrous oriental production, of "wild grotesqueness" and thinks it the strongest power of disintegration that human race was ever subjected to, and that it is the sworn enemy of human happiness, to intellectual freedom, and to progress. That the system creates dissensions in the society and promotes perpetuation of the low status of many castes must be universally admitted. Yet the system has had admirers even amongst foreign scholars, because of its elasticity but for which according to them the Hindu culture could not have survived the periodic political conquests of the last few centuries. Even Sherring admits that the system promotes cleanliness, order and a sense of union. Hutton thinks that to destroy the system might be socially disastrous (p. 114). Whether the price that has been paid for the 'advantages' of the system has not been too high is a question that will always remain a matter of opinion.

2. The caste system provides the individual member of a caste with rules which must be by him observed in the matters of food, marriage, divorce, birth, initiation, and death. "It may state, for instance, whether his ears shall or shall not be bored, and if so in how many places." As Hutton puts it: "With regard to the individual the function of caste is to predetermine his pattern of behaviour in this world to a very considerable degree of nicety, leaving much less to individual choice than is usual in a classless society" (p. 98). With his usual hyperbole, Wilson (*Indian Castes,* I. 12) sums up as follows:

"Caste gives its directions for recognition, acceptance, consecration, and sacramental dedication and *vice versa,* of a human being on his appearance in this world. It has for infancy, pupilage and manhood, its ordained methods of sucking, sipping, drinking, eating, and voiding, of washing, rinsing, anointing, and smearing; of clothing, dressing, and ornamenting; of sitting, rising, and reclining; of moving, visiting, and travelling; of speaking, reading, listening, and reciting; and of meditating, singing, working, playing and fighting. It has its laws for social and religious rights, privileges, and occupations; for instructing, training, and educating; for obligation, duty, and practice; for divine recognition, duty , and ceremony; for errors, sins, and transgressions; for intercommunion, avoidance, and excommunication; for defilement, ablution, and purification; for fines, chastisements, imprisonments, mutilations, banishments, and capital executions. It unfolds the ways of committing what it calls sin, accumulating merit, and losing merit. It treats of inheritance, conveyance, possession, and dispossession; of bargains, gain, loss, and ruin. It deals with death, burial, and burning; and with commemoration, assistance, and injury after death. It interferes, in short, with all the relations and events of life, and with what precedes and follows.. .life."

V. Caste Restrictions

1. On the subject of caste strictures there are many studies. We may refer to Hutton's latest monograph for an excellent exposition. The Hindu law-givers extensively deal with restrictions regarding food and drink intended to apply especially to Brahmans. There are customary rules which restrict acceptance of cooked food from some castes, 'uncooked' food from others, drink from a third group and smoke from a fourth. The Brahman is enjoined to purify himself by

ablution if he happens physically to touch some castes. There are rules prescribing penances for Brahmans who eat food cooked or touched by some castes or drink water from their hands or have more intimate contact with them. The Brahman has to do penance for eating prohibited food or drink and for doing other things prohibited by the Sastras. The law-books likewise prescribe punishments to be meted out to a Sudra, not necessarily an untouchable, when he has the presumption to read or even listen to Brahmanic scriptures, when he does something which only a Brahman is entitled to do, or even when he fails to greet a Brahman with sufficient obsequiousness.

2. In the South there are prescribed distances within which some castes cannot approach a Brahman, a temple, or even a court-house. The sight of some castes is polluting and they may not come out on the public roads during the day-time. In some areas, the lower castes may not put on golden ornaments nor any garment above the waist, the rule extending even to women. Similarly certain castes are not entitled to ride horses or travel in palanquins. There are restrictions even about the language to be spoken by particular castes. Fortunately, these restrictions have never been enforced in Bengal with any strictness.[5]

3. The castes who suffered from special disabilities were called the 'depressed' classes. Many of them were tribal people partially admitted into the Hindu fold. Food and drink[6] touched or in some cases even seen by them had to be thrown away. These castes were not allowed to draw water from public wells and tanks, neither could their children sit in the same room with the children of higher castes. Needless to say, they were not allowed inside temples. In some places, they can cremate their dead or bury them only in special areas. Those among Brahmans who serve the higher castes cannot serve the depressed classes, for that would make them liable to excommunication or degradation. Some depressed castes are served by Brahmans thus degraded, called Varna Brahmans. Other depressed castes are not served by Brahmans at all. Some recruit their priests from their own castes and some employ barbers as priests. Barbers and washermen who serve the higher castes would not serve them although they are not debarred from serving Mahomedans.[7] There are wheels within wheels in these restrictions. Thus, for some castes, the barber will cut the hair, shave the beard, but will not pare the nails.[8] The depressed classes are not necessarily untouchables in the sense that their touch will pollute. Bengal has always been more liberal in caste matters than the South. The rigours of caste restrictions are breaking down speedily but in rural areas lower castes will suffer many disabilities although the so-called 'distance' pollution was never recognised in this State. The restrictions are rapidly giving way everywhere but in some places they are still very irksome. As one writer has put it: "The train began the breakdown of this preposterous system; the bus may complete it."

4. It has been noted before that the term 'depressed' is no longer in favour; instead we have the term 'backward, in the Constitution, defined *via negativa*. We have also 'scheduled' castes which include some of the backward castes but not all. It is impossible to find a suitable definition for the term 'Depressed' that would hold good for the whole of the country or even for a fairly large tract. Indeed the conditions vary from Province to Province and even from district to district.

5. In 1931, the instruction issued by the Census Commissioner was as follows: "I have explained depressed castes as castes, contact with whom entails purification on the part of the high caste Hindus. It is not intended that the terms should have any reference to occupation as such but to those castes which by reason of their traditional position in the Hindu society are denied access to the temples, for instance, or have to use separate wells or are not allowed to sit inside a school house but have to remain outside or which suffer similar disabilities.........". Ultimately, it was decided to confine the term to 'untouchables'. It is not that many 'Depressed Classes' are untouchables in the sense that their touch will pollute the person of everybody. Their touch will no doubt pollute the food or the water for other castes, but so would the touch of any non-Brahman pollute a Brahman's food and water. In the Report for India (*Census, 1931*), however Hutton adopted the term 'Exterior Castes' in place of 'Depressed Classes'.

6. In Bengal, the 'Depressed Classes' were 'Classified' according to the various disabilities they suffered from. The gradation of the castes will show the intricacy of the Hindu social system. For details, *see Census Report for Bengal, 1911* (pp. 229-34).

Thus we have castes which cause pollution by touch; obviously they are not allowed inside Hindu temples, *e.g.*, Bagdi, Bauri, Bhuimali, Chamar, Dhoba, Hari, Muchi, Sunri, Pod; and also Bhuiya, Bhumij, Kora, Mal, Munda, Musahar, Oraon, Saonthal, Tiyar who are of undoubted tribal origin. Then we have castes, whose touch does not pollute but who are denied access to the temples, *e.g.*, Jogi, Kalu, Kamar, Rajbanshi, Shaha, Sonar, Sutradhar. Of them only the Kamar is served by good Brahmans. Those of tribal origin together with Jogis deny Brahman supremacy. Jogis and Vaisnabs bury their dead. The tribals and Bauris, Chamars (Muchis), and Haris are despised primarily because they eat beef. Further details will be found in the Glossary appended to this note.

VI. Caste and Occupation

1. Castes have been classified according to their traditional occupation, by Nesfield, and also in the Census Reports. In 1901, Risley prepared a

table of social precedence and castes were classified according to their status in society[9]. Needless to say this led to a spate of memorials and representations from a number of castes, which claimed higher status than that accorded to them by 'native public opinion' relied on by the Census Superintendents. Some of these claims will be discussed later. We shall here make a bare summary of the principles of the classification.

2. Nesfield's scheme was an occupational ranking of the castes, which obviously was unsatisfactory. According to him, the Bhangi, a member of the 'serving caste' would come above the potters and weavers. Oddly enough Kayasthas and Scavengers are grouped together[10]. But perhaps Nesfield did not intend that his scheme should be interpreted in this way. His classification is as follows:

I. Casteless Tribes.

II. Castes connected with land:

1. Allied to hunting state;
2. Allied to fishing state;
3. Allied to pastoral state;
4. Agricultural;
5. Landlords and warriors.

III. Artisan Castes:

1. Preceding metallurgy, e.g., basket-makers, potters, weavers and oil-pressers;

2. Co-eval with metallurgy, e.g., blacksmiths, goldsmiths, tailors, and confectioners.

IV. Trading Castes.

V. Serving Castes, e.g., scavengers, barbers, dhobis, estate-managers and writers, i.e., Kayasthas.

VI. Priestly Castes.

VII. Religious orders.

3. Risley's scheme is given below: As has been remarked by Gait (*Census Report, Bengal, 1901*, p. 369), the discussion of the relative rank of different castes aroused an extraordinary amount of ill-feeling and jealousy among some castes whose position was in dispute. In 1901, "none of the disputes that arose in connection with caste precedence were so violent or so acrimonious as those regarding the conflicting claims of the Vaidyas and the Kayasthas to rank above the other".

Risley's groups are as follows: (From *Census Report, Bengal, 1901*):

I. Brahmans.

II. Castes other than Brahmans, who rank above Clean Sudras—Vaidyas, Kayasthas, and Ksatris and also Rajputs.

III. Clean Sudras:

Barui, Gandhabanik, Kamar, Kasari, Kumar, Kuri and Madhunapit, Modak, Malakar, Napit, Sadgope, Sankhari, Tamli, Tanti, Tili and Teli. Also Karan, Kastha, and Raju of Midnapur, Khen of Rungpur and Sudra of East Bengal. [By Sudra Risley means 'Golams'.] Agari also probably belongs to this group, as also Sristi Karans of Midnapur. Inclusion of Telis is contested by Tilis.

IV. Clean Castes with degraded Brahmans: (Jalacharaniya):

Chasi Kaibarta, now known as Mahisya, and Goala.

V. Castes lower than group IV whose water is not taken (Jalabyabaharyya):

Sarak of Manbhum, Swarnakar, Sunri, Subarnabanik, and Sutradhar. According to Gait, Baistams and Jugis should also be included though he admits that their position is ambiguous. "Although the village barber will shave them, they will not cut their toe-nails, nor will take part in their marriage ceremonies."

VI. Low Castes who abstain from beef, pork and fowl:

This group includes most of the 'non-Aryan' race castes of Bengal proper. All of these are usually served but not always by the Bengali Dhoba and by degraded Brahmans but only a few of them are shaved by the regular Napit. Namasudras and some others have their own caste barbers. In this group are included Bagdi, Berua, Bhaskar, Chain, Chasa Dhoba, Doai, Dhoba, Ganrar, Hajang, Jalia Kaibarta, Kalu, Kan, Kapali, Kotal, Malo and Jhalo, Mech, Namasudra (Chandal), Palia, Patni, Pod, Puro, Rajbanshi, Koch, Sukli, Tipara, Tiyar, etc.

Lets and Bhollas are included in Bagdis. A group of Pods, Padmarajas as they call themselves, claim a higher position. A group of Rajbanshis are served by Srotriya Brahmans and may be assigned a higher rank. A section of Suklis again are served by good Oriya Brahmans and are said to rank with castes in Group IV.

VII. Unclean Feeders:

These are served neither by Brahman nor by Dhoba nor by Napit, e.g., Bauri, Chamar, Dom, Hari, Bhuinmali, Kaora, Konai, Kora, Lodha, Mal, Muchi, Siyalgir.

VII. Contentions and the Legal Position

1. Naturally this takes us to the discussion of the very delicate question of caste claims. We should remember that most of the caste names are modern and are not to be found in ancient treatises. It is well known that in the Ṛg Veda the name Śūdra occurs only once and in a sūkta considered by most authorities to be comparatively modern. In other Vedas and in the Brāhmaṇas we find all the four traditional castes, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatra, Vis and Śūdra well-established in society. While in early Vedic society, the antithesis was between the Āryas and the Dāsas, who were probably the aboriginal population of the country, in later times the antithesis was between Dwijas (the three higher castes) and the Śūdras. The word Śūdra has not been satisfactorily derived. It is not unlikely that the name was originally that of a tribe (*see* Mahābhārata, Bhīṣma Parva, Ch. 305, etc.).

2. Ptolemy mentions *Συδρος* as a tribe and *Συδρος* as a town. Very early in history, Niṣādas became a part of the society. Presumably both the Śūdra and the Nisāda correspond to the earlier Dāsa (Ghuriye, p. 48). Later writers, however, suggest that the Dāsas were Dravidian-speaking 'Mediterraneans' while the Niṣādas were the Proto-australoid aboriginals [*vide* Chatterjee, J. R. A S. B (Letters), XVI, 1950]. In later Dharma literature, we find mention of Ambaṣṭha, Dhībara, Kaivarta, Karaṇa, Ugra, Gopa, Chaṇḍāla, Jhalla Malla and Nata. Kāyastha in the Yājnavalkya Saṃhitā is not a caste. We have several lists of occupations but there is no evidence that these had crystallised into castes. Karaṇa is a mixed caste in Gautama but clearly the name of a tribe in Manu. Māhiṣyas are mentioned by Gautama but not by Manu. It is only in the very late works like Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa and the present Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa as also in the still later Jātimālā that we find mention of the Bengal castes with their supposed traditional origins and the theory that all such castes are due to crossing among the four original castes and further inter-crossing among their derivatives. As regards the traditional theory, we shall presently quote the views of some Western writers. Since castes in Bengal became self-conscious, to which the recording of castes in the Census contributed a great deal, most of the castes have been trying to show that they are really Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas, or identical with one or other of the castes mentioned in Manu or Yājnavalkya. No one wants to remain a Śūdra, and most claim to be Kṣatriyas. Thus, Vaidyas, Nāpits, Karmakārs, Sūtradhars and Swarṇakārs all claim to be Brāhmaṇas; Aguris, Bāgdis, Jhālo Mālos, Kāyasthas, Kurmis, Māhiṣyas, Nats, Pods, Puṇḍaris, Rājbanshis, Sunris, and even Oraons and Namaśūdras claim to be Kṣatriyas. Many Māhiṣyas, however, claim to be Vaiśyas. Bāruis, Bhuimālis, Dhobās, Kāpālis, Sāhās, and Sānkhāris all claim to be Vaiśyas. Jālia Kaivartas and Pātnis claim to be Māhiṣyas, while Tiyārs and Paliyās claim to be Rājbanshis. Most of these claims were discussed in the *Census Report of Bengal, 1931*, especially in Dutta's valuable appendix to that report. Endeavour will be made later to give the briefest summaries of these claims and to collect together the relevant Śāstric texts. The origins of the various Bengal castes as found in Bṛhaddharma and Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas and the Jātimālā will be found in a tabular statement at the end. We shall also refer to some texts relating to Exterior Castes, whose touch would defile and of castes from whom food and drink would not be acceptable to the Brāhmaṇa.

3. The law courts have had to decide on a few occasions whether a particular caste belongs to the three 'regenerate castes' or is a branch of the Śūdra caste. As regards personal law now administered, there is no distinction made among the three regenerate castes, but there are some differences as to the law applicable to the regenerate castes and the Śūdras. Marriages between two castes is valid if both the castes are Śūdras, that is, if both are subdivisions of the general Śūdra caste. In Bengal the Kāyasthas have been held to be Śūdras[3a] and marriages between a Kāyastha of Bengal and a Dom or Tānti woman was held valid[3] but such marriages would be invalid in Bihar and the Uttar Pradesh where the Kāyasthas are held to be Kṣatriyas[3c]. In earlier texts, the marriage of a man with a woman of lower caste was not prohibited though such marriages were not approved. Later, marriages with Śūdra women only was prohibited. Inter-caste marriage came to be prohibited much later by custom—and some minor Purānic texts only are cited in support by commentators[3d]. In the eye of the law it would seem that mixed castes are not recognised[3e]. Those who are not Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas are deemed to be Śūdras[3]. Whatever be the decisions of the law courts, it would appear to any one conversant with social usage in this State that marriages of Kāyasthas with Doms and Tāntis are so very repugnant to custom that it would have been happier if the decisions had been otherwise. Strictly speaking, there is no Bengali Kṣatriya caste and none who can with strictness claim to be Vaiśyas. In fact, later Sanskrit writers have stated that in the Kali age there are only two castes, the Brāhmaṇa and the Śūdra[3g]. The existence of the fourfold classification is recognised in law [Chauturya *v.* Sahab Purhulud, 7 M.I.A. 18 (42-46)]. In this connection, the observations of Golap Sastri (*Hindu Law,* seventh edition, pp. 76-7) are very apt: "The regenerate classes other than the Brāhmaṇas have almost disappeared by reason of the prevalence of Buddhism for many centuries ......so that in Bengal, if the Brāhmaṇas, a few Rājputs claiming to be Kṣatriyas and a section of the Vaidyas claiming to be a mixed regenerate class, be excepted, the rest of the Hindus who form the majority....and still follow some of the practices prescribed by the Śāstras for Śūdras, are all to be deemed to be Śūdras...."

4. Only a Dwija can enter the order of a Sanyāsin. So a Śūdra, even if he leads the life of an ascetic, would not be an ascetic in the eye of the law, and in the event of his death his estate will pass not to his 'religious' but to his natural heirs. No ceremonies are necessary for validating an adoption amongst Śūdras other than the 'giving and taking' ceremony. Among the Śūdras, even lepers and unchaste women may adopt. A Śūdra may adopt a boy of a different gotra, and may also

adopt a son of his daughter or sister, or mother's sister or the grandson of his sister. An adopted son of a Śūdra on partition of the family property shares equally with a son or sons of the adoptive father born after adoption. In case of regenerate castes, the adopted son would get only one-third of the estate. The illegitimate son of a regenerate caste is entitled only to maintenance, but that of Śūdra by a concubine in the continuous and exclusive keeping of his father is entitled to a share of the inheritance, if he is not the fruit of an adulterous or incestuous intercourse. In the regenerate castes, a man cannot marry a girl of the same gotra and pravara. But this restriction does not apply to Śūdras. Śūdras (and also Vaiṣyas and even Kṣatriyas) have no gotras of their own and they go by the gotras of preceptors or priests of their ancestors. (Ref. *Mitàkṣara*, I. 52, Raghunandana, *Udvàhatatwa*).

Porter (*Census, Bengal, 1931, Report*, p. 26) says: " Apart from the social esteem which it is sought to compel by claiming allocation to one of the regenerate varṇas the advantages from such a description appear to the observer from without to be of doubtful value."

5. Civil courts have no jurisdiction to decide questions relating to caste, unless some right to property or to an office is in dispute. For the purpose of marriage, converts to Hinduism are regarded as Śūdras[4]. There is yet no decision whether they are to be so regarded for adoption also. Tribal people adopting Hinduism are probably to be regarded as Śūdras[5].

6. Next we have to discuss what is a good test of caste. Sarvadhikari, in his *Tagore Law Lectures, 1880* (p. 830), says that the only safe rule to follow, in all cases where the determination of the caste of a person is in question, is to ascertain the customs and usages by which the social conduct of the person given is regulated. Apart from custom, which must be the principal guide in such cases, the courts have also considered (1) the consciousness of the caste and (2) the acceptance of that consciousness by other castes, that is, in simpler words, (1) what the castes think of themselves, and (2) what others think of them[6]. In effect, however, it is what the Brāhmaṇas think or have thought about the caste which is important for, in view of the pre-eminent position of the Brāhmaṇas in the Hindu society, other castes scarcely have any opinion of their own in regard to caste matters of this type independent of the views of their priests. The Brāhmaṇas have had for millenniums a fair monopoly of religious as well as secular learning and the fact that all learning used to be coded in Sanskrit, a language unknown to the masses, gave the Brāhmaṇas a peculiar power to dominate the will of non-Brāhmaṇas and with few exceptions the latter were reduced to a position no better than intellectual serfs of the Brāhmaṇas. The law books, the Purānas and the commentaries are all by Brāhmaṇas and they extolled a caste or degraded it according as it suited the occasion. There are highly fanciful stories in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa to explain how some respectable castes like Swarṇakāras and Sūtradharas became degraded. It is evident that for some reason or other these castes lost the favour of the Brāhmanas and that their degradation is mainly due to Brāhmaṇical fiat. Accordingly the law courts have ultimately based their decisions mainly on the evidence as to observance or otherwise of the social practices approved by the orthodox Śāstras. Thus, in Rajcoomar Lall *v.* Bissessar Dayal (1884), 10 Cal. 688 at page 695, the court applied four tests to determine whether the Kāyasthas are 'twice-born': (1) wearing the sacred thread; (2) ability to perform the homa; (3) the rule as to the period of impurity; and (4) the rule as to the incompetence of illegitimate sons to inheritance[6a].

VIII. Śastric Traditions of Origin and Restrictions

1. The traditional origin of the caste system as given in the Vedas, Brāhmanas, the Epics and the principal Purāṇas has been exhaustively studied by Muir in *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I, and by other scholars. The status of the Brāhmanas and Śūdras in different periods of India's cultural history has also been dealt with very competently by Dutta and Ghurye. We may also refer to Wilson's *Indian Castes*, vol. 1. In what follows we have attempted to give a summary touching only the main points. For details, the authorities mentioned above should be consulted.

2. In the Ṛg Veda, there are many references to Dāsas but none to Śūdras except the solitary mention in the Puruṣa Sūkta (R.V. 10. 90). The word Brāhmaṇa occurs in eight places besides the Puruṣa Sūkta. In these hymns Brāhmaṇa most probably means a descendant of Brahmaṇ (a poet, priest or a ṛṣi) and not a caste. In the Puruṣa Sūkta, a literal translation of the 11th verse of which follows, we get the only reference to the Śūdra and the other three castes together.

The 11th verse of the Sūkta is: "The Brāhmaṇa was his mouth; the arms were made the Kṣatriya; what is Vaiśya were his thighs; from the feet the Śūdra was born." 'Made', probably means 'were imagined to be'.

The hymn is a late composition compared to most of the other hymns of the Ṛg Veda, but, as Ghurye has observed, the fact that the four classes are described as of divine origin although in a later hymn, must be taken as sufficient indication that they were of long duration and very well defined. The text of verses 11-13 of the Sūkta with a free English rendering will be found in the notes.

3. We get the names of many occupational groups in the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas. Some of them crystallised into castes later on. Thus in the Ṛg Veda we find:

Vaptṛ (barber) 10.142.4; vaṣṭṛ (carpenter) 1.161.4, etc.; tvaṣṭṛ (carpenter) 8.102.8; Bhiṣak (physician) 9.112.1, 3; Karmāra (ironsmith?) 10.72.2, 9.112.2; Charmamna (tanner) 8.5.38. Rathakāra and Sūta occur in Atharva Veda. In Yajur Veda, we get the names of a large number of occupational groups. For instance in Tai. Sam. 4.5.42 we get Kṣattṛ

(royal chamberlain), Samgrahitṛ (treasurer), Takṣan (carpenter), Rathakāra (maker of chariots), Kulāla (potter), Punjiṣṭha (fowler), niṣāda, Iṣukṛt (maker of arrows), Dhanuṣkṛt (maker of bows), Mṛgayu (hunter) and Śvanī (leader of packs of hounds). Paulkasa and chāṇḍāla occur in Vāj. Sam. 30.17.21. Ugra in Ṛ.V. 10.97.12 may mean a "powerful chief".

In Tait. Br. some more names occur in connection with the Puruṣamedha sacrifice. (3.4.1 ff): Ayogū Māgadha (bard), Śailuṣa (actor), Rebha, Bhīmala, Maṇikāra. Vapa (barber?), Jyākāra, Rajjusārga, Surākāra (vintner), Ayastapa (heater of iron), Kilava (gambler), Vidalakāra (worker in wickerwork), Kaṇṭakakāra, etc.

In the Dharma Sūtras, the earlier Smṛtis, and the Mahābhārata, we obtain a list of castes supposed to evolve out of marriages or illicit unions between men and women of different castes. Among these are the "primary" mixed castes:

Mūrdhāvasikta, Ambaṣṭha, Ugra, Dāsa, Niṣāda Pāraśava, Sūta, Māgadha, Rathakāra, Karaṇa, Vaideha, Ayogava, Kṣattṛ and Chaṇḍāla.

We also find the names of some now well-known castes such as Nāpita, Kumbhakāra, Māhiṣya, Gopāla, Dhīvara, Charmakāra, etc.

4. A fairly exhaustive list of "primary" mixed castes and of mixed castes supposed to have evolved as a result of crossing and recrossing between these castes has been given in Appendices I and II.

The authorities which deal with Bengal castes are the Bṛhaddharma Purāna, the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, the Uśanas Saṃhitā and the Jātımālā said to be a part of Paraśurāma Saṃhitā. But it must not be supposed that the names of all the castes now to be found are mentioned in these works. Some more names will be found in the Glossary (Appendix III). Many of the castes mentioned in the Sūtras, Saṃhitās and the Purāṇas cannot at present be identified.

5. The version of the evolution of the castes as given in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad 1.4.11-13 hardly agrees with that in the Puruṣa Sūkta. According to the Purāṇas, the Kṣatriya came out of Brahmaṇ's *chest* and not his arms.[2] In some Purāṇas it is stated that the four original castes were introduced in the Tretā age and that mixed castes first evolved in the Dvāpara age. There are also other indications that the caste system was introduced long after the creation of man. Thus in Viṣnu Purāṇa (4.8.1) it is stated that a prince of the Lunar race, Śaunaka, son of Gṛtsamada, became a Brāhmana and introduced the caste system (Chāturbarṇya)[2a]. The introduction of the caste system is attributed to a later prince, Bhargabhumi, in a subsequent section of the same Purāṇa (4.8.9)[2a]. It is obvious that the Vedic account did not appear convincing to later writers. As a matter of fact the Ṛg Vedic account is obviously allegorical and was probably never intended to be taken literally.

6. The origins of the principal mixed castes are given in the Dharma Sūtras. But even these early authorities do not agree among themselves or with the earlier Smṛtis like Manu and Yājñavalkya. Needless to say the Smṛtis do not agree among themselves. It is even thus obvious that the speculations regarding the origin of mixed castes are not based on any tradition. Even a cursory reference to Appendices I and II will convince any one about the worthless nature of these speculations.

7. The caste system is so very peculiar to India that most foreign observers who came to this country violently reacted and recorded their personal impressions about it. Megasthenes found the caste system fully entrenched in the Hindu society. His list of castes includes "inspectors" as a separate group. According to him there were six castes in India: (1) Philosophers, (2) fighting men, (3) traders, artisans and labourers, (4) husbandmen, (5) shepherds and hunters, and (6) inspectors. "Shepherds and hunters" probably correspond to the Niṣādas. The Brāhmaṇas refer to Panchajanas, which, according to one interpretation recorded in Yāska's Nirukta, meant the four traditional classes and the Niṣādas.

8. It is fairly obvious that Śūdras originally included the non-Aryans variously referred to as Dāsas and Niṣādas. Chaṇḍālas were no doubt non-Aryans originally in spite of the fact that later on Chaṇḍālas were given an Aryan ancestry on the paternal side. Pulkasas and Āyogavas were also recruited from the non-Aryans. It is obvious that in the later stages of the Vedic age there was considerable admixture of non-Aryans with the Aryans. According to some modern authorities, Nıṣādas, Śabaras, Pulindas, Bhillas and Kollas, the last four mentioned in later works, were the Proto-Australoids of India after they became modified into the "Primitive Austric-speaking people". According to them the Dāsas or Dasyus were the Mediterraneans who spoke forms of a Primitive Dravidian speech and spread to India from Iran. They were the founders of Harappa and Mahenjo Daro civilisation. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee (Kirāta-Jana-Kṛti, J.R.A.S.B., letter XVI, 1950) thinks that the worship of Śiva and Umā, of Viṣnu and Srī, and Yoga philosophy and practice came from these Dravidian speakers.

9. The caste system was not at all rigid in ancient times. Anybody could become a Brāhmaṇa provided other Brāhmaṇas accepted him as such. There are many legends recorded in the Nirukta, the Purāṇas and the Epics of non-Brāhmaṇas composing Vedic hymns and therefore becoming Brāhmaṇas themselves.[3] Sons of Kṣatriyas could thus become Brāhmaṇas and sons of Vaiśyas could become Kṣatriyas. Even sons of Śūdras and female slaves could become Brāhmaṇas.[3a] One would readily recall to mind the celebrated case of Viśvāmitra.[3b] Some of the famous saints are reputed to have been born of animals: "Vyāsa was born of a Kaivarta woman and Parāśara of a Swapākī mother. Śuka was born of a parrot and Kaṇāda of a she-owl; Ṛśyaśringa was born of a female deer and Vasiṣṭha of a courtesan." So also Māṇḍavya, the king among saints, was born in the womb of a frog. (Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Brahma Khaṇḍa 42).[3c] Prince Vītahavya became a Brāhmaṇa merely

because Bhṛgu to whose hermitage he had fled in fear of Paraśurāma, said to the latter that there was no Kṣatriya in his hermitage (Mahābhārata, Anu. 30).

It is recorded in later Smṛtis that even lower castes like Niṣādas could attain to higher castes by merit and by intermarriage with girls of higher castes for a number of generations. Such elevations must have been very rare. Some texts are quoted in the notes.[4] Similarly marriage with girls of lower castes could lead to degradation into lower castes. For this Jātyutkarṣa theory, *see* Kāne, *History of the Dharma Sastras*, vol. III. In historical times, Kadamba kings, though descended from Brāhmaṇa Mayura-śarman became Kṣatriyas, affixed Varman to their names, and married their daughters to Gupta and other Kṣatriya kings (Kāne, op.cit).

Brāhmaṇas

In the Ṛg Veda, the Brāhmaṇa is a priest pure and simple living on the good graces of princely patrons. While his general tone in the Ṛg Veda is one of begging and persuading, in the Atharva Veda, he has evidently made great progress already and he addresses his social inferiors in a masterful tone from whom he need not even hide the shady side of his character. Here the Brāhmaṇa is a demi-god—at least a kin of the gods. The Atharva Veda abounds in very interesting examples of Brāhmanic pretensions (e.g. 5.18.13). The simple religion in time of the Rg Veda gave place to one in which elaborate sacrifices and complicated rituals predominated. Brāhmaṇas specialised in inventing lengthy liturgical formulae and they alone could remember them. Needless to say this monopoly of religious lore, often meaningless and always verbose, gave the priests a predominant position in society—even superior to that of kings. This position they lost temporarily in the Upaniṣad period. There was a struggle for supremacy between the Kṣatriya kings and Brāhmaṇa priests. Kṣatriyas became philosopher kings and sacrifices gradually lost their importance in the religious life of the people. In the Upaniṣads Kṣatriya kings like Janaka[5] commanded more respect than priestly Brāhmanas. So we read in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (1.4.11=Sata.14.4.1)—there is none superior to the Kṣatras, Kṣatrāt parataraṃ na hi. In the Mahābhārata the two castes, the kingly and the priestly, are asked to live in amity.[5a] Gradually, however, the Brāhmaṇas regained their supremacy as symbolised by the Paraśurāma legend[5b] never to lose it again. The Brāhmaṇas in the next period had consolidated their position as supreme arbiters in social matters. Kṣatriya kings were guided by Brāhmaṇa ministers and Brāhmaṇa counsellors. We even find Brāhmaṇa princes. The Brāhmanas in the Smṛtis lauded themselves skyhigh—claiming to be gods even unto gods.[6] Kings had theoretically no jurisdiction over Brāhmaṇas. The simplest and surest way of acquiring religious merit was to load Brāhmaṇas with wealth. If Brāhmaṇas committed even the most heinous of crimes, they were let off lightly, while if a Śūdra even spoke disrespectfully to a Brāhmaṇa, his tongue was to be cut off.[6a] It became the duty of the kings to see that the Brāhmaṇas had a good share of all worldly wealth—for the world with everything in it really belonged to the Brāhmanas. If you ate sweetmeat alone you committed a sin of which the expiation was some gift to the Brāhmanas.[6b] If you were ill, it showed you had committed some sin even if unknowingly, and so you had to perform a penance[6b], if you did not like going to hell. A penance practically meant extortion of gifts by Brāhmanas. The only privilege the Śūdra had was to surrender himself completely (with his wife and wealth) to a Brāhmaṇa.[7] A Śūdra should not amass wealth for then he may not be sufficiently respectful to the Brāhmaṇa.[7a] If a Śūdra servant acquires wealth all he earns may be appropriated by his Brāhmaṇa master.[7b] This social supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas continued until recent times. One has merely to open the Manu Saṃhitā to find for oneself how dominating the status of the Brāhmaṇa was in society. (For a summary of the Brāhmaṇas' privileges, *see* Kāne, *History of the Dharma Sastras*, vol. II, pt. 1, ch. III.)

Śūdras

The position of the Vaiśya and the Śūdra was correspondingly intolerable. According to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (3.10, 1.10) the Śūdra is not worthy of being talked to. According to Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Śūdra could be killed or expelled at will. The Vaiśya "is to be lived on by others and oppressed at will." Chanḍālas have been untouchables from "time immemorial". The Brāhmaṇa was enjoined not to speak or even set his eyes upon a Chaṇḍāla[8]. But the position of the Śūdra was no better. Āpastamba compares Śūdras to dogs.[8a] So does Āśvalāyana also, and Vasiṣṭha compares them to the cremation ground.[8a] One should have no connection with Śūdras. One may not even read before a Śūdra. One must not travel with him.[8b] His touch would pollute a Brāhmaṇa's food and even his seat.[8b] Non-Aryans were no better than animals. Dark women, possibly Śūdra women, are "like bitches", says Vasiṣṭha—according to one version and "fit only for enjoyment" according to another.[9] Only marriages by force or fraud (Āsura and Paiśācha forms) are enjoined for Śūdras. For them there was practically no justice and the cruellest punishment was awarded to the Śūdra even for petty crimes.[10] His life was of no value. Killing a Śūdra was an offence not more serious than killing a frog.[11] In some Smṛtis, a distinction has been made between a "good" (sat) and a "bad" (asat) Śūdra. "Good" Śūdras were those who served the Brāhmaṇa as slaves!![12] Whether actually purchased or not, a Śūdra must be made to work as a slave, for a Śūdra was created for slavery by Swayambhū, says the great Manu (8.4.3). [For a good discussion regarding disabilities of the Śūdra, *see* Kāne, op, cit.] Whatever he earned automatically belonged to his master.[12a]

The Contact Taboo

Originally only the Chanḍālas were the outcasts, that is, those whose very touch would defile. But later on other castes also came to be considered

outcasts. Different writers give different lists of untouchables. Some of the texts are collected in the notes.[13] A consolidated list would include:

1 Rajaka (washerman or dyer).
2 Charmakāra (cobbler).
3 Dhīvara (fisherman).
4 Kaivarta (fisherman, boatman).
5 Jālopajīvin (fowler).
6 Kṣattṛ
7 Sūta
8 Vaidehaka
9 Māgadha
(6–9: Primary mixed castes (*see* p 47).)
10 Bhaṭa (minstrel).
11 Āyogava (actor).
12 Naṭa (actor).
13 Śailuṣa (actor).
14 Varuṭa or Varuḍa (cane-worker).
15 Veṇujīvana (bamboo-worker).
16 Vainya (bamboo-worker).
17 Mṛgayu (hunter).
18 Vyādha (hunter).
19 Śākunika (fowler).
20 Kolaka (Tribal).
21 Meda (Tribal).
22 Bhilla (Tribal).
23 Saunika (butcher).
24 Chaṇḍāla.
25 Śvapacha (lit. dog-eater).
26 Antyāvasāyin.
27 Rakta-bastra-vikretā (seller of red cloth).
28 Lākṣā-rajaka (lac dyer).
29 Takṣan (carpenter).
30 Dāsa (slave, fisherman).
31 Gavāśana (beef-eater).

One can understand why hunters, fowlers and fishermen were despised or for that matter the washermen and the cobblers. But it is not understood why actors and carpenters were included in the list. Baruda, Dāsa, Chandāla, Kolaka, Meda and Bhilla were probably all non-Aryans. The meaning of Dāsa here is not clear. Puṣkara is perhaps the same as Pulkasa or Pukkaśa. The lexicons make no difference among Pukkaśa, Chaṇḍāla, Śvapacha and Antyāvasayin. Khattṛ, Sūta, Vaidehaka, Māgadha and Bhaṭa are mixed castes following respectable occupations,—Why they should be untouchables is not at all clear. [*See* notes for details. For their occupations, *vide* Appendix I.]

The Marriage Taboo

Inter-caste marriages appear to have been quite common up to about the 12th century. Offspring of inter-caste marriages were, however, considered to be lower in status than those born of parents of the same caste. From very ancient times, however, Pratiloma marriages—those in which the husband is of a lower caste than the wife—were strongly disapproved. Indeed, Chaṇḍālas were supposed to be the issue of a Pratiloma marriage between a Brāhmaṇa mother and a Śūdra father. Vasiṣṭha (1.24-26), Vyāsa (2.11) and Śaṃkha (4.9) prohibit marriage of a Dwija with a Śūdra woman in all circumstances. Gautama would prohibit marriage of Brāhmaṇas with even a Vaiśya woman. Inter-caste marriage was later prohibited by *custom* and is interdicted only by the minor Smṛtis.[14a]

The Food Taboo

It is natural that the Brāhmaṇas should restrict themselves in the matter of food in order to preserve their ceremonial purity. Cooked food prepared by Śūdras is not generally acceptable.[15] Even as regards uncooked food only a few varieties are acceptable. Cooked food from persons following some specified occupations is also prohibited. There are some exceptions however. On the ground of convenience, cooked food was held to be acceptable from some classes of Śūdras. Āpastamba, otherwise very strict about caste matters, allows food cooked by Śūdras if prepared under the supervision of Dwijas.[15a] But there are authorities who would prohibit to the Brāhmaṇa food prepared not only by other castes but by even his own daughter.[16] Later on, the Smṛtikāras became still more orthodox in the matter of food. Food cooked by Śūdras was prohibited without exception. Eating of even uncooked food in the house of a Śūdra was interdicted and one authority allows some kinds of uncooked food from a Śūdra to be eaten outside only on the bank of a river.[17] Some of the texts are collected in the notes. We give below a summary:

A. (1) One may accept from Śūdras:
Āranāla (congee, sort of gruel made from fermentation of rice), Kṣīra (milk), Dadhi (curds), Saktu (barley meal), Snehapakva Anna (rice or other food prepared in oil), Takra (whey, *ghol*), Kanduka (parched or roasted rice), etc. *Atri* 251.

(2) One may accept from even untouchables:
Ārdra māngsa (uncooked meat), Ghṛta (ghee), Taila (oil from sesames), Phalasambhava Sneha (oil obtained from fruits). *Atri, Samkha and Likhita.*

(3) One may purchase from the market:
Apūpa (cake of flour, corresponding to our loaf), Saktu, Dhāna, Takra, Dadhi, Ghṛta, and Madhu (honey). *Laghu As.* 171.

B. Cooked food from the following classes of Śūdras may be accepted:[18]

Dāsa (slave), Gopāla (cowherd), Nāpita (barber), Kulamitra (friend of the family), Ardhasīrin (a sharecropper), and "he who has placed himself completely at the disposal of the master". Yājnavalkya 1·168=Yama 20=Parāśara 11·20.

Other texts would include the potter, the herdsman (Paśupāla) and the agricultural labourer as well (*see* note). According to Haradatta on Gaut. 17.6 and Aparārka on Yāj. 1.168, this exception is made only in the case of very extreme calamities (*see* also *Parāśaramādhava* which holds that the rule is not applicable to Kali age).

C. Classes from whom food may not be accepted:[18a]

Some of these classes are as follows:

(1) Antyaja
(2) Antyāvasāyin
(1–2: *See* notes. These included the outcasts.)

(3) Chikitsaka (Doctor).
(4) Gāyana, Gāndharvika (Singer).
(5) Rangāvatārin (Actor).
(6) Tunnavāya, Sūchaka (Tailor).
(7) Swarṇakāra (Goldsmith).
(8) Karmāra, Karmakāra.
(9) Lauha-vikrayin (Seller of iron).
(10) Śestra-vikrayin (Seller of weapons).
(11) Śauṇḍika, Kratu-vikrayin or Soma-vikrayin (Seller of wine).
(12) Surājīva (Vriter, distiller of wine).
(13) Niṣāda.
(14) Vrātya : See p. 29.
(15) Strījīvana (One who lives on his wife's earnings).
(16) Mṛgajīvana (Hunter).

Since food from the non-Dwija (Agnihīna, fireless, *i.e.*, who are not entitled to sacrifice) is prohibited (Yāj. 1.161), it is clear that some persons of regenerate classes must have followed these occupations.

Acceptance of food from Śūdras entails one Prajāpatya penance. That from antyajas and antyāvasayins entails the Chāndrāyaṇa penance which is more severe. In other cases, one Prajāpatya only is prescribed.[19]

It is interesting to note that Atri includes in the list both Draviḍas and Vangas, as also Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Bāhlikas, Khasas, and Vilātas.

Brāhmaṇas would have remained very hungry, if they refused all sorts of food from non-Brāhmaṇas and so there are important exceptions. Then there is the very convenient rule that even food prepared by the Śūdra becomes sacred havis (ghee) when touched by a Brāhmaṇa !!

IX. The Value of Śastric Traditions

1. Two instances should suffice to show the worthlessness of the literary evidence regarding the origin and status of castes. First let us take the case of Nāpits. According to Parāśara, the Nāpit is the offspring of a Śūdra woman, evidently by a Brāhmaṇa when he is not given Saṃskāra. Otherwise the offspring is a Dāsa. According to Mahābhārata he would be a Pāraśava, and according to Manu, Niṣāda or Pāraśava. According to Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa, a Nāpit is the offspring of a Śūdra woman by a Kṣatriya. According to the same authority, Modaka has the same origin. The offspring of a Kṣatriya by a Śūdra woman would be a Gopāla according to Parāśara and an Ugra according to Mahābhārata and Manu. He would be a Pāraśava according to Vasiṣṭha. According to Uśanas, the Nāpit is an issue of a Brāhmaṇa on a Vaiśya mistress. The same origin is attributed to the Kumbhakāra and the Kāyastha by this authority. The offspring of a Brāhmaṇa by a married Vaiśya woman would be an Ambaṣṭha according to Manu and some other authors.

2. Let us then take up the case of the Swarṇakāra. According to Jātimālā, he is the offspring of a Sthapati by a Śaraka woman. According to Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa, he is the offspring of an Ambaṣṭha by a Vaiśya woman. According to Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, he is the offspring of Viśwakarmā himself on a Gopa maid. This woman was the heavenly prostitute Ghṛtāchī, born as a Gopa maiden. Viśwakarmā was born as a Brāhmaṇ, met the maiden and lived with her for some years without marrying her. The inconsistency is all the more interesting because according to tradition, both the Purāṇas were composed by Vyāsa and Jātimālā is attributed to Paraśurāma himself.

3. We have already referred to the conflicting versions about the origin of the four primary castes. As regards mixed castes the traditional theory is that these evolved out of crossing and inter-crossing between men and women of different castes. A story is given in the Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa that king Vena forcibly effected union of men of different castes with women of other castes and also effected union of offspring of such unions and so the mixed castes came into existence. According to Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, only the irreligious tribes of the Vindhya Hills such as the Tumbaras, Tubaras, and Khasas evolved out of Veṇa's experiments. Matsya Purāna says that only the Mlecchas were created by Veṇa's experiments. According to Viṣṇu Purāṇa only the Niṣādas came into existence in Veṇa's time but there is no reference to forcible unions effected by Vena. Dhīvaras were "created" (?) by the Niṣādas according to Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.

The warlike tribes living on the borders of India were according to Manu (ch. X, 43-44) originally Kṣatriyas who became Śūdras (not Mlecchas) due to non-performance of Vedic saṃskāras and absence of contact with Brāhmaṇas. They are also described as Dasyus. Manu mentions by name Paunḍrakas, Ouḍras (orissans), Drāviḍas, Kambojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Chinas, Kirātas and Khasas. According to Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (33.6) when fifty senior sons of sage Viṣvāmitra refused to accept Śunaḥśepa as their brother, Viṣvāmitra cursed them and so Andhras, Punḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas became Mlecchas who are mostly Dasyus. According to Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Śakas, Yavanas, Pāradas and Pallavas, etc., became Mlecchas on being driven out by king Sagara (4-3-21)[3].

4. We have referred to the Paraśurāma legend in connection with the recovery of social supremacy by the Brāhmaṇas after a temporary eclipse during the Upanishad age at the hands of Kṣatriyas. The story is well known that Paraśurāma destroyed the Kṣatriyas no less than twenty-one times. Evidently the extirpation was not very thorough or else there would have been no Kṣatriyas in the country. Two versions are to be found in the Mahābhārata itself to explain the re-emergence of the Kṣatriyas. According to one version, the widowed Kṣatriya women approached Brāhmaṇas and obtained sons by uniting with them. These sons became Kṣatriyas by the Niyoga rule. The other version records that some Kṣatriyas escaped being killed by Paraśurāma by fleeing to the hills, by living in the garb of women, and by working as Śūdras, masons and goldsmiths. Ultimately at the request of Mother Earth, Paraśurāma spared the Draviḍas, Ābhiras, Punḍras, Śavaras, etc., who, though originally Kṣatriyas, became Vriṣalas, that is Śūdras for want of Brāhmaṇas. In the Sahyādri Khaṇḍa of Skanda Purāṇa we find that a prince was born of king Chandrasena's widow in the hermitage of sage Dālvya and that this prince became the first Kāyastha. This

story was not known to the author of the Mahābhārata, to authors of other Purāṇas, or even to the author of Padma Purāna who also dealt with the ancestry of the Kāyasthas.

5. There is a similar conflict of opinion regarding the status of the mixed castes. According to Śukranīti all mixed castes except Mūrdhāvasiktas were looked upon as Śūdras. Kauṭilya enjoins all mixed castes to take up the occupation of Śūdras. In later times Brāhmana writers hinted that in the Kali age there are only two castes—Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras. According to Viṣṇu a mixed caste has the status of the mother's caste if that is inferior. According to Manu, the status of an offspring of a member of any caste by a wife of the immediately inferior caste would be "like" that of the father's caste but degraded due to the mother's inferior origin. In Mahābhārata two views are recorded. According to one the offspring of a Brāhmaṇa by a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya woman would be a Brāhmaṇa. According to the other, the offspring of a Brāhmaṇa man and a Vaiśya woman would be a Vaiśya.[5]

The Mārkandeya Purāṇa[6] gives an interesting rule. One must first marry a woman of one's own caste. He would be degraded to the caste of his wife if she were of an inferior caste unless his first wife was of his own caste. Thus, Nābhāga married a Vaiśya girl and not already having a Kṣatriya wife, became a Vaiśya and so lost his kingdom. But generally speaking, the theory of mixed castes did not apply to kings and saints. Lakṣmaṇa's mother was a Śūdra princess but his Kṣatriyahood was never disputed. Sons of saints even by slave girls or women of untouchable castes were accepted as Brāhmaṇas by society without any demur.

So we find contradictions at every stage regarding the origin of the caste system, the evolution of mixed castes, the number, names and origin of mixed castes, the status of individual mixed castes, that is, in every matter concerning castes. The "value" of the Śāstric tradition, one is constrained to admit, is *nil*.

X. Authorities regarding Castes in Bengal

For Bengal castes, the authorities are the Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa and the current version of the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa. Besides these there is the Jātimālā, said to be a part of the Paraśūrāma Saṃhitā. As may be expected the speculations recorded in these authorities regarding the origin of the mixed castes are as fanciful as they are absurd.[1] The authorities do not agree with one another. In the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa absurd stories are given how some of the castes became *patit*. Lists are given of castes which are *patit* but may have degraded Brāhmaṇas as priests and of castes which are not so privileged. In Bengal we are given a new classification of the Śūdras. The Satśūdras[1] according to the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa are Gopa, Nāpita, Teela, Modaka, Kuvara, Tāmbuli, and the traders. In a later passage the Karaṇa is also included. It seems that the Kāyasthas are described here as Karaṇas. In Ballālacharita, 2.21, Tailika (Teli), Gandhika (Gandhabanik), Vaidya and Kāyastha are described as Satśūdras, the Kāyastha being the best among them Among the Śūdras, we have another group the Navaśāyakas[2] or Nava-śāks, peculiar to Bengal. According to the Parāśarapaddhati,[3] quoted in Śabdakalpadruma, the list includes Gopa, Māli, Taili, Tantri (Tanti), Modak, Bārui, Kumār or Kumbhakāra, Karmakāra and Nāpit. The list in Ballālacharita includes Gopa, Māli, Tāmuli, Kānsari, Tānti, Śānkhāri, Kumār, Karmakāra and Nāpit. According to Bṛhaddharma Purāna, the corresponding group has been defined as Uttama Sankara.[3] The list comprises Karana, Ambaṣṭha, Gandhabanik, Kānsāri, Śānkhāri, Ugra (Āguri ?) Rājput, Kumār, Tānti, Karmakār, Dāsa (?), Magadha, Gopa, Nāpit, Modak, Bārui, Sūta, Mālākāra (Māli), Tāmuli and Taulika These are entitled to have Śrotriya Brāhmanas as priests and are considered Jalācharaṇīya, that is, water from them would be accepted by Brāhmaṇas. According to the same Purāna, the following castes are Madhyama Sankara served by non-Śrotriya Brāhmaṇas:

> Takṣan (carpenter), Rajaka (washerman), Swarnakāra (goldsmith), Swarṇabaṇik, Ābhira, Tailakāraka (teli, oilpresser), Dhīvara (fisherman), Saundika (Sunri), Naṭa, Savak (?), Śekhara (?) and Jālika (fisherman ?).

The untouchables include Malegrahi (scavenger), Kurava, Chandāla, Baruḍa, Charmakāra (chāmār), Ghaṭṭajīvin (Pātni, ferryman), Dolābāhī (palanquin-bearer, Duley ?) and Malla. Brahmavaivarta Purāna gives a list of *patita* (not necessarily untouchable) castes. Some of these are of aboriginal origin and some are unknown. Rājaputra (Rajput), Āgari and Kaivarta as also Vaidyas are probably not meant to be *patitas*. Thus, we have, Sūtradhara (carpenter), Chitrakara (painter), Swarnakāra (goldsmith), Tailakāra (oilpresser), Tīvara (Tiyar ?), Let, Malla, Bhalla (Bhil ?), Mataba, Bhara, Kola, Kalandara, Chandāla, Charmakāra, Koncha (Koch), Kartāra, Haḍḍi (Haḍi), Dama (Dom), Gangāputra, Jungi (Jugi ?), Sundi (Sunri), Paundraka (Puro), Dhīvara (fisherman), Rajaka (washerman), Kouāli, Sarvaswī, Vyādha (hunter), Kūdara, Bāgatīta (Bagdi), Jolā, Śarak and lastly Mlecchas, serpent-catchers and others. This Purāṇā also mentions the Agradānī Brāhmanas, Bhāts, Mālākāras, Karmakāras, Śankhakāras, Kuvindas (weavers), Kumbhakāras and Kansakāras, Aṭṭālikākāras and Koṭakas.

Lastly we come to the Jātimālā. Here also we come across names at present not known. We had no access to any copy of Paraśurāmasaṃhitā, and the copy of Jātimālā used is a very inaccurate one.

Apart from Karaṇa, Vaidehika, Māhiṣya, Magadha, etc., which are mentioned in older works, we have the following list. In every case a fanciful origin is given :

Khanda=Khandait (?)
Rājaputra=Rajput
Gandhika=Gandhabanik
Śankhika=Śankhakāra
Tāmrakuṭṭa=Coppersmith (?)
Maṇikāra=Jeweller
Maṇibandha (?)
Tantrabaya=Tānti
Gopa
Sadgopa

Kṛṣirajaka=Chāṣādhopā
Bārajībī=Bārui
Tailaka=Teli
Karmakāra
Mālākāra
Paṭṭikāra=Maker of mats, or rings for wells.
Kumbhakāra
Kuberi (?)
Nāpita

Saraka
Kaliputra (?)
Paṭṭakāra=Maker of bands in architecture (?)
Sthapati=Mason
Chitrakara=Painter (cf. Patuā)
Pratimāgathaka=Bhāskar
Sutradhara
Swarnakāra
Śundika=Śunri
Rajaka=Strictly "dyer"
Nata
Baruḍa
Śringakāra (?)=Workers in horns or trumpet-makers (?)
Gaṇigrāmika (?)
Bhumimālī
Pūndaka=Puro (?)
Bardhakāra (?)
Angakāra (?)
Kāchakara=Maker of glass (?)
Chākrika=Oilpresser, Kumbhakāra or wheel-wright (?)
Gangāputra
Puṇḍajibī (?)
Gandakāra (?)
Bādyapura-Bādyakara (?)
Bhada (?)
Barāhaka (?)
Churnakāra=Grinder
Jadara (?)
Tīvara=Tiyar
Kāpāli
Charmakāra
Kuvacha (?)
Savara
Pulinda
Meruvinda (?)
Śunda (?)
Malla
Baka (?)
Kundakāra=Turner or latheman (?)
Karnikāra=Plasterer (?)
Bhokhala (?)
Mritapa
Dolābāhaka=Duley
Bāgatīta=Bāgdi
Kāna (?)
Nikāri=Seller of fish (?)
Kartāra (?)
Makka (?)

The fanciful origins of these castes will be found in the Appendix. It will be seen that the writers do not follow any immutable tradition but record stories based purely on the imagination. The two Purāṇas do not agree with each other or with other Purāṇas. They do not agree in some cases with Manu and other Smṛti texts and Dharma Sūtras. The Dharma Sūtras and Smṛtis also do not agree with each other. The texts do not agree on the status of even the more well-known mixed castes. In these circumstances,[4] it will be obvious to any one that caste claims based on the Śāstras are based on foundations so weak that these can only be dismissed as mere pretensions.

XI. Odds and Ends

1. Manu's Institutes as well as the Dharma Sūtras are strictly meant for people living in the Āryāvarta. Countries beyond the limits of Āryāvarta were considered impure and Brāhmaṇas who returned from outside Āryāvarta had to undergo a purification ceremony—they had to be "initiated" again. In effect Brāhmaṇas lost their caste by travelling to countries beyond the limits of Āryāvarta (2.22).

Manu has defined Āryāvarta as the country between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas up to the sea both in the East and the West. This did not include Magadha, Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Saurāṣtra, Suvīra, Sindhu and Southern India.

He has also referred to Brahmāvarta (2.17) which was the narrow tract between the rivers Sarasvatī (now non-existent) and Dṛṣadvatī ; to Brahmarṣideśa (2.19) comprising Kurukṣetra, Matsya, Panchāla and Śurasena ; to Madhyadeśa (2.2) which comprised that portion of Āryāvarta which lay between Vinaśana to the west and Prayāga to the east, and finally to Yajñia Deśa (2.23) the country where the black antelope roams at will. Beyond this Yajñia Deśa live the Mlecchas. Manu's Yajñia Deśa is Brahmavarchasam according to others (cf. *Vasistha,* 1.12). According to other Smṛtikāras, this is the country where people follow "vedic" ways of life (cf. *Vyāsa,* 1.3). Baudhāyāna's Āryāvarta (1.1.27-28), corresponds to Manu's Madhyadeśa. Vasiṣṭha's Āryāvarta is either the doab between the Gangā and the Yamunā or that part of Manu's Madhyadeśa which lies between Kurukṣetra and Prayāga. Binaśana is the place where river Śarasvatī disappeared (vide Mahābhārata, Vana, 82·111, 130-3-5 and Śalya, 37-1-2). Patañjali has defined Āryāvarta practically as Vasiṣṭha's second definition (Mahābhāṣya on Pānini 2.4.10 and 6.3.109). It is clear that our province is definitely outside Āryāvarta. According to old law-givers, custom rather than vedic law would prevail here.

2. The despised countries[2] are according to Baudhāyana 1.1.31-32, (*i*) Avanti, Anga, Magadha, Surāṣtra, Upāvṛt, Sindhu, Suvīra and Dakṣiṇāpatha. Inhabitants of these countries are of mixed descent (Samkīrṇayoni), (*ii*) Āraṭṭaka Kāraskara, Puṇḍra, Suvīra, Vanga, Kalinga and Prāṇuna. One going to these lands has to offer sacrifies on return. Devala (4.16) adds Triśanku, Dvādaśayojana (between Mahānadi and Kīkata), Konkaṇa and the border lands (Pratyanta). In a verse quoted by Vīramitrodaya, one should shun Brāhmaṇas of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Magadha, Draviḍa, Dakṣināpatha, Ābhīra, Konkana, Gurjara and Surāṣtra. Prayāṣchittaviveka adds Oḍra (Orissa), Savana and Bhumilaya to the list of despised countries (nindita deśā). We have stated before that according to the some authorities food from Draviḍas and Vangas is not acceptable. According to legend, Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Puṇḍra and Suhma were princes begotten by sage Dirghatamas on Sudeṣṇā, queen of king Vali (Mahābhārata Ādi, 104, Viṣṇu, 4.18.1, Matsya, 48, etc.). Bharata in his Nāṭyaśastra (Ch. 21) states that people of Vanga, Dākṣinātya, Kāsi Kosala, Panchāla, Sūrasena, Anga, Kalinga, Magadha, Oḍra, as akso Kirātas, Barbaras, Andhras, Draviḍas, Pulindas, and Mahiṣas are dark (Śyāma). He directed that Vaiśyas and Śūdras should be dark-coloured on the stage.

3. We shall conclude this section with some observations on Vrātyas and their re-initiation.

It is enjoined that the Upanayana ceremony, at which the three regenerate classes take the sacred thread, must be performed before the expiry of the fifteenth year for the Brāhmaṇas, the twenty-first year for the Kṣattriyas and twenty-third year for the Vaiśyas. In default they would become *patita* and designated Vrātyas.[3] Vrātyas may have "Upanayana" only on performing the onerous *Vratyaṣṭoma* sacrifice. Vasiṣṭha (11.76-79) and the Matsya Sūkta (*see Śabdakalpadruma*) prescribe the much easier *Uddālaka* penance. Manu (11.191) and Viṣṇu (54.26) recommend the even lighter *Prājāpatya.* Matsya Sūkta says that there may be initiation if the penance is performed within fifteen years of default. If the default is due to revolution, etc., a very light penance, the *Chāndrāyana* is prescribed.[4]

Pāraskara (*Gṛhyasūtra,* 2.5) seems to limit these rules for default up to three generations. Āpaṣṭamba (1.1.1.28) prescribes in these cases one year's studenthood (Brahmacharya) for each generation of default

together with some other observances. In default of four generations, there is the severe prescription of twelve years' studenthood.[5] There should be in theory some time-limit as otherwise there would be nothing to prevent Yavanas, Khasas, or Pāradas becoming Kṣatriyas by taking the sacred thread on performance of the penance. But Smārta Śāstrins are very resourceful. There is a tradition that the famous Gāgābhaṭṭa of Banaras invested Sivāji with the sacred thread on payment of a fee of three lakhs of rupees (*vide* Maharaja of Kolhapur's case, 48 Madras, p. 1). Modern Śāstrins are much less exacting. The Kāyasthas of Bengal claim to be Kṣatriyas but for untold generations they have had no initiations. They obtained vyāvasthās from Pundits of Banaras on several occasions, in 1872, 1901, 1904, and 1920. It has been held by them that Āpaṣṭamba and others laid down rules only for the Satya Yuga (Kṛta Yuga). In Kali age a gift of one hundred cows was held in 1904 to be a sufficient substitute for the onerous penances prescribed. In 1920, the Pundits climbed further down to only fourteen milch cows as the Anukalpa (substitute) and to make Upanayana popular the price of a cow was fixed at only eighty cowries !! One Pundit, Rāmamiśra Śāstrī, was even more practical. He directed that the rich should pay as fees to the Brāhmanas Rs. 360 and the poor only Rs. 5-10 annas. Those who could not afford to pay even this small amount should be let off if they paid the price of only three hundred and sixty cowries !! There are also some who hold that a dip in the holy Gangā is enough—one need not pay anything whatsoever !! Thus at the hands of modern interpreters, the ancient smṛtis have been given a decent burial, or rather drowning.

PART II

1. CASTE CLAIMS

Abbreviations

[Mbh.	=Mahābhārata.
T C B	=Risley's Tribes and Castes of Bengal.
B D	=Bṛhad-Dharma-Purāṇa.
B V	=Brahma-Vaivarta-Purāna.
J M	=Jātimālā.
Yāj	=Yājñavalkya.
Gaut	=Gautama.
Baudh	=Baudhāyana.
Vas	=Vaśiṣṭha.]

In a previous section we have briefly touched upon the claims of individual castes to be considered Brāhmanas, Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas.

It is usual for castes claiming to be one of the regenerate classes to back up their claims by quotations from " authorities ", usually some late Purāṇa, never accepted as such by others, or from some works which bear respectable names but were never published. Sometimes texts are cited from known authorities but out of their context.

We have already had occasion to point out the contradictions in the Smṛtis. The Purāṇas so far as caste matters are concerned are equally confusing, all the more remarkable, as all Purāṇas are supposed to have been written by the great Vyāsa himself. Though among Smṛtis Manu and Yājnavalkya are the most authoritative in theory, it is the " nibandhas" which hold the field in different regions of our vast country. In Bengal, Raghunandana's works held the field for centuries.

Many of the castes now found came to be recognised as such only comparatively recently—apparently by the crystallisation of occupation groups into exclusive social units. Most of the Bengal castes were not probably known in the Tenth Century A. D. for these are not mentioned in standard authorities attributed to that age.

If a caste does not for centuries follow customs appropriate to the regenerate castes, and if there is no recorded tradition going back to ancient times that it originally belonged to one of the three regenerate castes its mere assertions, however vociferous and insistent, would not obviously make it regenerate. A Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya must wear the sacred thread. It is difficult to hold that castes, which have not worn the sacred thread for centuries nor possess records that they ever did so, can reasonably claim to be regenerate. So according to this test, the claims of all the castes who aspire to belong to one of the three regenerate castes have to be summarily rejected except perhaps for a few families of Vaidyas of West Bengal (*cf.* Rajcoomer *v.* Bessessur Dayal, 10 Cal. 688). According to Iswarīprasād's case (A. I. R. 1927 Patna 145=6 Patna 506), it would appear however that if a caste is described in the śastras consistently as belonging to one of the three regenerate classes, then it must be held to be such despite any lapse from orthodox observances like wearing the sacred thread. On this test also the claims of all castes to be considered regenerate would fail except *perhaps* the claim of Kāyasthas to be deemed Kṣatriyas.

Caste claims have been very ably considered by Porter in *Census Report, Bengal, 1931*, Ch. XII and Dr. N. K. Datta in his valuable contribution incorporated in the same report as an Appendix. The subject is very delicate and a reference to the views of the " authorities " alone, ancient and modern, is what will be attempted in the following sections, with only the briefest comments.

2. NAMAŚUDRA, BĀGDI, BHUINMĀLĪ, DHOBĀ, KĀPĀLI

Namaśūdras of Khulna and Mymensingh claimed in 1931 to be Namabrāhmaṇas or simply Brāhmanas. There is certainly a grim humour in an " untouchable " caste claiming to be Brāhmaṇa however absurd the claim might be. We quote below Risley and Datta without comment.

Risley (*T. C. B.*, II. 184) observes: "The Chaṇḍāls of Bengal invariably call themselves Namaśūdras and with characteristic jealousy the higher divisions of the caste apply the name Chaṇḍāl to the lower who in their term pass it on to the Dom."

Datta says (p. 528): " As regards the claims of Namaśūdras that they had formerly been Brāhmaṇas who were degraded because they stuck to Buddhism longer than other castes and who were given the name of Śūdras by jealous Kāyasthas, they are not supported by history, tradition or anthropometry........it may well be assumed that they like the Kaivartas, the Pods and the Bāgdis are the descendants of the natives of Bengal who were gradually aryanised but whose tribal organisation could not be broken up."

Bāgdi

They claim to be Byāgra Kṣatriyas, " without very great conviction " (*Census Report, Bengal, 1931*, p. 456). According to Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa, Bāgatīta is the offspring of a Kṣatriya father and Vaiśya mother.

Bhuinmālī

Bhuinmālīs claim to be Vaiśyas. They also claim to be descended from Mallas of Mallabhum and of the same extraction as mālākāras. Lālmohan Vidyānidhi is of the opinion that the Bhuinmāli is the offspring of a Punro father on a Nāpit mother; Risley thinks it

probable that Bhuinmālis are " really Hāris disguised under a high-sounding name...........and generally considered to be the remnant of an aboriginal tribe which embraced Hinduism and accepted a service position". "Although most anxious to represent themselves as Śūdras, they are obliged to live on the outskirt of the village apart from the Hindus...........until the last twenty years they...........would eat in a Chaṇḍāl's house." (*T. C. B. I.*, 107, 1891).

Dhobā

Rajaka strictly means a dyer but later came to mean a washerman (Nirnejaka). In a text of Hārita, quoted by Aparārka, *both* Rajakas and Nirnejakas are untouchables. Dhobās previously claimed to be Śukla Vaidyas. Later they claimed to be Vaiśyas. The Rajaka is the offspring of a Dhīvara (fisherman) and a Tivara (Tiyar) woman (*Br. Vaiv. P.*), or of a Karaṇa man and a Vaiśya woman (*Br. Dharma* P.). He is an outcaste or untouchable according to most authorities. He is served by a degraded Brāhmana according to Bṛhad Dharma Purāṇa but his food is taboo according to Yājnavalkya.

Kāpāli

Kāpālis claim to be Vaiśyas. According to Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa they are born of a Dhīvara (fisherman) and washerwoman. According to Jātimālā, the father is a Tīvara (Tiyar) and the mother a Brāhmaṇa woman.

3. MĀHISYA, DĀSA, KAIVARTA, DHĪVARA, JHĀLO, MĀLO AND PĀTNĪ

Jhālo and Mālo

They disclaim all relationship with Kaivartas (Jāliās) and Pātnis and claim to be Kṣatriyas originally of Jhālāwar in Rājputanā and Mallagarh. Their claim is recent. Mallagarh is said to be a village in district Bulandsahar (Uttar Pradesh). Jhāllas and Mallas in *Manu*, 10.22, are allied to or identical with Khasas Nicchivis, etc.

Risley thinks that Jhālos and Mālos are " Dravidians ", which means nothing more than that that are " aboriginals ". " The actual existence of Kṣatriya classes in these two localities (Jhālāwar and Mallagarh) in Rājputanā has evidently suggested the claim but no evidence whatever is adduced that the actual Jhālos and Mālos of Bengal had any historical connection with these regions" (Porter). It is difficult to believe that warriors from Rājputanā should emigrate to Bengal and turn fishermen.

In Mahābhārata, Sabhā, 4.7, Mallas are described as वाहुयोधिनः (wrestlers) while Jhāllas are लकुडयोधिनः that is club-men, fighters with sticks or clubs.

Pātni

Pātnis who have taken to agriculture modestly claimed to be Kaivarta Māhiṣyas in 1910 and the claim was supported by pundits like Kāmākṣhyā Nātha Tarkavāgiśa, Pramathanātha Tarkabhūṣaṇa and Rājendranātha Vidyābhūṣaṇa. They will have nothing to do with Ghāt Pātnis or ferrymen. In 1931, the Pātnis claimed to be Hālik Kaivartas, Hālik Māhiṣyas or Lupta Māhiṣyas and in 1940 Ādi Māhiṣyas. Māhiṣyas vehemently protested against the adoption of Māhiṣya as a caste-name by Pātnis who according to them are no better than Doms. Pātnis derive their name from " paṭṭa nāyakas " (captains of army) who were reduced to Hālik Kaivartas by a fiat of king Vallāla Sena (!). Ferrymen, Ghaṭṭajīvīns are born of washerman father and Vaiśya mother according to Bṛhad Dharma Purāṇa. They are antyajas according to the same authority.

Kaivarta, Jāliā, Dāsa, Dhīvara, Māhiṣya

Jāliās were long recorded as Kaivartas. In 1901 agriculturist Kaivartas were returned as Māhiṣyas. In 1921 the agriculturist Kaivartas were returned as Chāṣī Kaivartas or Māhiṣyas while the Jāliās were returned as Ādi (or original) Kaivartas. In 1931 the dichotomy was dropped and agriculturist Kaivartas were returned as simply Māhiṣyas and the fishermen as Ādi or Jāliā Kaivartas. Māhiṣyas now claim to be pure Ksatriyas or in the alternative Māhiṣyas of Gautama and Yājñavalkya, that is, sons of Kṣatriyas born of Vaiśya women. They now disclaim all connection with Jāliā Kaivartas or Pātnis. They also claim to be descendants of king Yuyutsu who reigned in Śrāvastī in the classical age. The Jāliā Kaivartas want to be described as Māhiṣyas, Kṣatra Kaivartas or Ādi Kaivartas.

According to Dr. Datta (*Census Report, Bengal, 1931*, pp. 533-35), Māhiṣyas are pure and simple Kaivartas who took to agriculture[1]. Kaivarta, Dāsa (Dāśa) and Dhīvara are synonymous. According to Manu, 10·34[2], they are the same as Mārgava born of a Niṣāda and an Āyogava woman and the profession of the caste was plying of boats which now is the profession of only the Pātnis. Dāsa is " antyaja " according to Vyāsa. Kaivarta is an untouchable according to Yama, Atri, etc.

Dhīvara is mentioned by Atri as an untouchable. In Taittirīya Brāhmana, 3.4.12, Dāsa, Dhīvara and Kaivarta are separately mentioned but how they were distinguished is not known.

According to Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa, Kaivarta is born of a Kṣatriya father and Vaiśya mother. He became *patit* in Kali age because of association with fishermen (Tīvara). This would identify all Kaivartas with Māhiṣyas of Yājñavalkya and Gautama. Opponents of the Māhiṣya movement point out that the lines do not occur in trustworthy manuscripts of the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa.

Different origins are given in Śāstras for Dhīvara and Dāsa though they are identical according to Manu and the lexicons. Thus we have[3] :

		Father	Mother	Authority
Dāsa	1.	Niṣāda	Āyogava	Manu.
	2.	Śūdra	Kṣatriya	Bṛhad Dharma Pūrāṇa.
	3.	Kṣatriya	Vaiśya	Bhagavata = Māhiṣya of Gautama and Yājñavalka, Com. 10·5·14.
	4.	Brāhmaṇa	Śūdra	Parāśara.
	5.	Niṣāda	Māgadha	Mahābhārata.

	Father	Mother	Authority
Dhivara	1 Gopa	Śūdra	Bṛhad Dharma Pūrāṇa.
	2. Vaiśya	Ksatriya	Gautama (1) =Magadha of Manu. (2) =Vrindi, Rāmaka or Sairindhra of Mahābhārata. (3) =Pukvasa of Visnu and Vaśistha.

It appears that Kaivartas very early split into three groups, the agricultural Kaivartas, who have identified themselves with Māhiṣyas, the Dhīvaras or fishermen who are untouchables, and the Ferrymen who correspond to Ghaṭṭajīvīns and Pātnīs. All modern authorities are agreed that the three groups have the same ethnic origin.

As to whether the Hālika or Chāṣī Kaivartas now calling themselves Māhiṣyas are the same as Māhiṣyas of Yājñavalkya (1.92) or Gautama (4.17), we must say that the matter still remains inconclusive. According to these authorities the Māhiṣya is an offspring of a Kṣatriya man and a Vaiśya woman. The Māhiṣya is identical in origin with Ambaṣṭha according to Sūta Saṃhitā. According to Sahyādrikhaṇḍa 26 ·45-46 of the Skanda Purāna, a Māhiṣya's avocation is not agriculture but "astrology, augury and prognostications." Bengal Māhiṣyas cannot thus be identified with the Māhiṣyas of the Skanda Purāṇa. According to Kulluka on Manu 10.6, the traditional profession of the Māhiṣyas are "singing, dancing, star-reading and protection of crops." It is thus doubtful whether the present Māhiṣya caste can be safely identified with Kulluka's Māhiṣyas. The Brahmavaivarta Purāna indirectly identifies Kaivartas with ancient Māhiṣyas but also gives the same origin for Hālika and Jālika Kaivartas.

Chāṣī Kaivartas have persuaded pundits from 1864 onwards to admit their claim that they are identical with the ancient Māhiṣyas. They obtained Vyāvasthā Patras from the foremost pundits of Bengal and among the signatories are Sitikanṭha Vāchaspati, Sivanātha Vāchaspati and Ajitanātha Nyāyaratna.

4. POD, PUNDARĪKA, PADMARĀJA, PUNRO, PAUṆḌRA OR PUṆḌARĪ

Pods of Bengal are all along included in the list of "Depressed" and "Scheduled" castes. They are considered to be remnants of an aboriginal tribe of the Ganges Delta. Gait thinks that there is reason to believe that Chaṇḍāls (Namaśūdras) and Pods belong to the same stock. Pods now call themselves Padmarājas or Pauṇḍra Kṣatriyas.

Punros (Puṇḍaris or Puṇḍarikas) are of a higher status and would of course have nothing to do with Pods. Punro scholars hold that Punros are descended from Pauṇḍras or Puṇḍras while Pods may have descended from Pauṇḍrakas, an altogether different tribe (?).

Risley and Gait, however, consider both to be of the same origin. Both Pods and Punros claim to be Kṣatriyas and Gait remarks: "their claim to Kṣatriya rank probably arises from a faint remembrance of the days when they were the ruling tribe in that part of the country," *i.e.*, North Bengal.

According to Brahma Vaivarta Purāna, Pauṇḍras are descended from a Vaiśya father and a Śauṇḍika (Śunri) mother.

Puṇḍra was the name of a prince of the Lunar dynasty—son of Bali and brother of Anga, Vanga, Suhma, and Kalinga[4]. Puṇḍra is also the name of a tribe and the name of a country. Pauṇḍras are inhabitants of Puṇḍra and may not be identical with Puṇḍras. Pauṇḍrakas are distinguished from Puṇḍras in Mahābhārata, Sabhā 52.16.

A Puṇḍra tribe is mentioned in Viṣṇu Purāṇa 2.3.15 along with Kalingas and South Indians. One Vāsudeva was their king (Hari 160, Matsya 46·27. Mahābhārata, Sabhā 30.22). Then again Puṇḍra was a son of Viśvāmitra who became a Dasyu with his brothers (Ait. Br. 33.6., Mahābhārata, Sānti 65.15). He became a Mlecchha (not a Dasyu) according to (Mahābhārata Ādi. 167, Bhāgavata 9.20, Mahābhārata Drona 93.44). We also find that Pauṇḍras were born with Śakas, Draviḍas, Chīnas and Khasas out of Nandinī's flanks (Mahābhārata Ādi 175.37). Nandinī was Vaśiṣṭha's sacred cow. Puṇḍras, Ābhīras, Śabaras, Draviḍas fled out of fear of Paraśurāma to the hills and became Śūdras (Vṛṣalas). [Mahābhārata Aśva 29.15.16, Anu. 35.17.18]. We have already noted that according to Manu 10.34 Pauṇḍrakas, Dravidas, Śakas, Yavanas, Chīnas, etc., were originally Kṣatriyas who later became Śūdras.

So in the classics, Puṇḍras and Pauṇḍras are not always distinguished. It may be that Puṇḍras and Pauṇḍras were the same—or it may also be that they were different.

How far the present Pods or Punros represent the ancient Puṇḍras or Pauṇḍras, well-known Kṣatriya tribes, will always remain a matter of opinion.

5. TILI AND TELI

While Tilis are "respectable" Śūdras belonging to the Navaśāyaka group, Telis are not so. Telis are "madhyama-Saṃkara" according to Bṛhad Dharma Purāna and are not served by Śrotrīya brāhmans. Tilis are traders while Telis are actual oil-pressers. Tilis themselves derive their name from Tulā, balance, whence Taulika. In Bṛhad Dharma Purāna, Brahma Vaivarta Purāna and some of the Smṛtis we get Tailika, or Tailakāraka sometimes distinguished from Chākrika, as by Śamkha and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka. "Taulika" occurs in Dhananjoy's Jātimālā[4] but the term includes Tailika as also the trader classes such as Gandhika, Kansakāra, Maṇibaṇik, Svarṇakāra and Svarṇabaṇik. The traditional origin of the caste is as follows:

		Father	Mother	Authority
Tailakāra	..	Gopa	Vaiśya	BDP.
Tailika / Tāmuli	..	Vaiśya	Brāhmaṇa	BDP.
Tailika	..	Bārujīvin	Gopa	Jātimālā.

Tamulis are betelnut-sellers. Tilis associate themselves with Tamulis and would read Ṭelika for Tailika in these verses.

Dr. Datta in his illuminating note (*Census Report, Bengal, 1931, Appendix*) holds that both the castes were originally oil-pressers and that some took to trade in betelnuts and gradually formed an altogether different caste. This process of fission was quite common. We may compare the case of Madhunāpits and Nāpits, Chāṣādhobās and Dhobā, Chāṣi Kaivartas and Kaivartas, and of Sadgopas and Gopas. Risley considered Tilis to be a higher sub-caste of Telis who had abandoned the oil trade. This was also Dr. Wise's view. "Originally it is said there were no divisions and all oilmen belonged to one caste, but in course of time as wealth accumulated in their hands, the richer families, ashamed of their hereditary occupation, have adopted a new name to conceal their parentage ....some again go to the length of saying that Tili is a caste wholly distinct from Teli, but I doubt whether the process of separation has yet gone so far as this". [Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal, II-30F.C.*]

6. SĀHĀ, SUNRI

On these two castes also, we refer to Dr. Datta's illuminating note in the *Census Report, Bengal, 1931.* Sāhās are traders while the Śunris are traditionally distillers and sellers of wine. None are served by good Brāhmaṇas. Śunris belong to the "depressed" and "scheduled" lists. They are served by barbers and washermen of their own castes.

The Bṛhad Dharma Purāna gives the Śunri the same origin as the fisherman. Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa gives a second version while the Jātimālā gives a third one.

	Father	Mother	Authority
Saundika ..	Gopa	Śūdra	Bṛhad Dharma Purāṇa, same as Dhīvara.
	Vaiśya	Tīvara	Brahma Vaivarta Purāna.
	Kaivarta	Gandhika	Jātimālā and Parāśa-rapaddhati.

The origin of the Sāhās is obscure. Risley thinks that Sāhās were originally Śunris but that having adopted mercantile pursuits they disown all connection with Śunris. The name Sāhā (or Sādhu) is not found even in recent works like the Bṛhad Dharma Purāṇa. Some Sāhās may have been originally Śunris. Dr. Datta thinks that some may have originated from Gandhabaṇiks. It is not unlikely in the opinion of the same authority that some Sāhā families are up-country Vaiśyas who migrated to Bengal. He also suggests that some may even be descended from Jainas and this may account for their degraded status.

7. THE ARTISAN CASTES

Karmakāra, Samkhakāra Kumbhakāra, Tantubāya, Mālākāra, Sutradhara (Taksan), Svarṇakāra (Svarṇabaṇik), Kangsakāra, Chitrakara

The Mālākāra, the Karmakāra and the Kumbhakāra belong to the Nabaśāyaka group as well as the Samkhakāra, the Tantubāya (or Tantrabāya) and the Kangsakāra. The Sutradhara, the Svarṇakāra and the Svarṇabaṇik are of inferior status—having been made *Patits* by the Brāhmaṇa's curse according to Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa.

Though in Bengal the Karmakāra is a "Navaśāyaka", that is, a Śūdra of good status, food served by him is not acceptable. Karmāra probably meant originally an artisan generally and only later came to denote a blacksmith. Food from persons whose profession is to sell iron or weapons is not acceptable. Takṣan is untouchable according to some authorities, i.e., Bṛhad-Yama and Vaikhānasa.

According to Brahma Vaivarta Purāna the nine castes enumerated above were born of illicit intercourse between Viśvakarman, the celestial architect and a Śūdra maiden Ghṛtāchī, a celestial nymph who was born as a Gopa girl by Indra's curse. Different origins are proposed in the Bṛhad Dharma Purāṇa and the Jātimālā. For further details, the Appendix may be referred to. For various legends regarding the origin of these castes, the authority is Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal.*

	Father	Mother	Reference
Kansabaṇik, Śamkhabaṇik, Gandhabanik, Ambaṣṭha	Brāhmaṇa	Vaiśya	BD.
Kumbhakāra, Tantūvāya	Brāhmaṇa	Ksatriya	BD. cf. Murdhāvasikta
Kumbhakāra	Paṭṭikāra	Tailika	J M.
Mālākāra	Kṣatriya	Brāhmaṇa	BD. cf. Sūta
	Karmakāra	Tailika.	J.M.
Svarṇakāra, Svarṇabaṇik	Ambaṣṭha	Vaiśya	BD.
Taksan	Ābhīra	Vaiśya	BD. Also Charmakāra.
	Karaṇa	Vaiśya	BD. Also Rajaka.
Karmakāra	Śūdra	Kṣatriya	BD. also
	Tailaka.	Bārujīvin.	Kai-varta. J.M.

In the light of these authorities the claims of those castes are stated with briefest comments.

Karmakāras like to be called Karmāra Ksatriyas and preferably Viśvakarmā Brāhmaṇas. Sutradharas and Svarṇakāras also claim to be Viśvakarmā Brāhmaṇas. Śamkhakāras and Samkhabaṇiks claim to be Vaiśyas. So also do Svarṇabaṇiks.

According to Bṛhad Nāradiya Purāṇa, Svarṇabaṇiks were originally Kṣatriyas reduced to Śūdra status in the Kali age. According to Ānandabhaṭṭa (Jātimālā) they were originally Vaiśyas.

Sutradharas now claim to be Rathakāras of ancient times. These Rathakāras had the privilege of "Upanayana" (investiture with the sacred thread) and were considered slightly inferior to the Vaiśyas[5]. The Rathakāra was descended from a Kṣatriya father and a Vaiśya mother and did not perhaps include the Sutradhara.

According to Skanda Purāṇa (Nāgara 7) Viśvakarmā's sons were Manu, Mayu, Tvaṣṭṛ Śilpin and Takṣaka collectively termed the Rathakāra. For further details about Rathakāra, *see* Notes[5] and Kāne's *History of the Dharmasastras*, Vol. II, pp. 45-46.

8. GOPA, SADGOP, SATCHASI AND CHASADHOBA

The origins of the Gopa are variously given as follows:

		Father	Mother	Reference
Gopa	(1)	Vaiśya	Kṣatriya	BD.
	(2)	Ksatriya	Śūdra	Parāśara and Samvarta
	(3)	Manibandha	Tantuvāya	J. M.

The first theory would identify the Gopa with Vrindin Rāmaka or Sairindhra of Mahābhārata, Māgadha of Manu, Pukvasa of Viṣṇu and Vaśiṣtha, and Dhīvara of Gautama. The second theory would identify them with Ugras of Gautama and Yājñavalkya. Gopas are considered to be Śūdras from whom, as we have already seen, food could be accepted by Brāhmaṇas. Sadgopas are according to Jātimālā essentially the same as Gopas. According to the same authority the Chāsādhoba (Kṛsirajaka) is essentially a Dhoba who has taken to agriculture.

Goālās (Gopas) claim to be Yādava Kṣatriyas since 1924—of the clan which was in ancient times headed by Lord Śrīkriṣṇa. Sadgopas, who are agriculturists claim to be Vaiśyas. Chāsādhobās claim to be "chasī dhavas" (premier among cultivators) ! They claim to be of the same origin as Sadgopas and Satchāsīs but they will have nothing to do with chāṣādhobās. Similarly Satchāṣīs claim to be a section of the Sadgopas who however deny the proposed affiliation. Sadgopas claim to be superior to milkmen, and Satchāṣīs. They are generally considered to belong to the Navaśāyaka group.

Risley thinks that Satchāṣīs are identical with Sadgopas but according to Porter they are probably Chāṣādhobās. Most authorities think that the Chāṣāḍhobās are Dhobas who have taken to agriculture. Some of their leaders claim that their caste is the modern representative of the ancient Vaideha which, it will be seen, was a despised Pratiloma caste. (*Manu*, 10.11).

9. ĀGURIS AND BĀRAIS

Āguris claim to be modern representatives of Ugras. Some of them claim to be pure Kṣatriyas, their ancestors having come as military officers under Mān Singha. The Ugra is, according to Manu (10.9), descended from a Kṣatriya father and Śūdra mother. They were cruel and animal-like in their ways and their occupation was killing and catching animals hiding in holes.[6] No wonder that now Āguris do not like to be identified with Ugras.

Bārais claim to be Vaiśyas. "Curiously enough the standard tradition regarding the origin of the Bārai alleges that they were formerly Brāhmaṇas who were turned out of the sacred caste because they allowed their widows to marry again". Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I.74. They are included in the Navaśāyaka group of śūdras. Their origin according to the texts is as follows:

Father	Mother	Reference
Brāhmaṇa	Śūdra	BD. etc.=(1) Nāpita (Parāśara), (2) Dāsa (do.), (3) Pāraśara (Nārada, etc.)
Gopa	Tantubāya	J. M.

10. NĀPITS

The status of the barber caste has always been high. In Bengal they belong to the Navaśāyaka group. They assist the priest in marriage ceremonies of even Brāhmaṇas. In Orissa they were guardians of the village morality, and for many lower castes whom the Srotriya Brāhmanas would not serve the village barber is the priest. He was also the village surgeon. Probably in ancient times he held an important position in village councils for grāmaṇī means the leader of the village as also the barber.[7] Up-country Nāpits are known as Nāis. Nāi is obviously a corruption of 'Nāpit' but the Nāpits derive it from √nī, to lead. Nāpits claim that Mahāvīra and Ānanda (the famous Buddhist monk) were barbers by caste.

In the Smṛti texts, the Nāpita is a Śūdra from whom food is acceptable to Brāhmanas. But Nāpits claim to be Brāhmaṇas themselves. They styled themselves "Kulin" Brāhmaṇas in 1902. Then they called themselves Śrotriya Brāhmanas and afterwards Nāi Brāhmaṇs. Since 1930, Bengali Nāpits demand to be designated Savitṛ Brāhmaṇs for they claim that the Sun God Savitṛ was a barber himself. The up-country barbers now call themselves Nāi Brāhmaṇas—but those of the Punjab prefer to be called kulīn Brāhmaṇas—one of the reasons being that in Tamil 'nāi' means a dog.

The origin of the Nāpit caste in the Smṛti texts is not uniform. There are at least four versions—which have been briefly discussed before.

(1) Father—Kṣatriya, Mother—Śūdra } BD. Same origin as Modak.

Corresponds to (i) Ugra (Mbh, Manu, Baudh, Kaut. Yāj. etc.)
(ii) Gopāla (Parāśara)
(iii) Pāraśava (Gaut.).
(iv) Nisāda (Vas.).
(v) Dauṣmantya (Gaut. 4.14).

(2) Father—Kuverin, Mother—Paṭṭikāra } J. M.

(3) Father—Brāhmaṇa, Mother—Śūdra } Parāśara.

Corresponds to (i) Pāraśava (Mbh.).
(ii) Nisāda and Pāraśara (Manu).
(iii) Ugra (Uśanas).

According to Parāśara, Dāsa has the same origin, but while Dāsa is given samskāra (?), Nāpita is not.[8]

(4) Father—Brāhmana, Mother—Vaiśya } Uśanas.

Corresponds to (i) Ambaṣṭha (Manu. Yāj. etc.)
(ii) Ārdhika (Parāśara).
(iii) Bhṛjjakaṇṭha (Gaut. 4.17 and Medhātithi).

Let us now see why Nāpits now call themselves Savitṛ Brāhmanas. In Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra we find "then one would meditate on the Sun (Savitṛ) on seeing the barber and mutter 'now comes the Sun with the razor' etc. The text occurs in Atharva Veda 6.68.1. The translation of the text (Griffiths) is given in the note. In Vedic times, the Brāhmaṇa priest, Adhvaryu did the ceremonial shaving, for then there was no barber caste. Nāpits argue that since the Brāhmaṇas shaved in Vedic times, and since Savitṛ was the celestial barber, it follows that Nāpits are Brāhmaṇs and descended from the Sun-god himself. From the Atharva

Veda text, it would appear that Aditi, mother of all Gods, was herself a barber woman, and it follows that all the gods are barbers in a way ? Nāpits also refer to Taittīriya Brāhmaṇa 2.7.17[10] and Sāyana on Taittīriya Brāhmaṇa 1.5.6.

Griffith's, Translation of Atharva Veda, 6-68.

[A Charm to accompany the shaving of the beard.]

1. Savitar hath come hither with razor : come then O Vayu with the heated water. One-minded let Ādityas, Rudras, Vasus, moisten the hair : shave ye who know king Soma.

2. Let Aditi shave the beard and let the waters bathe it with their strength : Prajāpati restore his health for sight and days of lengthened life.

3. The razor used by Savitar for shaving, who knoweth Varuṇa and royal Soma,—Even with this shave ye this man, O Brāhmaṇ, let him be rich in horses, kine and children.

11. KĀYASTHAS

Kāyasthas claim to be pure Kṣatriyas. Kāyasthas, however, crystallised into a caste only in medieval times. In all early references, the word Kāyastha meant simply an officer or a writer and writers were very often Brāhmaṇas and might have been Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas also.[11] These Kāyasthas or officers were sometimes great rogues and in many books they are castigated as such. So we find in Rājataranginī, *brahmana* Śivaratha was a roguish Kāyastha (VIII, 2383, also V. 180-181, VIII. 131).

Yājñavalkya (1-33) calls upon the king to protect his subjects from the oppression of the Kāyasthas. In Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra we find that important documents were required to be marked with the Kāyastha seal.[12] In Hemachandra's dictionary Kāyastha means a writer not a caste.

In Brhad Dharma Purāṇa and Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, there is no Kāyastha caste. The writer caste is the Karaṇa. If there was a writer caste when these Purānas were composed, it was known as the Karaṇa and not the Kāyastha. Karaṇas were certainly not necessarily Kṣatriyas.

According to Uśanas Saṃhitā, 34, Kāyastha is a caste having the same origin as the barber—Brāhmaṇa father and a Vaiśya mother—corresponding to Ambaṣṭha of Yājñavalkya and others. According to Vyāsa Smṛti, Kāyasthas are Sūdras. According to Vallālacharita (2.27.21) the Kāyastha is the best among 'sat' Sūdras of whom the Vaidya is one.[13] Kamalākara holds that Kāyasthas are born of a Māhiṣya father and a Vaidehaka mother—a Sūdra of inferior status. Raghunandana in his Udvāhatatva, says that Kāyasthas of Bengal are Śūdras.[14] There is no mention of Kāyasthas in Mahābhārata.

According to Mahābhārata, it will be remembered that Paraśurāma exterminated the Kṣatriyas but some escaped to the hills, some of whom later became kings. In Skandapurāna, Renukāmāhātmya section, there is the story that king Chandrasen's widow gave birth to a posthumous son in the hermitage of sage Dālbhya, and that he was "given the occupation of a Kāyastha which was that of Chitragupta."[15] There is also the theory (in Padmapurāna) that Kāyasthas were born of Brahmā's body and also that Kāyasthas are descendants of Chitragupta. But was Chitragupta a Kṣatriya ? According to Āchāratantra, Chitragupta's father Masīśa was born of Brahmā's foot like the original Śūdra and his descendants became rulers in the Kali age, not because they were Kṣatriyas but because there were no Kṣatriyas in Kali age. Chitragupta himself live in heaven. According to Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Chitragupta was given duties appropriate to a Kṣatriya (क्षत्रवर्णोचित धर्म) showing that he was not a Kṣatriya. In fact, according to Jātimālā of Agnipurāṇa (quoted in the Śabdakalpadruma) Chitragupta was the son of Kāyastha and a great grandson of the original Śūdra. If Chandrasen was a Kṣatriya it has not been explained why his son was passed over in favour of others who though brought up among apes were later called upon to become kings.

On the other hand, Padmapurāna gives the version that Chitra and his brother Bichitra were created by Brahmā and that they were Kṣatriya. This was not known to Vyāsa when he wrote Mahābhārata and the other Purānas nor was he aware then of the Dālbhya legend. In Skanda Purāṇa (Pravās 1·2 3) Chitragupta was son of Kāyastha Mitra.

The titles Bhadra, Dāsa, Kara, Nandi, Dhara, Ghoṣa, Gupta, Nāga, Mitra, Deva are also found among Nāgara Brāhmanas (Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI.). But this does not show that Kāyasthas of Bengal are Kṣatriyas. Chārudatta of Mṛcchakaṭika and Emperor Puṣyamitra were Brāhmaṇs.

There are two references one in Padmapurāna and one in Bṛhad Nāradiya which definitely state that Kāyasthas are Kṣatriyas. One verse in Sukranīti also indirectly shows that Kāyasthas were Kṣatriyas.[16]

In Bengal there is no recorded tradition that Kāyasthas ever put on the sacred thread, and none to show that they ever asserted that they were Kṣatriyas except in recent times.

Dr. Datta thinks Kāyasthas are non-Bengali in oriorigin !

Whether there is sufficient evidence to show that Kāyasthas of Bengal are of Kṣatriya descent will always remain a matter of opinion.

As has been stated before it seems more reasonable to hold that Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras all contributed to the formation of the Kāyastha caste which evolved in post-Pāla period out of an occupational group of writers and accountants. That Karaṇas later on became merged in this Kāyastha caste is also evident from the fact that before the Twelfth Century A. D. we hear of Karaṇas in Bengal but not of Kāyasthas but after the Twelfth Karaṇas suddenly disappear and Kāyasthas take their place.

12. VAIDYAS

There is no authentic mention of Vaidyas as a caste in any old authority. The occupational group of physicians must have formed itself very early and though the profession was looked down upon, there can be no doubt that many Brāhmaṇas belonged to this group.

The usual occupation of the caste, Ambaṣṭha, was medicine. The traditional origin of the caste is that the Ambaṣṭha was born of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Vaiśya mother, According to Uśanas, in addition to medicine, fire-dancing, heraldry and agriculture are also occupations of the Ambaṣṭhas.

In Brahmavaivarta Purāna, we get the story that the first Ambaṣṭha Amṛtāchārya was brought up in his mother's family and so became an Ambaṣṭha (Ambā=mother; Sthā=to stay). There is also a story that the first Vaidya was begotten by Aswinīkumāra on a Brāhmaṇa woman. This son was taught the science of medicine, many crafts and incantations. The son also begot many sons on a Śūdra woman who became exponents in herbs and incantations.

There is a verse, evidently recent, which goes to say that in Satya and Dvāpara age, Vaidyas were Brāhmaṇas, that in Tretā age they became Kṣatriya-like and that in Kali age Vaidyas are like Vaiśyas [16]. Another verse, attributed to Viṣṇu, states that in the Kali age Vaidyas have become Śūdras like Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas.[17] According to Vallālacharita, the Vaidyas are satśūdras[18].

There is a long-standing tradition, at least dating from the Sixteenth Century that the Vaidyas are Ambaṣṭhas.[19]

Ambaṣṭhas, it may be recalled, were a powerful Kṣatriya tribe of Northern India in ancient times. Ambaṣṭha was also the name of a country probably named after its inhabitants. (Vide *Mahābhāṣya* on P. 4.1.170).

The claim of Vaidyas to be considered Brāhmaṇas is thus seen to rest on very slender grounds.

From what has been stated above, it should be evident to any one that the Smṛtis and Purānas afford evidence of very little weight on caste matters. Caste claims are mere claims unsupported by reason, history, or any ancient tradition.

PART III

NOTES

A. On Part I

Section III

[1]pp. 519-21, *e.g.*, Rajbanshis and Bhumijs.

[1a] Also Risley and Gait, pp. 523-30, *e.g.*, Sarak, Sadgop-Chasadhoba, Madhunapit, Mahisya, etc. " Eventually the Halia Kaibartas broke away entirely, banning all intermarriage with the Jalia Kaibartas and succeeded in obtaining recognition as a separate caste under the name of Mahisya ". (Hutton op. cit. p. 46. Also. Risley: *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I. 117).

[2]Cf. Gait., *Census Report*, *Bengal*, *1901*, p. 380. " The Vyāsokta Brāhmans of Bengal are reputed to be the descendants of a Śūdra who was made a Brāhman by ṛshi Vyāsa himself according to Vajrasūchi, a Buddhist work "—Hutton, op. cit. p. 57. Wilson, *Indian Castes*, 1·307. " The important caste of Kāyastha is now commonly regarded as twice-born and itself claims to be Kṣatriya though it was perhaps more often regarded as clean Śūdras a hundred years ago and its status as twice-born is still disputed ". (Hutton, op. cit. p. 57, Gait, op. cit. p. 381, Colebrook, *Asiatic Researches*, V. 58, 66).

We shall have occasion to revert to this topic when discussing caste claims. In view of the controversial nature of the subject, the writer prefers to give the views of authorities as they are instead of hazarding any personal opinion.

Hutton, op. cit., thinks that the " Kāyasthas are probably really an occupational caste in origin and as writers they may have been recruited from more than one varṇa". The same thing may be said as regards the Vaidya or the Doctor caste.

Also, Gait, 359, Risley and Gait, pp. 555-556—" ..... it is not difficult to construct the rough outlines of the process which must have taken place when the second wave of Indo-Aryans first made their way into India through Gilgit and Chitral. To start with they formed a homogeneous community, scantily supplied with women, which speedily outgrew its original habitat. A company of the more adventurous spirits set out to conquer for themselves new domains among the neighbouring Dravidians. They went forth as fighting men, taking with them few women or none at all. They subdued the inferior race, established themselves as conquerors and captured women according to their needs.

"By marrying the captured women they had to some extent, modified their original type, but a certain pride of blood remained to them, and when they had bred females enough to serve their purposes and to establish a distinct *jus connubii* they closed their ranks to all further intermixture of blood. When they did this they became a caste like the castes of the present day."

[2a]Cf. Gait, 361. "It is not improbable that....some of the existing castes whose origin has been now lost sight of are descended from parents of different social groups. If so, the ancestry assigned to various castes in the Shastras may occasionally be correct, but the principle is applied with such universality that it is impossible to separate the few possibly true cases from the general mass of imagined ones. It is possible, however, that a careful examination of the old theories might occasionally furnish a useful hint as the basis for enquiry on other lines".

[3]Risley and Gait, p. 556. "....it is clear that the growth of the caste instinct must have been greatly promoted and stimulated by certain characteristic peculiarities of the Indian intellect. . its lax hold of facts, its indifference to action, its absorption in dreams, its exaggerated reverence for tradition, its passion for endless division and subdivision, its acute sense of minute technical distinctions, its pedantic tendency to press a principle to its farthest logical conclusion, and its remarkable capacity for imitating and adapting social ideas and usages of whatever origin. It is through this imitative faculty that the myth of the four castes, evolved in the first instance by some speculative Brahman and reproduced in the popular versions of the epics which the educated Hindu villager studies as diligently as the English rustic used to read his Bible, has attained its wide currency as the model to which the Hindu society ought to conform. That it bears no relation to the actual facts of life is in view of its adherents an irrelevant detail. It descends from remote antiquity, it has the sanction of the Brahmaṇs, it is an article of faith, and every one seeks to bring his own caste within one or the other of the traditional classes."

[4]Risley and Gait, p. 548-49. "In the sacerdotal literature of ancient Iran the society was divided into four classes—priests, warriors, cultivators and artisans. The conjecture is that the relatively modern compilers of the law-books having become acquainted with the basis of the theory they attempted to explain the manifold complexities of the caste system. The resemblance between the two schemes is striking enough to suggest that it can hardly be the result of a mere accidental coincidence, but that the Indian theory must have been modelled on the Iranian. The differences in the categories are *striking* and admit of being accounted for by the fact that India has, what Persia has not, a large aboriginal population differing

from the Indo-Aryans in respect of religion, usages, and physical type, and more especially in the conspicuous attribute of colour...."

Section V

[5]Restrictions regarding food, drink and social intercourse have been in Bengal much less rigid than in other parts of India from ancient times. Even now most castes in Bengal are considered impure by their upcountry namesakes. Fish-eating Brāhmans of Bengal are hardly recognised as Brāhmaṇs elsewhere. This may be due partially to the fact that Eastern India was aryanised last and the proportion of Aryan blood gradually decreases from west to east. The tradition that Brāhmaṇs and Kāyasthas were imported by Ādiśūr from Kanauj is well known. The Brāhmaṇs and Kāyasthas of East Bengal are likewise mostly descendants of persons of these castes who fled from West Bengal when Bakhtiyar Khilji overthrew the Sena kings. According to Gait, *Census Report, Bengal,—1901*, "This explains why, at the present day, Brahmans of that part of the country have a more Aryan type of feature than the Brahmans of Bihar, who are descended for the most part from an earlier and more adulterated stock". In old texts, it is laid down that, persons coming to Bengal and some other places except for pilgrimage had to be reinitiated. For texts, *see* section XI and notes. Gait, op. cit., p. 384, thinks that the caste system in Bengal is comparatively recent. "It is a curious circumstance that, with scarcely an exception, these claims to higher caste, or to new and more pretantious names, are confined to Bengal proper. The reason seems to be that the various tribes of this part of the Province have come under the influence of the caste system in comparatively recent times, and that their relative rank has never been stereotyped by Hindu kings under the influence of their Brahman advisers." To the present compiler it seems that most of the Bengal castes are occupational groups drawn from various racial and social groups *after* the extinction of the Buddhist Pala kings.

[6]For some shrewd observations regarding restrictions, regarding food and drink, *see* Risley and Gait, p. 541 : "In matters of food and drink caste rules are wisely elastic. It has, I believe, been held that neither ice nor soda water count as water for the purpose of conveying pollution ; there are special exemptions in favour of biscuits and patent medicines for the last of which the Bengali has an insatiable appetite ;...."

[7]On varieties of caste restrictions applying not only to depressed castes but also to others, *see* Risley and Gait, p. 538, discussing criteria of social precedence : ...."particular castes are supposed to be the modern representatives of one or the other of the castes of the theoretical Hindu system ; Brahmans will take water from certain castes ; Brahmans of high standing will serve particular castes ; certain castes, though not served by the best Brahmans, have nevertheless got Brahmans of their own, whose rank varies according to circumstances ; certain castes are not served by Brahmans at all but have priests of their own ; the status of certain castes has been raised by their taking to infant marriage or abandoning the remarriage of widows ; the status of some castes has been lowered by their living in a particular locality ; the status of others modified by their pursuing some occupations in a special or peculiar way ; some can claim the services of the village barber, the village palanquin-bearer, the village midwife, etc., while others cannot ; some castes may not enter the courtyards of some temple ; some castes are subject to special taboos such as that they must not use the village well, or may draw water only with their own vessels, that they must live outside the village, or in a special quarters, that they must leave the road on the approach of a high caste man or must call out to give warning of their approach".

[8]"The Napit will not shave some caste, and there are others whom he will shave but whose finger-nails he would not pare, and others again whose finger-nails he would pare, but not the nails of their toes". Gait, p. 386.

Section VI

[9]Cf. Ghuriye. "The order of social precedence among the individual castes of any class cannot be made definite, because not only is there no ungrudging acceptance of such rank but also the ideas of the people on this point are very nebulous and uncertain".

[10]*See* Risley's *The Peoples of India*, containing extracts from Nesfield's theory.

Section VII

[1]The celebrated Puruṣa Sūkta, Ṛgveda X. 90.

See later note I to Section VIII.

[2]Sudra is a **जनपद** (principality) in Viṣṇu 4-24-18 as also probably a tribe.

"सौराष्ट्रावन्तिशूद्रान् अर्बुदमरुभूमिविषयांश्च व्रात्यद्विजाभीरशूद्राद्या भोक्ष्यन्ति"

See Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India.* Sudra is a **जनपद** (principality) in Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa 49-49, named after a tribe.

वाह्लीका **वाटधानाश्च** आभीराः कालतोयकाः ।
अपरीताश्च शूद्राश्च पल्लवाश्चर्मखण्डिकाः ॥४८॥
..क्षत्रियोपनिवेशाश्च वैश्यशूद्रकुलानि च ॥५१॥
..एते देशा ह्युदीच्याश्च ॥५५॥

[2a]In ancient times they occupied the northern Sind. In the time of Alexander the Ambasthas were a powerful tribe, probably also of Sind. (*See* Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History.*) Ambasthas were Kṣatriyas and the country in which they lived was also known as Ambastha, *vide* Mahābhāṣya on p. 4.1.170 ; Kāśikā on p. 4.1.171.

[3]Inderun *v.* Ramasami, 13 M.I.A. 141 ; Ramamani *v.* Kula, 14.M.I.A. 346.

[3a]Rajcoomer *v.* Bissessur, 10 Cal. 688 (1880). Later cases have merely followed this decision, e.g., Asita *v.* Nirode, 20 C.W.N. 901 ; Bholanath *v.* Emperor, 51 C. 488 ; Biswanath *v.* Soroshibala, 48 Cal. 926 ; Upoma *v.* Bholaram, 15 Cal. 708, etc.

" (Bengali Kāyasthas) have been treated as Śūdras in our Courts for a long series of years and their status as such cannot now be questioned......Bengali Kāyasthas have been uniformly treated as Śūdras in our Courts and the question does not appear capable of serious argument although attempts have been made recently by some members of the community to trace their descent from Kṣatriyas and some of them have taken the sacred thread as belonging to the regenerate classes. Asita *v.* Nirode, 20 C.W.N. 901 at pp. 904-5.

[3b]Bholanath *v.* Emperor, 51 Cal. 488; Biswanath *v.* Soroshibala, 48 Cal. 926.

[3c]Tulsiram *v.* Beharilal, 12A, 328 F. B.,; Iswariprasad *v.* Rai Hariprasad, 6 Pat. 506. Even Bengali Kāyasthas have been held by the Patna High Court to be Kṣātriyas, though in Iswariprasad's case it was distinctly stated that Behari Kāyasthas " have no concern with the Kāyasthas of Bengal in matters social or religious". So a Bengali Kāyastha would be a Śūdra in Bengal but a Kṣatriya in Behar. Rajendra *v.* Gopal, 7 Pat. 245.

[3d]Anuloma marriages are held to be valid in Bombay. Bai Gulab *v.* Jiwanlal, 46 Bomb. 871; Natha *v.* Mohta Chhotolal, 55 Bomb. 1. Such marriages are however not valid according to Hindu Law as administered in Bengal, Madras and Allahabad. *Cf.* Padamkumari *v.* Surajkumari, 28 Allahabad 458; Subbaramayya *v.* Venkata Subbamma, 1941 Madras 989 (A.I.R.). The question has lost all practical importance since the enactment of Act XXI of 1949.

[3e]*Cf.* Iswariprasad *v.* Rai Hariprasad, op. cit. which refers to Manu (X.6) that, is, those born of mixed marriage would have caste like that of their fathers, only they would be somewhat degraded because of their mothers. But " Ugra " caste, intermediate between Kṣatriya and Śūdra was recognised in Brindavan *v.* Radha, 12 Madras 72.

[3f]Muthusami *v.* Masilamani, 33 Madras 342. By this decision converted Hindus are to be considered Śūdras. The onus is on him who claims to belong to one of the regenerate classes to prove that he is so.

[3g]युगे जघन्ये द्वे जाती ब्राह्मणः शूद्र एव च

attributed to Yama.

[4]*Cf.* Part III, note 17.

"यद्यपि राजन्यविशां प्रातिस्विकगोत्राभावात्प्रवराभावस्तथापि पुरोहितगोत्रप्रवरौ वेदितव्यौ, तथा यजमानस्यार्षेयान् गोत्रप्रवरान् प्रवृणीतेत्युक्त्वा पौरोहित्यान् राजन्यविशां प्रवृणीतेत्याश्वलायन इति मिताक्षरा..(शूद्राणां) पूर्वपुरुषपुरोहितगोत्रभागित्वं प्रतीयते ॥"

Raghunandana, *Udvāha-Tatwa*. *Vide* also Maharaja of Kolhapur's case, 48 Madras 1.

[5]According to Muthusami *v.* Masilamani, cited above, note (3f). On the same principle, aboriginals adopting Hindu customs partially will be governed by Hindu law with regard to these only, *cf.* Fanindra *v.* Rajeswar, 11 Cal. 463 (re. Rajbangshis and Koches); Sahadeo Narain *v.* Kusumkumari, 2 Pat. 230 P.C. (re : Bhuiyas of Bihar).

[6]*See* the very lucid judgment of Madgaonkar J. in Subrao *v.* Radha, 52 Bomb. 497 quoted in extenso by Mulla in his Hindu Law. In Maharaja of Kolhapur's case, 48 Madras 1, at page 52, per Spencer J., the principle that the consciousness of a community is a good test of its varna is accepted.

[6a]*See* later pp. 25 and 32. In Iswariprasad *v.* Rai Hariprasad, Jwalaprasad J. lays down that mere non-observance of orthodox practices cannot permanently degrade people belonging to a higher class to a lower one. Indeed, he goes even further and says that " A person belonging to a regenerate class does not lose his right of being governed by the rules of that class though (by non-observance of the practices of that class) he might be socially looked down upon". If this principle is accepted rigorously, it would be immaterial if the pretensions of a caste are not accepted by the other castes. It is also clear that no tests based on customs or social practices would be of any avail, and the only way to determine whether a caste belongs to one of the regenerate classes would be to fall back upon the Śāstras. It will be shown hereafter that Śāstras on caste questions are not at all consistent and altogether unreliable.

Section VIII

[1]R.V. 1·164·45; 6·75·10; 7·103·1; 10·16·6 10·71·8-9; 10·88·19; 10·97·22; 10·109·1.

Verses 11-13 of R. V. 10·90 are—

११ । यत्पुरुषं व्यदधुः कतिधा व्यकल्पयत् ।
मुख किमस्य कौ वाहू का ऊरू पादा उच्यते ॥

१२ । ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद्वाहू राजन्यः कृतः ।
ऊरू तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शुद्रो अजायत ॥

१३ । चन्द्रमा मनसो जातश्चक्षोः सूर्यो अजायत ।
मुखादिन्द्रश्च अग्निश्च प्राणाद्वायुरजायत ॥

Translation (Wilson)

11. When they immolated Puruṣa, into how many portions did they divide him? What was his mouth called, what his arms, what is thighs, what were his feet called?

12. His mouth became the Brāhmaṇa, his arms became the Rājanya, his thighs became the Vaiśya; the Śūdra was born from the feet.

13. The moon was born from his minds, the sun was born from his eyes; Indra and Agni were born from his mouth, Vayu from his breath.

The hymn attempts to harmonise the two ideas of sacrifice and creation and may be a composition of the Yajur Veda period. The hymn is number 31 of the Yajur Veda and with slight variations number 19·6 of the Atharva Veda.

Clearly the Puruṣa is the imaginary godhead. The creation is identified with his limbs and is also imagined to evolve from these limbs.

Professor Macdonell in his Vedic Index, remarks that the hymn may not be very old but that it points to a very primitive idea.

[2]ब्रह्म वा इदमासीदेकमेव, तदेकं सन् न व्यभवत्, तच्छ्रेयोरूपमत्यसृजत क्षत्त्रम्..तस्मात् क्षत्त्रात्परतरं नास्ति, तस्माद्ब्राह्मणः क्षत्त्रियमधस्तादुपास्ते, राजसूये क्षत्त्र एव तद्यशो दधाति..स नैव व्यभवत् स विशमसृजत यान्येतानि देवजातानि गणेश आख्यायन्ते..स नैव व्यभवत् स शौद्रं वर्णमसृजत पूषणमियं वै पूषेयं हीदं सर्वं पुष्यन्ति यदिदं किंच ।

Br. Ā.Up. 1.4.11-13.

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रियाः वैश्याः शूद्राश्च द्विजसत्तम ।
पादोरूवक्षःस्थलतः मुखतश्च समुद्गताः ॥

Viṣnu P. 1.6.6. Brahmāṇḍa P. 9.115.

[2a] गृत्समदस्य शौनकश्चातुर्वर्ण्यं प्रवर्तयिताभुत् । Viṣnu P. 4.8.1.
भार्गस्य भार्गभूमिरतश्चातुर्वर्ण्यप्रवृत्तिः । *Ibid*, 4.8.9.

[3]*Cf.* Matsya Purāṇa, ch. 195.

मनुर्वैवस्वतश्चैव ऐलो राजा पुरूरवाः ।
क्षत्त्रियाणां वरौ ह्येतौ विज्ञेयौ मन्त्रवादिनौ ॥
भलन्दकश्च वासाश्वः संकीलश्चैव ते त्रयः ।
एते मन्त्रकृतो ज्ञेया वैश्यानां प्रवराः सदा ।

[3a]Nārada was born of a female slave. So also was Kakṣīvān (Viṣṇu Purāna, 4.18.1) and Kavasa. Gārgyas and Kāṇvayana Brāhmāṇas were descended from the Kṣatriya prince Yayāti (Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 4.21.2). So also were Maudgalyas (*ibid*, 4.21.6) and descendants of Rathītara (*ibid*, 4.2.2). There are many other instances. *See* also Matsya Purāṇa cho. 47-49, for other क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः ।

[3b]For the Visvāmitra legend, *see* Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, 1.317-426. The legend is given in details in Mahābhārata, Adi 175, Śalya 40, etc., Udyoga 106-119, Anu. 34. Also Viṣṇu 4.7, Harivamṣa, etc.

[3c] जातो व्यासस्तु कैवर्त्याः श्वपाक्याश्च पराशरः ।
शुक्या शुकः कणादश्च तथोलूक्याः सुतोऽभवत् ॥
मृगीजोऽर्थर्ष्यशृंगोऽपि वशिष्ठो गणिकात्मजः ।
मन्दपालो मुनिश्रेष्ठो नाविक्यपत्यमुच्यते ॥
माण्डव्यो मुनिराजस्तु मण्डूकीगर्भसंभवः ।
बहवोऽन्येऽपि विप्रत्वं प्राप्ता ये पूर्ववद् द्विजाः ॥

(Bhaviṣya Purāna, Brahma Khaṇḍa, 42.)

स्थितो ब्राह्मणधर्मेण ब्राह्मण्यमुपजीवति ।
क्षत्रियो वाथ वैश्यो वा ब्रह्मभूयं स गच्छति ॥
एभिस्तु कर्मभिर्देवि शुभैराचरितैस्तथा ।
शुद्रो ब्राह्मणतां याति वैश्यः क्षत्रियतां तथा ॥

(Mbh. Anu. 143.)

There are many such texts but such elevations must have been very rare.

For जात्युत्कर्ष and जात्यपकर्ष theory, *vide* Gautama Dharma Sūtra 4.18-19, Manu 10.64-65, etc. and Parāsara-Mādhava, summarised in Kane, *History of the Dharma Sastras*.

वर्णान्तरगमनमुत्कर्षापकर्षाभ्यां सप्तमे पञ्चमे वाचार्याः ।
(Gautama Dharma Sutra, 4.18-19.)

जात्युत्कर्षो युगे ज्ञेयः सप्तमे पञ्चमेऽपि वा ।
व्यत्यये कर्मणां साम्यं पूर्ववच्चाधरोत्तरम् ॥
(Yājnabalkya, 1.96.)

Re: Niṣāda :—निषादेन निषाद्यामापञ्चमाज्जातोऽपहन्ति शूद्रताम्, तमुपनयेत्, षष्ठं याजयेत् ।

(Baudh. Dharma Sutra 1.8.13-14). This is interesting as it indicates automatic elevation to Dwijahood by mere lapse of time.

On intercaste marriages in modern India based on Smṛtis and epigraphic records, *Vide* Kane's article in the Journal portion of *Bombay Law Review*, vol. 38.

[5]Original Janaka was also known as Videha and Mithi whence Mithilā. Later Janaka became the descriptive title of kings of Mithilā. Sītā's father was Janaka Śīradhvaja. On Janaka, *see* Rāmāyana, Adi 71; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa 11.3.1,etc.,Viṣṇu Purāna 4.5.10-12; Bhāgavata Purāṇa 9.13; Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad 3.1, 4.1-3, etc.

[5a]*Cf.* Aila-Kāsyapa legend, in Mahābhārata, Śānti 73.

एतौ हि नित्यं संयुक्तावितरेतरधारणे ।
क्षत्रं वै ब्रह्मणो योनिर्योनिः क्षत्रस्य वै द्विजः ।
उभावतौ नित्यमभिप्रपन्नौ संप्रापतुर्महतीं संप्रतिष्ठाम् ।
तयोः सन्धिर्भिद्यते चेत् पुराणस्ततः सर्वं भवति हि संप्रमूढम् ।

[5b]On Paraśurāma, *see* Muir, *Old Sanskrit Texts*, 1.442-479. Stories regarding his birth and parentage differ. *See* Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Bhāgavata Purāna 9.15-16; Vāyu Purāṇa 1.9; Mahābhārata, Vana 115-117; Droṇa 70; Śānti 48-49, etc.

[6]*Cf.* Viṣṇū Dharma Sūtra 19.20-21.

देवा परोक्षदेवाः, प्रत्यक्षदेवा ब्राह्मणाः, ब्राह्मणानां प्रसादेन दिवि तिष्ठन्ति देवताः

"अवध्यो वै ब्राह्मणः सर्वापराधेषु"। (Baudh)
"सर्वापराधेष्वपीड़नीयो ब्राह्मणः" (Kauṭilya 4.8.)

"सर्वदेवमया विप्रा न तद्वचनमन्यथा ।
महती देवता ह्येते नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥" (Manu. 7.8.)

Kings had no jurisdiction over Brāhmanas and Śrotriyas were not liable to pay any tax.

राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मणवर्जम् ।
(Gaut. Dharma Sūtra 11.1.)

अकरः श्रोत्रियः ।
Āpasṭamba Dharma Sūtra 2.10, 26.10.)

[6a]*See* Manu, Ch. VIII. and Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra. If a Śūdra even mentions the names and castes of the twice-born with contumely " an iron rail ten fingers long shall be thrust red hot into his mouth ". If he insults a twice-born with gross invective his tongue

shall be cut off "because he is of low origin". If he is arrogant enough to teach Brāhmaṇas their duties, "the king shall cause hot oil to be poured into his mouth and his ears". "With whatever limb a man of a lower caste injures a man of the three higher castes, even that limb shall be cut off". But as Dr. Ghoshal observes in "The Age of Imperial Unity" edt. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, p. 338, "It is more than doubtful if these brutal punishments were ever actually awarded." Perhaps they only embody the ultra orthodox theory of the superiority of the twice-born and the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇa, see text of Gautama and Hiraṇyakesin in note 10.

6b Extract from शब्दकल्पद्रुम on प्रायश्चित्त अथोपपातकानि। एकाकिमिष्टान्नभक्षणम्। प्रायश्चित्तानि—एकाहोपवासः, अभ्यासे द्वैगुण्यादि। तदशक्तौ दानम्—॥० पणाः। दक्षिणा—यथाशक्ति।

*From शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक।

Some diseases are due to some sin committed in previous birth. In addition to medical treatment, expiation is necessary for their cure. Present of gold to Brāhmaṇs is one of the modes of expiation. Thus diseases may be due to grievous sins (महापापोद्भव) minor sins (उपपापोद्भव) and great sins (अतिपापोद्भव), and to ordinary sins (पापोद्भव). The प्रायश्चित्त for some kinds of महापाप's is presentation of 720 milch cows or in the alternative of 2,160 कार्षापण's of gold together with a दक्षिणा of 400 milch cows commutable for 400 कार्षापण's.

शूद्रश्चतुर्थो वर्णस्तु सर्वसंस्कारवर्जितः।
उक्तस्तस्य तु संस्कारो द्विजेष्वात्मनिवेदनम्॥

(Laghu Viṣṇu 1.5.)

Food from a Śūdra can be accepted if he surrenders his wife and wealth also to a Brāhmaṇa!

प्राणानर्थांस्तथा दारान् ब्राह्मणाय निवेदयेत्।
स शूद्रजातिर्भोज्यः स्यादभोज्यः शेष उच्यते॥

7a शक्तेनापि हि शूद्रेण न कार्यो धनसंचयः।
शूद्रो हि धनमासाद्य ब्राह्मणानेव बाधते॥ (Manu. 10.129.)

7b Manu 8.416-417.

न हि तस्यास्ति किंचित् स्वं, भर्तृहार्यधनो हि सः॥

8 Cf. Vyāsa 1.13.

एषां संभाषणात् स्नानं दर्शनादर्कवीक्षणम्।

8a Āp. Sm. 1.163 यथा हि श्वा तथैव सः। (*ibid* 9.35) Ceremonial purification on touching Śūdras, dogs, fowl and wine is prescribed. (*ibid* 5.12). So all Śūdras were practically untouchables.

एके वै तच् श्मशानं ये शूद्राः। (Vas. 18.9.)

8b तथा शूद्रसमीपे नाध्येतव्यम्। (Vas. 18.9.)
न पतितैर्न स्त्रिया न शूद्रेण (अध्वानं व्रजेत्)।

(Baudh 2.3.49.)

शूद्रान्नं शूद्रसंपर्कः शूद्रेणैव सहासनम्।
शूद्राज् ज्ञानागमः कश्चिज् ज्वलन्तमपि पातयेत्॥

(Parāsara 12.32, etc.)

अयन्त्रितकलत्रा हि वैश्या शूद्रा भवन्ति। (Baudh 1.13-14)

कृष्णवर्णा या रामा सा रामा (सरमा) रमणायैव न धर्माय।

(Vas. 18.16.18), *cf.* also Yāska. Nirūkta 12.13 on Kā. S. 21.7.

रामा रमणायोपेयते न धर्माय कृष्णजातीया।

10 Manu. Also cf. Gautama Dharma Sūtra xii.

शूद्रो द्विजातीनभिसंधायाभिहत्य, तच्चं वाग्दण्डपारुष्याभ्यामंगः मोच्यो येनोपहन्यात्...वेदमुपशृण्वतस्त्रपुजतुम्यां श्रोत्रप्रतिपूरणः, उदाहरणे जिह्वाच्छेदः, धारणे शरीरभेदः ...आसनशयनवाक्पथिषु समप्रेप्सुर्दण्ड्यः शतम्—न शूद्रे (आक्रोशे) किंचिद् (दण्ड्यः ब्राह्मणः)...। Also Hiranya D. S. 27.9 शूद्रस्यार्थं धार्मिकमाक्रोशवतो वाचि पथि शय्यायामासने च समीभवतो दण्डताड़नम्॥ See also Viṣnu (Dharma Sūtra) V. 19-25.

11 Baudh. 1.10.28 हंस..काकोलूक..मण्डूक..अश्ववभ्रू नकुलादीनां वधे शूद्रवत्।

The fine prescribed is ten cows and a bull.

12 *cf.* note 7 above. For later meaning in Bengal, *see* section X.

12a So all Śūdras were considered slaves, but certainly there were non-slave Śūdras as well.

शूद्रन्तु कारयेद्दास्यं क्रीतमक्रीतमेव वा।
दास्यायैव हि सृष्टोऽसौ ब्राह्मणस्य स्वयम्भुवा॥ (Manu 8.143.)

Cf. Aristotle, *Politics.*

विस्रब्धं ब्राह्मणः शूद्राद् द्रव्योपादानमाचरेद्।
न हि तस्यास्ति किंचित् स्वं भर्तृहार्य धनो हि सः॥

(*idid* 8·417.)

13 "Untouchables" would include Antyajas and Mlecchas. Antyāvasāyins are also untouchables but Kṣatṛ Sūta Magadha and Vaidahaka mixed castes born of Pratitoma marriages were not untouchables though according to one text (of Angiras, quoted in Mitākṣarā on Yāj. 3.265) they are all Antyāvasāyins.[a] Medhātihi and Kulluka explain (on Manu X·13) that among Pratilomas only the Chaṇḍāla is untouchable.[b] So Antyāvasāyin in such text means the Chaṇḍāla. According to a text quoted by Aparārka, Śūdras in general would be untouchables.[c] According to Manu (10·39), the offspring of a Chaṇḍāla from a Niṣāda woman is an Antyāvasāyin. According to Vaśiṣṭha (18), he is the son of a Śūdra from a Vaiśya woman.

a चण्डालः श्वपचः क्षत्ता सूतो वैदेहकस्तथा।
मागधायोगवौ चैव सप्तैतेऽन्त्यावसायिनः॥

b चण्डाल एकः प्रतिलोमोऽस्पृश्यः॥
(*See* also Mahābhārata Śānti (141·14.)

c एडकं कुक्कुटं काकं श्वशूद्रान्त्यावसायिनः।
दृष्ट्वैतान् नाचरेत् कर्म स्पृष्ट्वैतान् स्नानमाचरेत्॥

List of untouchables

(1) Angiras, 17—

रजकं चर्मकारं च नटं धीवरमेव च ।
वरुडं च तथा स्पृष्ट्वा शुध्येदाचमनाद्द्विजः ॥

(2) Sambarta (quoted by Aparārka)—

कैवर्त-मृगयुव्याध-सौनि-शाकुनिकानपि ।
रजकं च तथा स्पृष्ट्वा स्नात्वैकाशनमाचरेत् ॥

(3) Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka)—

रजकश्चर्मकारश्च व्याधजालोपजीविनौ ।
निर्णेजकः सौनिकश्च नटः शैलूषकस्तथा ॥

(4) Sambarta (printed text)—

चर्मारं रजकं वेणं धीवरं नटमेव च ।

(5) Atri, 17·286-287—

वरुडं चर्मकारं च नटं धीवरमेव च ।
चर्मको रजको वैण्यो धीवरो नटकस्तथा ॥

(6) Bṛhad-Yama, 3·52-53—

रक्तवस्त्रस्य विक्रेता लाक्षारजक एव च ।
वेणुजीवन-कैवर्त-तक्ष-चर्मोपजीविनः ॥

Antyajas

(1) Atri, 19 Yama, 54—

रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो वरुड एव च ।
कैवर्त-मेदभिल्लाश्च सप्तैते चान्त्यजाः स्मृताः ॥

(2) Vyāsa, 1·12-13—

चर्मकारो भटो भिल्लो रजकः पुष्करो नटः ।
वरटो मेदचाण्डालौ दास-श्वपच-कोलकाः ॥
एतेऽन्त्यजाः समाख्याता ये चान्ये च गवाशनाः ॥

(3) Bṛhad Dharma Purāṇa—

मलेग्रहि, कुंडव, चण्डाल, वरुड, चर्मकार, घट्टजीवी, दोलावाही, मल्ल ।

वरुड is the same as **वेण** according to Viśvarūpa quoted by Kullūka 4·215. **वेण** is **वादितजीवित**, *i.e.*, musician according to Medhātithi, 4.215. **मेद** is the offspring of a Vaidehaka and a Niṣāda woman (Manu, 10·36). **दास** in Vyāsa's text obviously means a **कैवर्त** (Manu, 10·34). **भट** according to Parāśarapaddhati is the offspring of a carpenter father and Naṭa mother. Naṭa here is the professional dancer, and not the Vrātya-Kṣatriya group of Manu, 10·22. **कोलक**s are probably the aboriginal Kols. According to texts quoted by Aparārka, persons professing non-orthodox faiths were considered untouchables by the orthodox. So also were Mlecchas specially the Bhils and the Persians (**पारसिक**).

बौद्धान् पाशुपतांश्चैव लौकायतिक-नास्तिकान् ।
विकर्मान् द्विजान् स्पृष्ट्वा सचैलो जलमाविशेत् ॥
चण्डाल-पुक्कस-म्लेच्छ-भिल्ल-पारसीकादिकम् ।
महापातकिनश्चैव स्पृष्ट्वा स्नायात् सचैलकम् ॥

In Mahābhārata (Śānti 76·6), astrologers, etc., are called Chaṇḍālas among Brāhmaṇas—

आह्वायका देवलका नाक्षत्रा ग्रामयाजकाः ।
एते ब्राह्मणचाण्डाला महापथिकपञ्चमाः ॥

[14] तिस्रो ब्राह्मणस्य भार्या वर्णानुपूर्व्येण, द्वे राजन्यस्य, एकेका वैश्यशूद्रयोः । शूद्रामप्येके मन्त्रवर्जं तद्वत्, तथा न कुर्यात् । (Vas, 1·24-26) न तु शूद्रां द्विजः कश्चिन्नाधरः पूर्ववर्णजाम् । (Vyāsa, 2·11) आपद्यपि न कर्तव्या शूद्रा भार्या द्विजन्मना । (Śamkha, 4·9).

[14a] Cf. समुद्रयात्रास्वीकारः कमण्डलुविधारणम् ।
द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्यासूपयमस्तथा ॥..
इमान् धर्मान् कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ etc.

On the very interesting point of **कलिवर्ज्य**'s *see* Kane, *History of the Dharma-Sastras*, and Bhattacharya, Kālivaryyas (Calcutta University). Some texts are given in Parāśaramādhava, Vīramitrodāya, Hemādri, Madanā Pārijāta, Nirṇayasindhu, Raghunandana's Śuddhitatva, Bhaṭṭoji's Chaturvim-śatimatasamgraha, etc., quoting Ādityapurāṇa, Devala, Kratu, Śārasaṃgraha, Brahmapurāṇa, etc.

[15]Food prepared by a Śūdra is compared to blood. Āpastamba Saṃhitā, 8·13; Angiras, 77. Chāndrāyaṇa penance is prescribed for taking Śūdras' food. Hārita, 9·44. *See* also Baudh, 4·16. Vas., 14·3, 6, 24-26. Vyāsa, 66. Gaut., XVII.

[15a] आर्या प्रयता वैश्वदेवेऽन्नसंस्कर्तारः स्युः....
आर्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कर्तारः स्युः ॥

[16]This was later held to be not applicable to the Kali age.

ब्राह्मणो नैव भुञ्जीत दुहित्रन्नं कदाचन ।
(Laghu Āś., 1·75.)

स्वसुतान्नं च यो भुङ्क्ते स भुङ्क्ते पृथिवीमलम् ।
(Atri, 304, etc.)

[17] घृतं तैलं तथा क्षीरं गुडं तैलेन पाचितम् ।
गत्वा नदीं तटे विप्रो भुञ्जीयात् शूद्रभोजनम् ॥
(Parāśara, 11·13.)

Mādhava says that this is permissible only when the Brāhmaṇa is tired by travelling and no food from higher castes is available.

[18] (1)शूद्रेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्रार्धसीरिणः ।
भोज्यान्ना नापितश्चैव यश्चात्मानं निवेदयेत् ॥
(Yāj., 1·168=Yama, 20=Parāśara, 11·20.)

(2)स्वदासो नापितो गोपः कुम्भकारः कृषीवलः ।
ब्राह्मणैरपि भोक्तव्यः पञ्चैते शूद्रयोनयः ॥
(Devala quoted by Mādhava.)

(3)पशुपाल-क्षेत्रकर्षक-कुलसंगतकारयितृ-परिचारका भोज्यान्नाः ।
(Gautama Dharma Sūtra, 17·6.)

Kūrma Purāṇa (Uttara, 16) includes कुशीलव (actor).

[18a] Yāj. 1·161-65, Vas., 141, Āpastamba, 9·32, Śamkha, 12·36-39, Mahābhārata, Śānti, 36·27, etc., *See* also Prāyaschitta-viveka. रंगावतारी refers mainly to the Āyogavas whose occupation by tradition (Viṣṇu D. S.) was रंगावतरण (acting ?) स्त्रीजीवन in Śamkhya and Mahābhārata, etc., may refer to Vaidehaka caste who lived on the earnings of their women according to Viṣṇu, etc.

[19] For these penances, *see* later. *See* XI, note 4.

Section IX

[1] *See* Appendix I for details. We quote only two texts :

शूद्रकन्या समुत्पन्नो ब्राह्मणेन तु संस्कृतः ।
संस्कृतस्तु भवेद्दासो ह्यसंस्कारैस्तु नापितः ॥
(Parāsara, 11·21.)

वैश्यायां विप्रतश्चौर्यात्कुम्भकारः प्रजायते ।
कुलालवृत्त्या जीवेत नापितो वा भवत्युत ॥
कायस्थ इति जीवेत्तु विचरेच्च इतस्ततः ॥
(Uśanas, 32-34.)

[2] *See* Appendix I for details.

Jātimālā is said to be a portion of the Paraśurāma Samhitā.

[3] निःस्वाध्यायवषट्कारान् एतानन्यांश्च क्षत्रियाश्चकार ।
ते च निजधर्मपरित्यागाद् ब्राह्मणैश्च परित्यक्ता म्लेच्छतां ययुः ।
(Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 4·3·21.)

त एन अन्ध्राः पुण्ड्राः शवराः पुलिन्दा मूतिवा इत्युदन्त्या बहवो वैश्वामित्रा दस्यूनां भूयिष्ठाः ॥ (Ait. Br. 33·6.)

The war-like tribes of the western Punjab included the Śūdras and the Āmbasthas. Dasyus did not originally connote robbers but merely wild tribes of the hills. *Vide* also Manu, X. 43-45 where Śakas, Yavanas, Chīnas, etc., are called Dasyus whether they spoke the Mleccha dialect or the Āryan.

शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥
पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्रद्रविडाः कम्बोजाः यवनाः शकाः ।
पारदा पल्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदा खशाः ॥
म्लेच्छ वाचश्चार्यवाचः सर्वे ते दस्यवः स्मृताः ॥

[4] On Paraśurāma legend, *see* ante Section VIII, note 5b.

[5] शूद्रसधर्मणो वान्यत्र चण्डालेभ्यः ॥ (Kauṭilya, 3·7.)
अनुलोमसु मातृवर्णकः । (Viṣṇu, 16.)

स्त्रीष्वनन्तरजातासु द्विजैरुत्पादितान् सुतान् ।
सदृशानेव तानाहुर्मातृदोषविगर्हितान् ॥ (Manu 10·6)

Also Baudh. Dharma Sūtra, 1·8·6. तासु पुत्राः सवर्णानन्तरासु सवर्णाः । Kauṭilya seems to restrict the rule to Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas only.

ब्राह्मणन्तु मन्यन्ते शूद्रापुत्रमनैपुणात् ।
त्रिषु वर्णेषु जातस्तु ब्राह्मणाद्ब्राह्मणो भवेत् ॥
(Mahābhārata, Anu, 47·17.)

भार्यास्वितरासो विप्रस्य द्वयोरात्मा प्रजायते ।
आनुपूर्व्याद् द्वयोर्हीनौ मातृजात्यौ प्रसूयते ॥
(Mahābhārata, Anu, 48·4.)

ऊढायां हि सवर्णायामन्यां वा काममुद्वहेत् ।
तस्यामुत्पादितः पुत्रो न सवर्णात् प्रहीयते ॥
(Vyāsa, 2·10.)

[6] ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः सवर्णपाणिसंग्रहम् ।
अकृत्वान्यतरा पाणेः पतन्ति नृप संग्रहात् ॥
(Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 113·34.)

Cf. Vyāsa above.

Section X

[1] गोपनापिततीलाश्च तथा मोदककूवरौ ।
ताम्बुलीवर्णकारौ च तथा वणिजजातयः ॥
इत्येवमाद्या विप्रेन्द्र सच्छूद्रा परिकीर्तिताः ॥
(Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa.)

तैलिको गान्धिको वैद्यः सत्-शूद्राश्च प्रकीर्तिताः ।
सत्शूद्रानान्तु सर्वेषां कायस्थ उत्तमः स्मृतः ॥
(Vallāla Charita, 2·27·11.)

[2] गोपो माली तथा तैली तन्त्रि-मोदकवारुजी ।
कुलालः कर्मकारश्च नापितो नवशायकः ॥
(Parāśarapaddhati in Śabdakalpadruma.)

गोपो माली च तम्बुली कंसारतन्त्रिशांखिकाः ।
कुलालः कर्मकारश्च नापितो नवशायकः ॥
(Vallāla Charita, 2·27·20.)

[3] *See* Appendix. Authorities are not uniform regarding meaning of "संकर" (Samkara). Some consider all mixed castes as Samkara but according to Manu, 10·10, 10·41 offspring of Anuloma marriages are not Samkaras but Apasadas.

व्यभिचारेण वर्णानामवेद्यावेदनेन च ।
स्वकर्मणां च त्यागेन जायते वर्णसंकरः ॥
(Manu, 10·24.)

आनुलोम्येन वर्णानां यज्जन्म स विधिस्मृतः ।
प्रातिलोम्येन यज्जन्म स ज्ञेयो वर्णसंकरः ॥
(Nārada.)

Section XI

[1] (A) Manu, 2·21 :

हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोर्मध्यं यत्प्राग् विनशनादपि ।
प्रत्यगेव प्रयागाच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

Manu, 2·22 :

आसमुद्राच्च पूर्वस्मादासमुद्राच्च पश्चिमात् ।
तयोरेवान्तरा गिर्योरार्यावर्तं प्रचक्षते ॥

Manu (2·17 and 19) also defines ब्रह्मावर्त and ब्रह्मर्षिदेश ।

The standard culture was that obtaining in Brahmāvarta.

(B) Vaśiṣṭha (I·7·11-12).

(1) आर्यावर्तः प्रागादर्शात् प्रत्यक् कालकवनादुदक् पारियात्राद् दक्षिणेन हिमवत उत्तरतश्च विन्ध्यस्य। तस्मिन् देशे ये चाचोरास्ते सर्वत्र प्रत्येतव्याः। Cf. मध्यदेश of Manu, 2·21.

(2) गंगा-यमुनयोरन्तरमित्येके। Cf. ब्रह्मावर्त of Manu, 2·17. सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योर्देवनद्योर्यदन्तरम्।

(3) यावद्वा कृष्णमृगो विचरति तद् ब्रह्मवर्चसम् इत्यन्ये। यज्ञियदेश। (Manu.)

(1) Occurs in Mahābhāṣya on P. 6·3·109 and 2·4·10. Nageśa explains that आदर्श is a hill near Kurukṣetra. कालकवन is Prayāga and Pāriyātra is Vindhya Hills.

यत्र यत्र स्वभावेन कृष्णसारो मृगः सदा।
चरते तत्र वेदोक्तो धर्मो भवितुमर्हति॥

(Vyāsa Smṛti, 1·3.)

कृष्णसारस्तु चरति मृगो यत्र स्वभावतः।
स ज्ञेयो यज्ञियो देशः, म्लेच्छदेशस्ततः परः॥

(Also Manu, 2·23.)

त्रिशंकुं वर्जयेद्देशं सर्वं द्वादशयोजनम्।
उत्तरेण महानद्या दक्षिणेन तु कीकटम्॥
सिन्धुसौवीरसौराष्ट्रं तथा प्रत्यन्तवासिनः।
कलिंगकौंकणान् वंगान् गत्वा संस्कारमर्हति॥

(Devala, 4·16.)

अवन्त्ययोऽङ्गमगधाः सुराष्ट्रा दक्षिणापथाः।
उपावृत्-सिन्धुसौवीरा एते संकीर्णयोनयः॥

(Baudh. Dharma Sūtra, 1·1·31.)

आरट्टकान् कारस्करान् पुण्ड्रान् सौवीरान् वंग-कलिंगान्।
प्राणूनान् इति च गत्वा स्तोमेन यजेत सर्वपृष्ठया वा॥

(*Ibid*, 1·1·32.)

अंगवंगकलिंगांश्च सौराष्ट्रान् गुर्जरांस्तथा।
आभीरान् कौंकणाश्चैव द्राविडान् दक्षिणापथान्॥
आवन्त्यान् भागधाश्चैव ब्राह्मणांस्तु विवर्जयेत्॥

(Quoted in Vīramitrodaya.)

आषोडशद्द्वाविंशाच्च चतुर्विंशाच्च वत्सरात्।
ब्रह्मक्षत्रविशां काल औपनायनिकः परः॥
अत ऊर्द्ध्वं पतन्त्येते सर्वधर्मबहिष्कृताः।
सावित्रीपतिता व्रात्या व्रात्यस्तोमादृते क्रतोः॥

See also Vas, 11·50·54, Manu, 2·38-39, etc.

Baudhāyana 1·9·16 would describe वर्णसंकरादुत्पन्नान् (mixed castes—out of Pratiloma marriages ?) also as Vrātyas.

[4]प्राजापत्य (Prājāpatya) :—*See* Manu, 11·211. One meal a day for six days ; then no begging even for food for three days and fasting for three days.

उद्दालक (Uddālaka) :—Two months on यावक (=barley gruel), one month on पयस् (milk), fifteen days on आमिक्षा (a mixture of boiled milk and curds), eight nights on ghee, six without begging, three on water only and one on fasting, "night"= अहोरात्र (twenty-four hours). Vs. Dharma Sūtra, 11·76-79.

चान्द्रायन (Chāndrāyana) :—Fasting on New moon, increase by one mouthful in Śukla fortnight and decrease by one mouthful in dark fortnight. Vas. Dharma Sūtra, 27·21, etc.

यस्य प्रपितामहादेर्नानुस्मर्यत उपनयनं तस्य।
द्वादशवर्षाणि त्रैविद्यकं ब्रह्मचर्यम्॥

B. On Part II

[1]Gait remarks (*Census Report, Bengal, 19·1, P. 380*): "There seems to be no room for doubt as to the common origin of the two sections of the Kaivartas." The Māhiṣya theory was not developed to any great extent in 1891 and the word is not even mentioned in Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal.*

[2] निषादो मार्गवं सूते, दासं नौकर्मजीविनम्।
कैवर्तमिति यं प्राहुरार्यावर्तनिवासिनः॥

(Manu, 10·34.)

दासे कैवर्तधीवरौ।

(Amara.)

दाश is identified by Śamkara on Vedānts Sūtrá 2·3·43 with कैवर्त।

Mahābhārata identifies Dāsa with boatmen (नावोपजीवी।)

[3]*See* appendix.

[4] तैलिको गान्धिकश्चैव कंसकारो मणिवणिक्।
स्वर्णवणिक् स्वर्णकारः षडेते तौलिकाः स्मृताः॥

[5]According to Monier-Williams and Wilson, Rathakāras include ironsmiths, carpenters. coppersmiths, masons and goldsmiths. Pañchālas include carpenters, weavers, barbers, washermen and shoemakers according to these scholars who base their views on a lexicon compiled by Madras pundits for the Madras College for Civilians.

According to Tait. Br. 1·1·4, Ap. Sr. S. 5·3·18, Kātyāyana Sr. S. 1·1·9·10, etc., a Rathakāra was allowed the privilege of adhāna (consecration of the sacred fire). In some Smṛtis, Rathakāras are given the privilege of Upanayana (*e.g.*, Baudh. G. S. 2·5·6. Bharadwāja G. S. 1·1.) Jaimini (Pūrva Mīmānsā Sūtra. 6·1·44-50) would identify Rathakāras with Saudhanvana caste.

वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत, ग्रीष्मे राजन्यः, शरदि वैश्यः, वर्षासु रथकारमिति।

(Baudh. G.S., 2·56.)

"क्षत्रियवैश्यानुलोमानन्तरजोत्पन्नो रथकारस्तस्य चेज्यादानोपनयनसंस्कारक्रिया अश्वप्रतिष्ठा रथसूत्रवास्तुविद्याध्ययनवर्तिता च।"

Śamkha cited in Saṃskāra-prakāśa. *see* Kane, H.D.S. II 45-46. In Vinaya-Sutta-Vibhanga, Anguttara 1·107, etc., Chaṇḍāla, Veṇa, Niṣāda, Pukkusa and Rathakāra are Hinajātis, included in Mlechhas (Milakha).

[6] क्षत्रियात् शूद्रकन्यायां क्रूराचारविहारवान् ।
क्षत्रशूद्रवपुर्जन्तुरुग्रो नाम प्रजायते ॥

(Manu, 10·9.)

Also

क्षत्रोग्रपुक्कसानान्तु विलौकावधबन्धनम् ॥

(Manu, 10·49.)

[7] ग्रामणी नापिते पुंसि श्रेष्ठे ग्रामाधिपे त्रिषु ।

(Amara.)

[8]*See* Section IX, Note 1.

[9] अयमागन्त् सविता क्षुरेणोष्णेन वाय उदकेनेहि ।
आदित्या रुद्रा वसव उन्दन्तु सचेतसः सोमस्य राज्ञः
वपत प्रचेतसे ॥ १ ॥
अदिति श्मश्रु वपत्वाप उन्दन्तु वर्चसा ।
चिकित्सतु प्रजापतिर्दीर्घायुत्वाय चक्षसे ॥ २ ॥
येनावपत्सविता क्षुरेण सोमस्य राज्ञो वरुणस्य विद्वान् ।
तेन ब्रह्माणो वंपतेदमस्य गोमानश्ववानयमस्तु
प्रजावान् ॥ ३ ॥

(Atharva Veda, 6·68.)

[10] तेषां ब्रह्मोदीशे वपनस्य नान्यः । (Brāhmaṇa is capable of shaving them none else.)

[11] अनेक-व्यवहारस्था क्षत्रियाः सन्ति तत्र वै ।
तेषामुत्तमतां यायात्कायस्थोऽक्षरजीवकः ॥ (Padma P.)
क्षत्रियः सर्वभूतानां कायस्थो वर्मसंज्ञकः ॥

(Br. Nāradīya P.)

ग्रामपो ब्राह्मणो याज्यः कायस्था लेखकास्तथा ।
शुल्कग्राही तु वैश्यो हि प्रतीहारश्च पादजः ॥ (Sukra.)

[12] चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः ।
पीड्यमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत् कायस्थैश्च विशेषतः ॥ (Vaj. 1·33.)
राजाधिकरणे तन्नियुक्तकायस्थकृतं तदध्यक्षकरचिह्नित-
राजसाक्षिकम् । (Vis. D. S. VII. 3.)

[13]Section X, Note 1.

[14] शूद्रानां नामकरण वसुघोषादिपद्धतियुक्तनामत्वं च वोध्यम्—एवमेव कुल्लुकभट्टः । (Udvāhatatva.)

[15] दत्तः कायस्थधर्मोऽस्मै चित्रगुप्तस्य यः स्मृतः ॥

[16] सत्ये वैद्याः पितुस्तुल्यास्त्रेतायां च तथा स्मृताः ।
द्वापरे क्षत्रवत् प्रोक्ताः कलौ वैश्योपमाः स्मृताः ॥

[17] शनैः शनैः क्रियालोपादथ ता वैद्यजातयः ।
कलौ शूद्रसमापन्ना यथा क्षत्रा यथा विशः ॥

[18]Section X, Note 1.

[19]Recorded in Bharata Mallika's Chandraprabhā.

APPENDIX I

Primary Mixed Castes

Abbreviations

[B=Bāudhayana Dharma Sūtra
BD=Bṛhaddharma purāṇa
BV=Brahmavaivarta purāṇa, Brahma Kāṇḍa, Ch. X, etc.
G=Gautama Dharma Sūtra
K=Kane (History of Dharma Śāstras, esp. vol. II, Pt. 1)
Kt=Kauṭilya, Artha Śāstra, III. 7
M=Manu (Ch. X)
MB=Mahābhārata. Anuśāsana Parvan, Chs. 48, 49
P=Parāśara
S=Sūta Saṃhitā
U=Uśanas Saṃhitā
Vis=Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra
Vas=Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra
Vaik=Vaikhānasa Saṃhitā
Y=Yājnavalkya
†indicates birth out of clandestine or illicit union.]

Father	Mother	Caste of offspring	Authority
(1) Brāhmaṇa	Kṣatriya	1. Murdhāvasikta	M, etc.
		2. Bhiṣak	U
(2) Ditto	Vaiśya	1. Ambasṣṭa	M, P, B, Y, BD, etc.
		2. Ārdhika	
		3. Pāraśava	G
		4. Bhṛjjakaṇṭaka	G also Medhātithi
		5. Nāpita†	U, Vaik
		6. Kumbhakāra†	S
		7. Mlechha†	S
(3) Ditto	Śūdra	1. Ugra	U
		2. Nāpita	P
		3. Dāsa	P
		4. Niṣāda	M, Y, Vas, B, etc.
		5. Pāraśava	G, MB, Nārada
		6. Pāraśava†	U, Vaik
(4) Kṣatriya	Brāhmaṇa	1. Sūta	M, Y, S, Vas, G, B, Vis, MB, etc.
		2. Rathakāra†	U, Vaik
(5) Ditto	Vaiśya	1. Ambaṣṭha	G. acc. to Haradatta
		2. Karaṇa	MB (Ādi 115·43)
		3. Bhoja	S
		4. Madgu	Vaik
		5. Māhiṣya	G, V
		6. Avīra†	S
		7. Āśvika†	Vaik
		8. Maṇikāra†	U
(6) Ditto	Śūdra	1. Ugra	B, M, Y, MB, etc.
		2. Nāpita	BD
		3. Pāraśava	MB, Nārada
		4. Dausmanta	G.
		5. Mleccha	BV
		6. Gopāla	P
(7) Vaiśya	Brāhmaṇa	1. Vaidehaka	M, B, MB Anu. 48·10, Vas
		2. Māgadha	G, U, Vaik, MB 49·9-10
		3. Kṛta	G
		4. Tāmbulin	BD
		5. Chakrin†	Vaik
		6. Kumbhakāra†	U
		7. Rāmaka	Vas
(8) Ditto	Kṣatriya	1. Māgadha	M, G, Y, MB Anu. 48·12, BD, etc.
		2. Āyogava	B, Vaik
		3. Pulkasa	Vas, Vis
		4. Dhīvara	G
		5. Vandin	Hārīta (q. in Kṛtyakalpataru)=Māgadha, MB Anu. 48·12
		6. Pulinda†	U, S, Vaik
		7. Bhūpa	Yama (acc. Kṛtyakalpataru)
		8. Rāmaka (Vāmaka ?)	MB Anu. 49·10
(9) Ditto	Śūdra	1. Ugra	G
		2. Karaṇa	G, Y, BD
		3. Rathakāra	B
		4. Kaṭakāra	U, Vaik
		5. Sūchaka	U
		6. Āyogava	MB
		7. Takṣaṇ	MB

Father	Mother	Caste of offspring	Authority
(10) Śūdra ..	. Brāhmaṇa	1. Chāṇḍāla ..	.. M, Y, B, G, Vas, etc.
		2. Śūlika† ..	.. U
(11) Ditto ..	.. Kṣatriya	1. Kṣatr ..	.. M, Y, B
		2. Charmakāra ..	.. U
		3. Māgadha ..	.. Vis
		4. Pulkasa ..	.. Vaik, U, S
		5. Yavana ..	.. G
		6. Vaiṇa ..	.. Vas
		7. Vaidehaka ..	.. Vis
		8. Tantubāya ..	.. BD
		9. Ranjaka† ..	.. U
		10. Śūlika ..	.. Vaik, S
		11. Niṣāda ..	.. Y, MB, Nārada, S†
		12. Vrātya ..	.. MB Anu. 49·9-10
(12) Ditto ..	.. Vaiśya	1. Antyāvasayin	.. Vas
		2. Āyogava ..	.. MB, G, M, Vis, Y, etc.
		3. Māgadha ..	..
		4. Pulkasa ..	.. Hārīta, Yama (in Kṛtyakalpataru)
		5. Vaidehaka ..	.. G, U, Vaik
		6. Vaidya ..	.. MB
		7. Chakrin† ..	.. U
		8. Chākrika† ..	.. Vaik

1. **Antyavasayin**
   (1) Offspring of Chāṇḍāla male and Niṣāda female (M. 10 39).
   (2) Offspring of Śūdra male and Vaiśya female (Vas. 18·3).
   (3) =Chāṇḍāla (MB. Śānti. 141·29-32).

2. **Ambastha=Bhrjjakantaka**
   (1) Offspring of Brāhmana male and Vaiśya female (P., B. 1·9·3, M. 10·8, Y. 1·91, U. 31, BD, etc.).
   (2) Offspring of Kṣatriya male and Vaiśya female (G. 4·14 according to Haradatta).

   Occupation

   Medicine (BD, M. 10·47), Agriculture, firedancing, heraldry and singing (U. 31-32), see also Vaik. 10·12. Skanda P. Sahyādri. 26·40-41. He will be शूद्रधर्मा, but वैश्यवृत्ति (?) according to BD.
   (3) A tribe, *see* Raichaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Ind.*
   (4) A country. cf. Mahābhāṣya on P. IV. 1.170.

3. **Ayogava**
   (1) Offspring of Śūdra male and Vaiśya female. (M. 10·12, Kt. 3·7, G. 4·15, Vis. 16·4, MB. Anu. 48·13, Y. 1·94).
   (2) Offspring of Vaiśya male and Kṣatriya female (B. 1·9·7, U. 12, Vaik. 10·14)=Pulkasa of Vas. 18·3.

   Occupation

   (1) Paring wood (M. 10·48).
   (2) Weaving, making bronze vessels, cultivation, dealing in cloth (U. 13).
   (3) Stage (acting) (Vis. 16·8. Agni P. 151·15).
   (4) Working on stones and brick, white-washing, etc. (Skanda P. Sahyādri. 28·68-69).
   We get Āyogū in Tait. Br. 3·4·1.

4. **Ugra**
   (1) Offspring of Kṣatriya male and Śūdra female (B. 1·9·5, M. 10·9, Kt. 3·7, Y. 1·92, MB. Anu. 48·7).
   (2) Offspring of Brāhmaṇa male and Śūdra female (U. 41).
   (3) Offspring of Vaiśya male and Śūdra female (G. 4·14)=Rājputa (Skanda. Sahyādri and Kamalākara).

   Occupation.

   (1) Catching and killing animals hiding in holes (M. 10·49).
   (2) Bearing staff of the king and execution of punishments inflicted by the king (U. 41).

5. **Karana**
   (1) Vrātya Kṣatriya, also known variously as Jhalla Malla, Nicchivi, Naṭa, Khasa and Draviḍa (M. 10·22).
   (2) Offspring of a Ksatriya male and a Vaiśya female (MB. Ādi. 115-43 describing Yuyutsu, a son of Dhṛtarāstra).
   (3) =Kāyastha (Medini Kosa, Vaijayantī) meaning perhaps nothing more than a writer. Work of a Kāyastha (Viśva, Sāśvata, Trikāṇda Śeṣa) Group of Kāyasthas (Hema).
   (4) =Chāraṇa or Vaitālika, a bard (Skanda-Sahyādri. 26·1·49-51).

   According to BD. a Karaṇa is a Satśūdra, his occupation being writing or king's service (लिपिकर्म, राजकार्य). There can be little doubt that Karaṇa is here identical with the Kāyastha caste of Bengal.

6. **Ksattr**
   (1) Offspring of Śūdra male and Kṣatriya female (B. 1·9·7, Kt. 3·7, M. 10·12, 13, 16, Y. 1·94, etc.). =Vaiṇa (Vas. 18·2).

   Occupation

   As of Ugra and Pulkasa (M. 104·9-50).
   (2) Charioteer (सारथ्य).
   (3) Doorkeeper (*see* Chhāndogya, U. 4·1·5-8).

   Chakrin
   (1) Offspring of illicit union of Śūdra male and Vaiśya female (U. 22-23).
   (2) Offspring of Vaiśya male and Brāhmaṇa female (Vaik. 10·13).

   Occupation

   (1) Selling of oil, oilcake and salt (U.), cf. Telis of Bengal.
   (2) Selling salt and oil (Vaik.).
   (3) Pressing of sesame (Brahmāṇḍa P. quoted by Aparārka on Y.).

8. **Charmakara, Charmara, Charmavakrtta** (M. 4·218). **Karavara** (M. 10·36)
   (1) Offspring of Śūdra male and Kṣatriya female (U. 4).
   (2) Offspring of a Vaidehaka male and Brāhmaṇa female (U. 21, Vaik. 10·15).
   (3) Offspring of an Āyogava male and Brāhmaṇa female (S.).

(4) Offspring of a Vaidehaka male and Niṣāda female (MB. Anu. 48·26, same origin as for Andhra).
(5) Offspring of a Tivara male and Chaṇḍāla female (BV. Jātimālā).
(6) Offspring of a Takṣaṇ male and Vaiśya female (BD.).

9. Chakrika

(1) Offspring of an illicit union of a Śūdra male and a Vaiśya female (Vaik. 10·4).

Occupation

Selling of salt, oil and oilcakes (Vaik.), cf. Chākrin= Tailaka (Hema).
(2) =Ghaṇṭika (bell-ringer) or Śrāvaka (Amara).

10. Chandal or Chandala

(1) Offspring of a Śūdra male and Brāhmaṇa female (G. 4·15-16, Vas. 18·1, B. 1·9·7, M. 10·12, Y. 1·93, MB., etc.).
(2) Offspring of a union with sagotra girl (Yama, Vyāsa, 1·9-10, Laghu Śātātapa 59).
(3) =Matanga (MB. Anu. 29 17).
(4) =Antyāvasayin, see above.

11. Napita. (*see* pp. 33-4)

(1) Born of Brāhmaṇa father and Śūdra mother (P.11 ·21, same origin as Dāsa).
(2) Born of Ksatriya male and Śūdra female (BD.).
(3) Born of illicit union of a Brāhmaṇa male and Vaiśya female (U. 32-34, Vaik. 10 12)=Urdhvanāpita. Same origin as Kumbhakāra (S.).
(4) Born of an Ambaṣṭha male and Kṣatriya female (Vaik. 10 ·15).
(5) Born of Kṣatriya male and Niṣāda female= Adho-Nāpita. (S)
(6) Born of Kuverin male and Paṭṭikāra female (Jāti-mālā).

The Nāpita belongs to the Navaśāyaka group in Bengal.

12. Magadha

(1) Born of a Vaiśya male and Ksatriya female (G. 4·5, Kt. 3·7, M. 10·11 & 17, Y. 1·93, BD., MB., Anu. 48·12).
(2) Born of a Vaiśya male and a Brāhmaṇa female (G. 4·16, U. 17, Vaik. 10·13).
(3) Born of a Śūdra male and a Vaiśya female (B. 1·9·7).
(4) Born of a Śūdra male and a Kṣatriya female (Vis. 16·5).

Occupation

(1) Trade (M).
(2) =Vandin: praise of kings (MB. Anu. 48·48).
(3) "Clever in ornate prose, six languages and kalās....devotee of Kālika" (Skanda, Sahyādri 26·60-62).
(4) Praise; singing; bearing messages (Vaik.). Untouchables (do.).
(5) Praise; bearing messages; service of Vaiśyas (U. 7-8).

13. Pulkasa, Pukkasa, Paulkasa

(1) Born of Niṣāda father and Śūdra mother (B. 1·9·14, M. 10·18).
(2) Born of Niṣāda father and Ugra mother (Kt. 3·7).
(3) Born of Śūdra father and Kṣatriya mother (Vaik. 10·14, U. 7, S.).
(4) Born of Vaiśya father and Kṣatriya mother (Vas. 18·5, Vis. 16·5).
(5) Born of Śūdra father and Vaiśya mother (Hārita and Yama quoted in Kṛtyakalpataru).
(6) Born of Chaṇḍāla father and Āyogava mother (MB. Anu. 48·24).

Same as Mṛtapa according to Kṣīrasvāmin on Amarakoṣa.

Occupation

(1) Hunting (Vis., Agni P.).
(2) Catching and killing of animals living in holes. Same as of Ugra and Kṣatṛ (M. 10·49).
(3) Manufacture and sale of liquors and intoxicating drugs (Vaik. 10·14, S.).

14. Nisada

(1) Born of Brāhmaṇa male and Śūdra female. Same as Pāraśava (B. 1·9·3, Vas. 18·8, M. 10·8, MB. Anu. 48·5, Y. 1·91, Kt. 3·7, U. 36-38, Vaik.).
(2) Born of Brāhmana father and Vaiśya mother (G. 4·14).
(3) Born of Kṣatriya male and Śūdra female (Nārada, MB. Anu. 48·12).
(4) Produced from left hand of king Veṇa (Vāyu P. 2·1, 120-21, Bhāgavata P. 4·14·42).

He is one of the Pañchajanas (Nirukta 3·8) and repository of all vices (निषण्णमस्मिन् पापकम्, cf. also Harṣacharita—1). He has reddish eyes and black hair (MB. Sānti. 59·96-97). He is short in stature, his hands and feet are short, hair brown, cheeks prominent and nose flat (Bhāgavata). He lives killing wild animals (Vaik.).

15. Parasava

(1) Born of Brāhmana father and Śūdra mother (M. 10·8, G. 4·14, etc.). Origin same as Niṣāda acording to many writers.
(2) Born of illicit union of a Brāhmaṇa male and a Śūdra female (U. Vaik.). He is a devotee of Bhadrakālī and lives by painting, beating drums, etc.

16. Yavana

(1) Born of Śūdra father and Kṣatriya mother (G. 4·17).
(2) Kṣatriyas reduced to sūdra Status (M. 10·43-44).
(3) Śūdras living outside Āryāvarta (Mahābhāṣya on P. II. 4·10).
(4) Yonas. Yonas and Kambojas were tribes living outside Asoka's empire. Rock Edict V. XIII.

Also *see* Viṣṇu P. 4·3·21. Yavanas are mlecchas shaving their heads as well as beards.

17. Rathakara

(1) Born of Vaiśya father and Śūdra mother (B. 1·9·6).
(2) Born of Māhisya father and Karana mother (Y. 1·95).
(3) Born of Kṣatriya father and Brāhmaṇa mother (illicit union) (U. 5-6, Vaik. 10·13).

Occupation

(1) Taming horses, making chariots, building houses (Mitākṣarā quoting Saṃkha).
(2) Tending and driving horses and carts (U., Vaik.).

They formerly had upanayana ceremony but later became degraded to the status of Śūdra (U., Vaik.). Originally their rank was just below Vaiśya. *Vide* Kāśikā on P. 4·1·151.

18. Vaidehaka

(1) Born of Vaiśya father and Brāhmaṇa mother (B. 1·9·8, Kt. 3·7, M. 10·11, 13, 17, Vis. 16·6, Nārada, Y. 1·93, MB. Anu. 48·10).
(2) Born of Śūdra father and Kṣatriya mother (G. 4·15).
(3) Born of Śūdra father and Vaiśya mother (G. 4·15, Vaik. 10·4, U. 20).
(4) =Pulkasa (S.).
(5) =Merchant (Kt. 1·11 according to Pt. Shāmaśastrin. Also Medinīkoṣa, etc.).

Occupation

(1) Guarding women (M. 10·47, Agni P. 151·14).
(2) Tending goats, cows, buffaloes; selling milk and milk products (U., Vaik.).

19. Suta

(1) Born of Kṣatriya father and Brāhmaṇa mother (M. 10·11, G. 4·15, B. 1·9·9, Vas. 18·6, Kt. 3·7, Y. 1·9·3, S. Vis. 16·6, etc.).

Occupation

(1) Driving chariots (M., Vis.).
(2) Reminding king about his duties and cooking for him (Vaik., U.).
(3) Attending on Brāhmanas and Kṣatriyas (MB. Karṇa 32·48).
(4) Preserving pedigrees of kings and nobles; looking after chariots, elephants and horses; practice of medicine (Vāyu P. 1·1·33-35, etc.).
(5) All the work of a Kṣatriya; charioteer; taming of elephants and riding horses (Skanda, Sahyādri 26·53-54).

APPENDIX II

Glossary of Castes in the Sastras

(Abbreviations as in Appendix I)

Serial No.	Caste	Father's caste or general description	Mother's caste	Reference	Remarks
1	Aṭṭālikākāra	Chitrakara	Śūdra* (Prostitute)	BV.	
2	Antya Antyaja	....	....	....	General name for lowest castes. *See* M.4.79, 8.68., Y.1.148, 197, Atri. 251 Likhita 92, etc. *See* p. 31.
3	Antyāvasayin, Antevāsin	(1) Chāṇḍāla (2) Śūdra (3) =Chāṇḍāla	Niṣāda Vaiśya	M.10.39, MB. Anu. 48.28, Vas, 18,3, MB. Śānti. 141, 29-32	General name for lowest castes such as Chāṇḍāla, Śvapacha, etc. *See* p. 29. Amara does not distinguish between Niṣāda, Śvapacha, Pukkasa, Chāṇḍāla and Antevāsin.
4	Andhra	(1) Vaidehaka (2) Vaidehaka (3) Outcaste Sons of Viśvāmitra (4) A tribe mentioned in many places.	Karavara Niṣāda	M. 10.36 MB. Anu. 48.25 Ait. Br. 33.6	Mentioned in Devapāladeva's Nālanda plate (E. I. 17.321) as one of the lowest castes, along with Meda and Chāṇḍāla.
5	Ambaṣṭha	....	....	*See* Appendix I	
6	Ayaskāra	Karmakāra	....	....	Śūdra according to Mahabhaṣya on P. II. 4.10.
7	Avarīṭa	Any caste	Same caste*	Devala q. by Apararka 1.92	=Avarāṭa (Kullūka) =Avarāṭaka (Kamalākara).
8	Avīra	Ksatriya	Vaiśya*	S.	
9	Āgari	Karaṇa	Rājaputra	BV.	cf. Ugra.
10	Achārya	Class of Brāhmaṇa	....	....	Also Śakadwīpin, Agradānin, etc.
11	Āpīta	Brāhmaṇa	Dausyanta	S.	
12	Ābhīra	Brāhmaṇa	Ambaṣṭha	M. 10.15	Dasyus and Mlecchas (MB. Mausala. 7.46, etc., 8.16, 17). Śūdras (MB. Asv. 29.15-16) Distinguished from Śūdras (Mahābhāṣya on P. 1.2.72).
13	Āyogava	....	....	*See* Appendix I	
14	Ārdhika	Brāhmaṇa	Vaiśya	Parāśara	
15	Āvantya	....	....	M. 10.21	Bhūrjakaṇṭha.
16	Āvṛta	Brāhmaṇa	Ugra	M. 10.15	
17	Āśapa	....	....	Vyāsa?	Antyaja.
18	Āśvika	Kṣatriya	Vaiśya*	Vaik. 10.12	
19	Āhiṇḍika	Niṣāda	Vaideha	M. 10.37 MB. Anu. 48.27	Kārāvara when following avocation of a Charmakāra (M. 10.36)
20	Ugra	....	....	*See* Appendix I	
21	Upakruṣṭa	...	....	ĀS. Ś. S. 2,1	Vaiśya carpenter but not a Dwija.

*Indicates born out of wedlock.

Serial No.	Caste	Father's caste or general description	Mother's caste	Reference	Remarks
22	Udbandhaka	(1) Sūnika (2) Khaṇaka	Kṣatriya Kṣatriya	U. 15 Vaik. 10.15.	Untouchable, =washerman.
23	Oḍra	[A tribe]	....	M. 10.43, 44. etc.	
24	Kansakāra	(1) Viśvakarman (2) Brāhmaṇa	Ghṛtāchi Vaiśya	BV. BD.	Also Viṣ. 10.4.
25	Kaṭakāra	Vaiśya	Śūdra	U. 45. Vaik. 10.13	
26	Kandara Kalandara	Leṭa	Tīvara	BV.	
27	Kapālin	(1) Dhīvara (2) Tīvara	Rajaka Brāhmaṇa	BV. JM.	
28	Karaṇa	....	....	*See* Appendix I	
29	Kartāra	Kaivarta	Kocha	BV.	
30	Karmakāra	(1) Viśvakarman (2) Śūdra (3) Tailaka	Ghṛtāchī Vaiśya or Kṣatriya Bārujīvin	BV. BD. BD. JM.	Ref. Viṣ. 51.14. Perhaps originally meant an artisan in general= Karmāra which is an old word found in R. V. 10. 72. 2, A. V. 3.5.6. etc. Of Kulāladi group. P. 4.3.118; *see* also Ayaskara.
31	Kalandara	*See* Kandara	....	....	
32	Kākavacha	....	....	U. 50	Occupation: Bringing grass for horses.
33	Kāṇḍāra	Kaivarta	Kocha	BV.	× Kartāra.
34	Kāmboja	....	....	M. 10.43, 44	Kamboja country is mentioned in Yāska 2.2, Pānini 4.1.175 MD. Drona. 121.13. etc.
35	Kāyastha	....	....	*See* p. 34.	
36	Kārāvara	(1) Vaidehaka (2) Niṣāda	Niṣāda Vaidehaka	MB. Anu. 48.26 M. 10.30	=Charmakāra (M), Occupation: Leather work (M); holding torches and umbrellas for others (Kamalakāra).
37	Kārūṣa	Vrātya Vaiśya	....	M. 10.23	=Sudhanvāchārya, Vijanman, Maitra, Sātvata.
38	Kirāta	Vrātya Kṣatriya	....	M. 10.43-44 MB. Anu. 35.17, 18	Mleccha acc. to Amara. Actually a hill tribe of the Himalayan region.
39	Kukunda	Māgadha	Śūdra	S.	
40	Kukkuṭaka	(1) Śūdra (2) Vaiśya	Niṣāda Niṣāda	M. 10.18, B. 1.9.5 B. 1.8.12	Occupation: Manufacture of swords and arrangement of cock-fights. (Āditya P. quoted by Kamalākara).
41	Kuḍava	Swarṇabaṇik	Vaidya	BD.	Antyaja (BD).
42	Kuṇḍa	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa*	M. 3.174	
43	Kundakāra	Tīvara	Brāhmaṇa	JM.	
44	Kumbhakāra	(1) Viśvakarman (2) Śūdra (3) Paṭṭikāra (4) Brāhmaṇa	Ghṛtāchī* Kṣatriya Tailika Vaiśya	BV. BD. JM. U. 32	Antyaja (Vyasa). Of Navasāyaka group in Bengal.
45	Kubācha	Tīvara	Brāhmaṇa	JM.	
46	Kuverin	Kumbhakāra	Paṭṭikāra	JM.	
47	Kuvinda	Viśvakarman	Ghṛtāchī*	BV.	Same as Tantravāya or Tantuvāya.
48	Kulāla	....	....	....	Same as Kumbhakāra.

8

Serial No.	Caste	Father's caste or general description	Mother's caste	Reference	Remarks
49	Kulika	....	....	....	Same as Devalaka (Sankha quoted by Aparārka). Devala is a Brahman who earns his livelihood by worshipping minor deities for clients.
50	Kuśīlava	(1) Ambaṣṭha (2) Vaidehaka	Vaidehaka Ambaṣṭha	B.(quoted in Kṛtyakalpataru) Kautilya 3.7.	Chāraṇa (bard) according to =Amara.
51	Kūdara	Arṣi	Brāhmaṇa* woman in her course.	BV.	
52	Kṛta	Vaiśya	Brāhmaṇa	G. 4.15	Cf. Vaidehaka (Y. 1.93, etc.).
53	Kaivarta	(1) Niṣāda (2) Kṣatriya	Āyogava Vaiśya	M. 10.34 BV.	Also M. 8.260. Same as Mārgava and Dāsa (Manu) Patita by association with Tīvara (BV) Antyaja (Atri, etc.).
54	Kocha	Tīvara	Mansacchedin (butcher ?).	BV.	
55	Koṭika	Aṭṭālikākāra	Kumbhakāra	BV.	
56	Kola, Kolaka	Leṭa	Tīvara	BV.	Antyaja (Vyāsa). *See* also Bhaḍa, Gangāputra.
57	Kouāli	Tīvara	Rajaka	BV.	
58	Kṣatṛ	Śūdra	Kṣatriya	M. 10.12	*See* App. I.
59	Kṣudra	Vaidehaka	Niṣāda	MB. Anu. 48.25	=Meda (Nilakaṇṭha) Kṣudraka is the name of a tribe, *see* M.B. Also *see* Com. on p. 5.3.115.
60	Khaṇaka	Āyogava	Kṣatriya	Vaik. 10.15	Diggers of earth. Cf. Beldar. App. III. (Glossary B)
61	Khaṇḍā	Śūdra	Vaiśya	JM.	
62	Khasa	....	....	M. 10.22	Same as Karana. Reduced to Śūdra status (M. 10.43-44) Obviously a non-aryan tribe. Mleccha (BD).
63	Gangāputra	Leṭa	Tīvara	BV.	Same as Bhaḍa, Kola, etc. (BV).
64	Gaṇaka	Devala Brāhmaṇa.	Vaiśya	BD.	Astrologer.
65	Gaṇḍakāra Gaṇḍajīva.	Puṇḍajīva (?)	Rajaka	JM.	
66	Gandhabaṇik Gāndhika	(1) Brāhmaṇa (2) Vaiśya (3) Ambaṣṭha	Vaiśya Rājaputra Rājaputra	BD. JM. Parāśarapaddhati q. in Śabdakalpa-druma.	
67	Guhaka	Śwapacha	Brāhmaṇa	S.	
68	Gopa, Gopāla	(1) Vaiśya (2) Kṣatriya (3) Maṇibandha	Kṣatriya Śūdra Tantravāya	BD. Parāśara 11.22. JM., Parāśara (Śabdakalpadruma).	Of Navasāyaka group in Bengal.
69	Goja	Kṣatriya	Kṣatriya*	U. 28, 29.	
70	Ghaṭṭajīvin	Rajaka	Vaiśya	BD.	Antyaja (BD)=Pātni.
71	Chakrin	(1) Śūdra (2) Vaiśya	Vaiśya* Brāhmaṇa	U. 22-23 Vaik. 10-13.	*See* App. I. p. 47.
72	Chāṇḍāla	(1) Śūdra (2) Offspring of Sagotra marriage. (3) =Mātanga	Brāhmaṇa*	M. 10.12, BV, etc., Vyāsa, Śātātapa. MB. Anu. 29.17.	Antyaja.

Serial No.	Caste	Father's caste or general description	Mother's caste	Reference	Remarks
73	Charmakāra Charmāra	(1) Śūdra (2) Vaidehaka (3) Āyogava (4) Tīvara (5) Takṣan (6) Vaidehaka (7) Tīvara	Kṣatriya Brāhmaṇa Brāhmaṇa Chāṇḍāla Vaiśya Niṣāda Brāhmaṇa	U. 4 U. 21, Vaik. 10.15 S. BV. BD. MB. Anu. 48.26 JM.	=Kārāvara (M) Charmāvakṛtta (M. 4.218). Same origin as Andhra.
74	Chākrika	(1) Śūdra	Vaiśya*	Vaik. 10.14	=Śrāvaka App. I Bell-ringer (Amara).
75	Chitrakara	(1) Viśvakarman (2) Sthapati	Ghṛtāchi* Gandhika	BV. JM.	
76	Chīna	....	....	M. 10.43-44	Kṣatriya reduced to Śūdra status.
77	Chunchu	Brāhmaṇa	Vaidehaka	Kūlluka on M. 10.48	Killer of wild animals. cf. Andhras and Madgus.
78	Chūchuka	Vaiśya	Śūdra	Vaik. 10.13	Sells and purchases betelnuts, betel-leaves and sugar. cf. Tāmbūli.
79	Chūrṇakara	Bhaḍa	Vaiśya	JM.	
80	Chailanirṇejaka	....	....	....	Washer of clothes. Distinguished from Rajaka (Dyer) by Hārita quoted by Aparārka, and by Viṣ. 51.13. Ref. M. 4.216=Rajaka (Amara). Kṣirasvamin says "sometimes washerman is the dyer but in Smritis they are different".
81	Jālika Jālopajivin	Māgadha	Śūdra	BD.	=Those who catch animals in nets.
82	Jola	Mlecchha	Kuvinda	BV.	
83	Jhalla	....	....	M. 10.22	Brātya Kṣatriya identical with Naṭa, Karaṇa, etc.
84	Dama Domba Doma	Leṭa	Chāṇḍāla	BV.	=Haddi i.e. Hādi. =Svapacha (Kṣiraswāmin, and Rājatarangini 6.182, 192, etc.) Profession is singing, etc., acc. to Rāja.
85	Takṣan =Vardhakin	(1) Karaṇa (2) Sūchaka (3) Chūchuka	Vaiśya Brāhmaṇa Brāhmaṇa	BD. U. 43 Vaik. 10.14	*See* App. I. Śūdra. acc. to Mahābhāṣya on P. 2.4.10.
86	Tantuvāya	(1) Śūdra (2) Maṇibandha (3) Viśvakarman	Kṣatriya .... Maṇikāra Ghrtāchi*	BD. JM. BV.	=Tantravāya, Kuvinda, Antyaja (Vyāsa). Of Navasāyaka group in Bengal.
87	Tāmbūlin Tāmbūlika	Vaiśya	Brāhmaṇa	BV.	Sat Śūdra (BV); of Navasāyaka group in Bengal. Ref. in Kāmasūtra 1.5.37.
88	Tāmrakuṭṭa Tāmropajīvin	(1) Gandhabaṇik (2) Āyogava	Rājaputra Brāhmaṇa	JM U. 14. Vaik. 10.15.	=Tāmra (Vaik.).
89	Tunnavāya	Vaidehaka	Kṣatriya	U. 22, Vaik. 10.15.	=Sūchika, Sauchika (Amara), Tailor. Ref. M.4. 214.
90	Tila Tilla	....	.... ..	....	="Taili"? "Taili" is of Navasāyaka group. Tilis claim to be "Taili" or "Taulika"—but not Tailakāra.
91	Tīvara	(1) Kṣatriya (2) Bhaḍa	Rājaputra* Vaiśya	BV. JM.	
92	Tailakāra	(1) Kumbhakāra (2) Gopa	Koṭika Vaiśya	BV. BD.	Cf. Chākrika whose food is not acceptable.

Serial No.	Caste	Father's caste or general description	Mother's caste	Reference	Remarks
93	Taulika	(1) Vaiśya (2) Bārujīvin	Brāhmaṇa Gopa	BD. JM.	Tilis claim to be Taulikas.
94	Darada	*See* Karaṇa, etc.	....	....	Tribal people.
95	Dasyu	(1) Descendants of Viśvāmitra. (2) Tīvara (3) Tīvara	.... Tailakāra Śuṇḍin	.... BV. BV.	Manu 10.45. calls all Vrātyas by this appellation. BV. says Leṭas are also Dasyus.
96	Dāsa	(1) Niṣāda (2) Śūdra (3) Brāhmaṇa (4) Kṣatriya	Āyogava Kṣatriya Śūdra Vaiśya	M 10.34 BD. Parāśara Bhāgavata P.10.5.14 Com.	Antyaja (Vyāsa). Same as Mārgava and Kaivarta (M). Also MB. Anu. 48.21 = Madgura.
97	Dolāvāhin	Tailakāra	Vaiśya	BD.	Antyaja (BD)=Duley ? of Bengal.
98	Dausmantya Dausyanta(S.)	Kṣatriya	Śūdra	G. 4.14.	
99	Draviḍa	Same as Karaṇa, etc.	....	....	Vrātya Kṣatriya M. 10.43-44.
100	Dhigvaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Āyogava	M. 10.15	Works on and sells hides (M. 10.49) Kullūka relying on Uśanas(?) distinguishes them from Kārāvaras. cf. Charmakāra.
101	Dhīvara	(1) Gopa (2) Vaiśya	Śūdra Kṣatriya	BD. G. 4.17	*See* App. I. Same as Kewata and Dāsa. Tait. Br. 3.4.12 seems to distinguish the three. Antyaja and untouchable.
102	Dhvajin	....	....	....	Ref. to by Aparārka quoting Sumantu and Hārita. Same as Śauṇḍika according to Brahma P. quoted by Aparārka.
103	Naṭa	(1) Mālākāra (2) Same as Karaṇa, etc. (3) Sauchika	Śūdra Kaivarta	BD. Parāśara-Paddhati	Untouchable (Samvarta) Antyaja (Atri). Actor but distinguished from Śailuṣa by Apārarka quoting Hārita.
104	Nartaka	Ranjaka	Vaiśya	U. 19	Dancer.
105	Nāpita	(1) Brāhmaṇa (2) Ambaṣṭha (3) Brāhmaṇa (4) Kṣatriya (5) Kṣatriya (6) Kuverin	Vaiśya* Kṣatriya Śūdra Niṣāda Śūdra Paṭṭikāra	U. 32.34, Vaik 10.12. S. 12.15. Vaik 10.15 Parāśara 11.21. S. BD. JM.	*See* App. I. Navasāyaka group in Bengal.
106	Nicchivi	Same as Karaṇa, etc. (Vrātya Kṣatriya).	....	M. 10.22	Licchivikas mentioned in Kautilya 11.1. Licchavis of Vaiśāli are mentioned by Fa Hien.
107	Niṣāda	(1) Brāhmaṇa (2) Brāhmaṇa (3) Kṣatriya	Śūdra Vaiśya Śūdra	Kaut. 3.7, U. 36.38 Vaik, etc. M. 10.8, Vas. 18.8. B.1.9.3., Y. 1.91 G. 4.14. Nārada, MB. Anu. 48.12.	*See* App. I.
108	Paṭṭakāra	Śaraka	Nāpita	JM.	
109	Paṭṭikāra	Mālākāra	Karmakāra	JM.	
110	Pahlava	....	....	M. 10.43-4	Vrātya Kṣatriya degraded to Śūdra status.
111	Pāṇḍusopāka	(1) Chāṇḍāla (2) Chāṇḍāla	Vaidehaka Niṣāda	M. 10.37 MB. Anu. 48.28	Bamboo-worker (M) Vuruḍa. Antāvasāyin.
112	Pārada	....	....	M. 10.43-44	Kṣatriya caste degraded to Śūdra status. Mentioned in MB. as Mlecchas *e.g.*, Sabhā 32.15, etc.

Serial No.	Caste	Father's caste or general description	Mother's caste	Reference	Remarks
113	Pāraśava	(1) Brāhmaṇa (2) Devala (a Brāhmaṇa who earns his livelihood by worshipping minor deities for clients)	Śūdra Śūdra	M. 10.8. G. 4.14 JM.	*See* Niṣāda, App. I. Vidūra was a Pāraśava (MB. Ādi. 109.25). Śūdra according to Sahyādri. 26.43, etc.
114	Pārṣata	Same as Niṣāda	....	Garuḍa P.	
115	Pingala	Brāhmaṇa	Āyogava	S.	
116	Pukkasa Pulkasa, etc.	(1) Niṣāda (2) Mlecchha (3) Śūdra (4) Niṣāda (5) Vaiśya (6) Śūdra (7) Chāṇḍāla	Śūdra Kṣatriya Ugra Kṣatriya Vaiśya Āyogava	M. 10.18, B. 1.9.14 BD. G., U. 17, S., Vaik. 10-14. Kaut. 3.7. Vas. 18.5; Vis. 16.5 Hārita and Yama quoted in Kṛtyakalpataru. MB. Anu. 48.24	*See* App. I. Eats horse-flesh and ass-flesh (MB).
117	Puṇḍajīva	....	....	JM.	No origin given.
118	Puṣpadha	Vrātya Brāhmaṇa	Vrātya Brāhmaṇa	M. 10.21	Same as Āvantya, Bhūrjakaṇṭaka etc.
119	Puṇḍra Punda Pauṇḍraka	Vaisya	Śūdra	BV.	*See* p. 33. Paundrakas are Vrātya Kṣatriyas M. 10.43-44.
120	Baka	Tīvara	Brāhmaṇa	JM.	
121	Baṇij	General name for Trader castes	....	....	Sat śūdra (BV).
122	Bhaṭa	....	....	Vyāsa 1.12	Antyaja.
123	Bhaṭṭa	Śūdra	Vaiśya	BV.	=Bhāt, cf. Chāraṇa.
124	Bhaḍa	(1) Leṭa (2) Gaṇḍajiva	Tīvara Naṭa	BV. JM.	
125	Bhilla	Tīvara	Brāhmaṇa*	Parāśarapaddhati	Āntyaja (Angiras, Atri. 99. Yama 33).
126	Bhiṣak	Brāhmaṇa	Kṣatriya*	U. 27	Occupation: Study of Ayurveda, Astronomy, and Mathematics cf. Ambaṣṭha.
127	Bhūpa	Vaiśya	Kṣatriya	Yama in Kṛtyakalpataru.	
128	Bhūrjakaṇṭaka	Vrātya Brāhmaṇa	Vrātya Brāhmaṇa	M. 10.21	Same as Āvantya, Vaṭadhāna, Puspadha or Śaikha.
129	Bhṛjjakaṇṭha	Brāhmaṇa	Vaiśya	G. 4.17 Medhātithi	Same as Ambaṣṭha.
130	Bhakhala	Tīvara	Brāhmaṇa	JM.	
131	Bhoja	Kṣatriya	Vaiśya	S.	
132	Maṇikāra	(1) Tāmrakuṭṭa (2) Kṣatriya (3) Vaiśya	Samkhakāra Vaiśya* Vaiśya*	JM. U. 39-40. S.	Cf. Ābhīra.
133	Maṇibandha	Maṇikāra	Tāmrakuṭṭa	JM.	
134	Matsyabandhaka	Takṣaka	Kṣatriya	U. 44.	
135	Matanga Mātanga	=Chāṇḍāla	....	Cf. Bāṇa-Kādambarī, 9; Amara, etc.	
136	Madgu	(1) Brāhmaṇa (2) Kṣatriya	Vandin Vaiśya	(1) B. Kūlluka on M. 10.48. (2) Vaik, 10.12.	Profession: Killing of wild beasts, trading.
137	Madgura	Niṣāda	Māgadha	MB. Anu. 48.21	=Dāsa.

Serial No.	Caste	Father's caste or general description	Mother's caste	Reference	Remarks
138	Madranābha	Niṣāda	Āyogava	MB. Anu. 48.23.	
139	Malegrahin	Svarṇākāra	Vaidya	BD.	Antyaja (BD).
140	Malla	(1) Same as Jhalla (2) Dhīvara (3) Leṭa	 Śūdra Tīvara	M. 10.22 BD. BV.	Antyaja (BD).
141	Māñsacchedin	Chāṇḍāla	Charmakāra	BV.	
142	Māgadha	(1) Vaiśya (2) Vaiśya (3) Śūdra (4) Śūdra	Kṣatriya Brāhmaṇa Vaiśya Kṣatriya	G. 4.15, M. 10.11.17, Y. 1.93, BD. MB. Anu. 48.12, etc. G. 4, 6, U. 17, Vaik. 10.13. B. 1.9.7 Vis. 16.5.	*See* App. I. For occupation, *see* p. 33
143	Māṇavika	Śūdra	Śūdra*	S.	
144	Mātara	Leṭa	Tīvara	BV.	
145	Mādhuka	(1) Same as Maitreyaka (2) Vaidehaka	 Māgadha	M. 10.33 MB. Anu. 48.20	Ringing bell early in the morning. =Maireyaka. Distiller of wine (Nilakaṇṭha). Mādhuka means sweet-voiced (Kullūka).
146	Mārgava	=Kaivarta	....	M. 10.34.	
147	Mālākāra	(1) Viśvakarman (2) Kṣatriya (3) Karmakāra	Ghṛtāchī* Brāhmaṇa Tailika	BV. BD. JM.	Cf. Navasāyaka group.
148	Māhiṣya	Kṣatriya	Vaiśya	G. 4.17, Y. 1.92	Profession: Astrology, etc., (S); protection of crops (Kullūka); pasturage (Y); Ambaṣṭha according to Haradatta.
149	Mūrdhāvasikta	Brāhmaṇa	Kṣatriya	M. G., etc.	
150	Mṛtapa	=Svapāka, Chāṇḍāla	Māgadha	MB. Anu. 48.21	Distinguished from Chāṇḍāla and a Śūdra whose eating from a plate would defile it (aniravasita) Mahābhaṣya on P. II 4.10.
151	Meda	Vaidehaka	Niṣāda	M. 10.36, 48	Antyaja (Vyasa, etc.) Medas eat flesh of dead cattle. (Nilakaṇṭha on MB. Anu. 22.22). Sweepers of dirty places and privies (Kamalākara); killers of wild beasts (M).
152	Merubinda	Tīvara	Brāhmaṇa	JM.	
153	Maitra	Vrātyavaiśya	Vrātyavaiśya	M. 10.23	Same as Kārūṣa.
154	Maitreyaka	Vāidehaka	Āyogava	M. 10.23	Occupation: Belauding nobles and kings; ringing bells in early morning (M) cf. Māgadha, etc.
155	Maireyaka	Vaidehaka	Māgadha	MB. Anu. 48.20.	Cf. Madhuka.
156	Modaka	Kṣatriya	Śūdra	BD.	Sweetmeat-maker. Of Navasāyaka group.
157	Mlecchha	(1) Kṣatriya (2) Born of Vena's body by rubbing (3) Brāhmaṇa	Śūdra (in monthly course) Vaiśya*	BV. BD. S.	(Includes Pulinda, Khasa, Yavana).
158	Yavana	(1) Śūdra (2) Kṣatriya reduced to status of Śūdra (3) Śūdras outside Āryāvarta	Kṣatriya	G. 4.17, M. 10.43-44 Mahābhāṣya on II. 4.10.	*See* p. 44 Yonas were tribes outside Asoka's empires. Rock Edict V, XIII. They are Mlecchhas (BD).

Serial No.	Caste	Father's caste or general description	Mother's caste	Reference	Remarks
159	Yaḍava	Bhaḍa	Vaiśya	JM.	
160	Yungi	Veśadharin(?)	Gangāputra	BV.	
161	Rangāvatārin; Rangāvatāraka	....	....	Ref. M. 4.215 Maitri. Up. 7-8, etc.	Food not acceptable. It is not clear whether he belongs to a separate caste. He is a Naṭa who goes on the stage (Brahmanda P. q. by Apārarka).
162	Ranjaka	Śūdra	Kṣatriya*	U. 19. Ref. M. 4.216	Dyer.
163	Rajaka	(1) Pulkasa or Vaidehaka	Brāhmaṇa	S.	Antyaja and untouchable. *See* also Chaila-Nirṇejaka.
		(2) Pulkasa	Vaiśya	U. 18.	
		(3) Dhīvara	Tīvara	BV.	
		(4) Karaṇa	Vaiśya	BD.	
		(5) Ugra	Vaidehaka	Kamalākara.	
164	Rathakāra	(1) Vaiśya	Śudra	B. 1.9.6	*See* p. 34
		(2) Māhiṣya	Karaṇa	Y. 1.95.	
		(3) Kṣatriya	Brāhmaṇa*	U. 5-6, Vaik. 10.13.	
165	Rājaputra	(1) Kṣatriya	Karaṇa	BV.	
		(2) Kṣatṛ	Vaiśya	BD.	
		(3) Vaiśya	Ambaṣṭha	JM.	
166	Rāmaka	(1) Vaiśya	Brāhmaṇa	Vas. 18.4	=Kṛta of G. 4.15 =Vaidehaka of B.
		(2) Vaiśya	Kṣatriya	MB. Anu. 49.10 =Vāmaka.	
167	Leṭa	Tīvara	Tailakara	BV.	=Dasyu (BV).
168	Lohakara	=Karmakara.			
169	Vandin	Vaiśya	Kṣatriya	Hārīta q. Kṛtyakalpataru.	Cf. Māgadha.
170	Varaṭa Varuḍa Vuruḍa	(1) Ābhira	Gopa	BD.	Antyaja. Worker on bamboo.
		(2) Śauṇḍika	Kaivarta	Parāśarapaddhati.	
171	Varṇikāra	Tīvara	Brāhmaṇa	JM.	
172	Vardhakin	Takṣan.			
173	Vāgatīta	Kṣatriya	Vaiśya (in monthly course)	BV.	=Bāgdi.
174	Vāṭadhāna	Vrātya Brāhmaṇa	Vrātya Brāhmaṇa	M. 10.21	=Āvantya.
175	Vādaka	Devala Brāhmaṇa	Vaiśya	BD.	
176	Vārujīvin	(1) Brāhmaṇa	Śūdra	BD.	Navasāyaka. Grows and sells betel leaves (Pān).
		(2) Gopa	Tantuvāya	JM.	
177	Vijanman	=Kārūṣa		M. 10.23.	
178	Veṇa Vaiṇa	(1) Vaidehaka	Ambaṣṭha	M. 10.19, B. 1.9.13	Occupation: (1) Playing on musical instruments M. 10.49.
		(2) Ambaṣṭha	Vaidehaka	Kaut. 3.7	(2) Same as Vuruḍa (Kullūka).
		(3) Śūdra	Kṣatriya	Vas. 18.2	(3) Same as Rathakāra (Kaut, Ap. D. S.).
		(4) =Vuruḍa		Kullūka on M. 4.215	(4) Beating drums to proclaim royal orders, etc. (Kamalākara).
179	Veṇuka	(1) Sūta	Brāhmaṇa	U. 4	Occupation: Veeṇa or flute playing.
		(2) Madgu	Brāhmaṇa	Vaik. 10.15	
180	Velava	Śūdra	Kṣatriya*	S.	
181	Vaidehaka	(1) Vaiśya	Brāhmaṇa	B. 1.9. S. Kaut, 3.7. Vis. 16.6, Y. 1.93, M. 10.11, 13, 17, MB. Anu. 48.10, etc.	*See* App. I.
		(2) Śūdra	Kṣatriya	G. 4.15	Occupation: Guarding of women M. 10.47.
		(3) Śūdra	Vaiśya	G. 4.15, Vaik. 10.4, U. 20.	
		(4) =Pulkasa		S.	Tending goats and cattle (U), etc.

Serial No.	Caste	Father's caste or general description	Mother's caste	Reference	Remarks
182	Vaidya	=Ambaṣṭha (1) Aświnīkumār (2) Śūdra	 Brāhmaṇa Vaiśya	Amara, etc. BV. MB. Anu. 49.9 10.	
183	Śaka	Kṣatriya reduced to Śūdra status	....	M. 10.43 44.	
184	Śavara	A forest tribe	....	MB. Anu. 35.17, etc.	Frequently mentioned in MB.
185	Śamkhakāra	(1) Viśvakarman (2) Brāhmaṇa	Ghṛtāchī* Vaiśya	BV. BD.	
186	Śaraka	(1) Jola (2) Mālākāra (3) Nāpita	Kuvinda Śūdra Kuverin	BV. BD. JM.	
187	Śālika	=Māgadha	....	S.	
188	Śuṇḍin	Vaiśya	Tīvara	BV.	=Śunri ?
189	Śuṇḍa	Tīvara	Brāhmaṇa	JM.	
190	Śūlika	(1) Brāhmana (2) Kṣatriya	Śūdra Śūdra	U. 42, Vaik. S Vaik. S	Profession: Impaling the condemned on spikes.
191	Śekhara	Magadha	Śūdra	BD.	
192	Śaikha	=Ābantya	....	M. 10.23.	
193	Śailūṣa	(1) =Naṭa (2) One who searches out employment for a naṭa.	....	Mitākṣara (Y. 2.48) Brahmāṇḍa P.q. Aparārka.	Cf. M. 4.214, Vis. 51.13, etc.
194	Śauṇḍika	Gopa	Śūdra	BD.	Cf. Vis. 51.15, M. 4.216, Y. 2.48; Lives by distilling and selling liquor=Śunri.
195	Śvapacha Śvapāka	(1) Ugra (2) Ksattṛ (3) Chāṇḍāla (4) Chāṇḍāla (5) =Chāṇḍāla (6) Chāṇḍāla	Kṣattṛ Ugra Brāhmana Vaiśya .... Māgadha	B. 1.9.2, Kaut. 3.7 M. 10.9 Vaik 10.5.S. U. 11 Mārkaṇḍeya P. 8.81, etc. MB. Anu. 48.21	Occupation: Same as for Chāṇḍāla (M. 10.51-56). Hangmen, scavengers and workers in hides (Vaik.) =Mṛtapa.
196	Sarvasvin	Nāpita	Gopa	BD.	
197	Sātvata	=Kārūṣa	....	M. 10.23.	
198	Sudhanvan	=Kārūṣa	....	M. 10.23.	
199	Subarṇakāra Svarṇakāra	(1) Ambaṣṭha (2) Viśvakarman	Vaiśya Ghṛtāchī*	BD. BV.	Hiraṇyakāra, mentioned in Vaj.S. 30.17. Tai. Br. 3.4.14.
200	Svarṇabaṇik	Same as Svarṇakāra	....	BD.	"Greatest of rogues," (M. 9.292).
201	Sūchaka	Vaiśya	Śūdra	U. 43.	
202	Sūchika, Sauchika	Vaidehaka	Kṣatriya	U. 22, Vaik. 10.15	Tailor=Tunnavāya.
203	Sūta	Kṣatriya	Brāhmaṇa	G. 4.15, M. 10.11, Y. 1.93, Kaut. 3.7, B. 1.9.9, Vas. 18.6, Vis. 16.6, S., etc.	*See* App. I; Driving chariots (M).
204	Sūtradhara	Viśvakarman	Ghṛtāchī*	BV.	
205	Sūnika, Saunika	Āyogava	Kṣatriya	U. 14	Butcher. Status equal to those of Niṣāda, Varuḍa, Charmakāra, etc.
06	Sairindhra	(1) Dasyu (2) Āyogava	Āyogava Māgadha	M. 10.32 Nīlakaṇṭha on MB.	Occupation: (1) Shampooing the body, combing hair. etc. (2) Guarding royal harem. (3) Catching (deer), etc. by net. (MB.). Also Aditya Purāṇa q. Kamalākara.
07	Sopāka, Saupāka	(1) Chāṇḍāla (2) Chāṇḍāla	Pukkaśa Vaidehaka	M. 10.38 MB. Anu. 48.27.	Hangman. Seller of meat (MB).
08	Sthapati	Paṭṭakāra	Mālākāra	JM.	
09	Haddi	Leṭa	Chāṇḍāla	BB.	Hādi=Doma (BB).

[The compiler gratefully acknowledges the pioneer work of Dr. Kānē in the preparation of this appendix.]

CASTES AND SUB-CASTES OF THE HINDUS

Recorded in the Census Report of 1911

Explanation for undernoted signs—

"X"—'Not found in West Bengal' as per Census Report of 1911.
"M"—Recorded as 'Minor Caste' in the Census Report of 1911.
"MF"—Recorded as 'Other Foreign Caste' in the Census Report of 1901.
"I"—Non-Backward according to 1951 list.
"S"—Scheduled Caste according to 1951 list.
"S.T."—Scheduled Tribe according to 1951 schedule.
"S.C." in Orissa means Scheduled Caste in Orissa.
"S.T." in Orissa means Scheduled Tribe in Orissa.

For castes not recorded in the Census Report of 1911, the year in which they were recorded is noted against each.
The name of the main caste will be found in the remarks column against each sub-caste.

Serial No.	Caste	Signs	Sub-caste and castes included under the main caste of column No. 2	Year of record	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Abasan	S	....	..	Namaśūdra.
2	Abdal	S ..	....	..	Bediya.
3	Abhir	I ..	....	..	Goala.
4	Adi-Kaibarta	S ..	....	..	Same as Jalia Kaibartta.
5	Adi-Mahishya	S ..	....	..	Patni.
6	Agamudiya	MF	....	1901	....
7	Agaria	M ..	....	..	....
8	Agarwala	I ..	....	..	....
9	Aghori	M ..	....	..	....
10	Agnia	..	....	1931	Dhimal.
11	Agradani Brahman	I ..	....	..	Brahman.
12	Agrahari	M ..	....	..	....
13	Aguri	..	....	..	....
14	Ahir	..	....	..	Goala.
15	Amat or Amant	M ..	....	..	S. C. in Orissa.
16	Amauth	..	....	1881	....
17	Arora	XM	....	..	....
18	Arya	M ..	....	..	....
19	Asan	..	....	..	Tanti.
20	Asur	..	....	..	....
21	Atith	M ..	....	..	....
22	Babajia	S ..	....	..	Bediya.
23	Babhan (Bhumihar Brahman)	..	....	..	....
24	Badia	S ..	....	..	Bediya.
25	Bagal	S ..	....	..	Bauri and Goala.
26	Bagdi (Byagra-Kshatriya)	S ..	Bholla, Danda Manjhi, Dulia, Kusmetia, Let, Manjhi, Matia, Tentulia.	..	....
27	Bahelia	S ..	....	..	....
28	Baidya	I	....	..	....
29	Bais-Beniya	..	....	..	....
30	Baishnab (Bairagi)	..	....	..	....
31	Baishya-Barujibi	I	....	..	Barui.
32	Baishya-Mali	S	....	..	Bhuinmali.
33	Baiti (Chunari)	S	Baoti, Barna-Tamuli, Chuniya, Chunkar.	..	....
34	Bakali	X	....	..	....
35	Balai	..	....	1881	....
36	Balija	M	....	..	....
37	Baljwar	MF	....	..	Found in 24-Parganas only.
38	Bandawat	MX	....	..	....
39	Baniya	I	....	..	....
40	Banjara	MX	....	..	S.T. in Orissa, same as Banjari.
41	Banjogi	MX	....	..	....
42	Banpar	M	....	..	....
43	Bant	..	....	1881	....
44	Bantar	..	....	1901	....
45	Banwar	XM	....	..	....

Serial No.	Caste	Signs	Sub-caste and castes included under the main caste of column No. 2	Year of record	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
46	Baola	X	....	..	....
47	Baoti	S	....	..	Baiti.
48	Barhi	..	....	..	....
49	Bari	M	....	..	S. C. in Orissa.
50	Barna-Brahman	1	....	..	Brahman.
51	Barna-Das	..	....	..	Namosudra.
52	Barnanapit	..	....	..	Namosudra.
53	Barnasankar	XM	Chatrisa, Chhokr X, Dogla, Jaraj, Kanchra, Krishnapakhi, Sutarwala.	..	....
54	Barnasil	..	....	..	Namosudra.
55	Barnak-Tamuli	S	....	..	Baiti.
56	Barnawar	..	....	..	....
57	Barat	XM	....	..	....
58	Barui	1	Barujibi, Baishya-Barujibi	..	....
59	Barujibi	1	....	..	Barui.
60	Bathudi	..	....	..	S. T. in Orissa.
61	Bathna	..	....	1881	....
62	Bauri	S	Bagal	..	S. C. in Orissa.
63	Bediya	S	Supuria, Mirshikari, Abdal, Babajia, Badia, Byadh, Shandar.	..	....
64	Behara	..	....	..	....
65	Beldar	S	....	..	S. C. in Orissa.
66	Berua	X	....	..	....
67	Bhaina	M	....	..	....
68	Bhakat	M	....	..	....
69	Bhala	..	....	1881	....
70	Bhandari	M	....	..	....
71	Bhangi	XM		..	....
72	Bhar	M	....	..	....
73	Bharampal	X	....	..	....
74	Bharang	X	....	..	Namosudra.
75	Bharati	X	....	..	Gosain.
76	Bhaskar	XM	....	..	....
77	Bhat	..	....	..	S. C. in Orissa.
78	Bhatiya	X	....	..	....
79	Bhawaiya	XM	....	..	....
80	Bhenrihar	..	....	..	Gareri.
81	Bherial	..	....	..	Gareri.
82	Bherihar	..	....	..	Gareri.
83	Bhil	MF	....	1901	....
84	Bhogta	..	....	..	....
85	Bhoi	..	....	1901	....
86	Bholla	S	....	..	Bagdi.
87	Bhotia	ST	Sharpa, Drukpea, Dukpea, Kham, Nag-Chhang, Lhopa-Bhotia, Salakha, Shakzang, Dejong, Lhori, Danjongpa.	..	....
88	Bhuinhar	1	....	1941	....
89	Bhuinmali	S	Bhusandar, Siddhiputra, Baisya-Mali.	..	....
90	Bhuiya	S	Puran	..	S. T. in Orissa, same as Bhuyan.
91	Bhulia	M	....	..	....
92	Bhumij	S	....	..	S. C. in Orissa.
93	Bhusan	..	....	..	Hari.
94	Bhusandar	S	....	..	Bhuinmali.
95	Bind	S	Binta, Binti, Brinti	..	....
96	Binta	S	....	..	Bind.
97	Binti	S	....	..	Bind.
98	Binjhia (Binjhal)	..	Birjia, Binjhwar, Brijia	..	Binjhia (Binjhoa) and Binjhal are separate S. T. in Orissa.
99	Binjhwar	..	....	..	Binjhia.
100	Birbangshi	..	....	..	Hari.
101	Birghoria	..	....	1881	Hari.
102	Birhor	M	....	..	S. T. in Orissa.
103	Birjia	..	....	..	Binjhia.
104	Biswakarma Brahman	..	....	..	Kamar and Sutradhar.
105	Borha	XM	....	..	....
106	Brahman	1	Agradani, Barna, Daibajna, Nepali.	..	....
107	Brijia	..	....	..	Binjhia.

Serial No.	Caste	Signs	Sub-caste and castes included under the main caste of column No. 2	Year of record	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
108	Brinti	S	....	..	Bind.
109	Buna	..	....	1881	....
110	Burud	XM	....	..	S. C. in Orissa, same as Basor.
111	Byadh	S	....	..	Bediya and Pasi.
112	Chain	..	....	..	....
113	Chakma	X	....	..	....
114	Chalanta	..	....	..	Doai.
115	Challuk	..	....	1881	....
116	Chamar	S	Charmakar, Dhekaru, Rabidas, Satnami	..	S. C. in Orissa.
117	Chandal	..	....	..	S. C. in Orissa, same as Chandala, Namosudra.
118	Chang	..	....	..	Limbu
119	Changa-Nama	..	....	..	Namosudra.
120	Chapota	M	....	..	....
121	Charmakar	..	....	..	Chamar.
122	Chasa	..	....	..	....
123	Chasa-Dhoba	1	Haliaroi X, Satchasi X	..	....
124	Chasati	..	....	..	....
125	Chasi-Kaibartta	..	....	..	Kaibartta.
126	Chatrisa	..	....	1901	Barnasankar.
127	Chaudhury	..	....	1881	....
128	Chero	M	....	..	....
129	Chhimba	1	....	..	....
130	Chhokr	X	....	1901	Barnasankar.
131	Chik (Baraik)	..	....	..	Pan.
132	Chitrakar	M	....	..	....
133	Chumari	S	....	..	Baiti.
134	Chuniya	S	....	..	Baiti.
135	Chunkar	S	....	..	Baiti.
136	Dai	..	....	1881	....
137	Daibajna-Brahman	1	....	..	Brahman.
138	Dalia	..	....	1941	Non-scheduled.
139	Dalu	XM	....	..	....
140	Damai	..	Dami, Damyi, Darzo	..	....
141	Dami	..	....	..	Damai.
142	Damyi	..	....	..	Damai.
143	Danda-Manjhi	..	....	..	Bagdi.
144	Danjongpa	..	....	..	Bhotia.
145	Darzi	M	....	..	....
146	Darzo	..	....	..	Damai.
147	Dass	..	....	1881	....
148	Dejong	..	....	..	Bhotia.
149	Desi	..	....	..	Rajbanshi.
150	Devenga	M	....	..	A Madras caste.
151	Deyara	..	....	1881	Dewar is a S. C. in Orissa.
152	Dhakar	XM	....	..	....
153	Dhami	M	....	..	....
154	Dhangar	..	....	1881	....
155	Dhanuk	..	....	..	....
156	Dharhi	..	....	1881	....
157	Dharı	M	....	..	....
158	Dhekaru	..	....	..	Chamar.
159	Dhemal	..	....	1931	Dhimal.
160	Dhenuar	XM	....	..	....
161	Dhera	M	....	..	....
162	Dhimal	..	Dhemal, Agnia, Later, Dungai	1931	....
163	Dhimar	M	....	..	....
164	Dhoba (Dhobi)	S	Sukladas, Razak	..	S. C. in Orissa.
165	Dhuliya	..	....	1881	....
166	Dhunia	X	....	..	....
167	Doai	S	Chalanta, Patiadas	..	....
168	Dogara	XM	....	..	....
169	Dogla	..	....	1901	Barnasankar.
170	Dom	S	Muddafarash, Muddrafarash	..	S. C. in Orissa, same as Dombo.
171	Dorihar	X	....	..	Gosain.
172	Dosadh	S	....	..	S. C. in Orissa.
173	Drukpea	..	....	..	Bhotia.
174	Dukpea	..	....	..	Bhotia.
175	Duley or Dulia	..	....	1941	Non-scheduled.
176	Dulia	..	....	..	Bagdi.

Serial No.	Caste	Signs	Sub-caste and castes included under the main caste of column No. 2	Year of record	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
177	Dumal	M	....	..	....
178	Dungai	..	....	1931	Dhimal.
179	Gadaria	..	....	..	Gareri.
180	Gaiduha	..	...	..	Pasi.
181	Gamalla	MF	....	1901	....
182	Gamta	M	....	..	....
183	Ganda	..	....	..	S. C. in Orissa.
184	Gandhabanik	1	....	..	....
185	Gandhapal	..	...	..	Ganrar.
186	Gandharb	XM	...	..	....
187	Gandhmali	M	....	..	....
188	Gangai (Ganesh)	..	...	..	....
189	Gangauta	M	...	..	....
190	Ganral	..	....	..	Namaśūdra.
191	Ganrar	X	Gandapal, Shikari, Palwai	..	....
192	Gareri	..	Bhenrihar, Bherihar, Bherial, Gadaria.	..	....
193	Garhal	..	....	..	....
194	Garo	..	....	..	....
195	Gaura	..	....	..	Goala caste of Orissa.
196	Gaur Banik	..	....	..	....
197	Ghalia	..	.	1881	....
198	Ghani	M	..	..	...
199	Ghantra	M	....	..	S. C. in Orissa, same as Ghantaghada.
200	Gharti	..	.	..	....
201	Gharuk	M		..	....
202	Ghatwar	..	.		....
203	Ghasi	S	....	.	S. C. in Orissa, same as Gharia.
204	Ghatakpur, Ghatakar and Ghata-Karpur	..	....	..	Kumhar.
205	Ghatwal (Ghatwar)	..	..	..	....
206	Ghusuria	..	.	1901	S. C. in Orissa.
207	Giri	..	....	..	Gosain.
208	Goala	1	Ahir, Bagal, Gop, Abhir, Jadab, Pallav.	..	....
209	Goijya	..	....	1881	....
210	Gokha	..	....	1901	S. C. in Orissa.
211	Gola	M	....	..	....
212	Gond	..	....	1901	S. T. in Orissa.
213	Gonr	..	....	..	A grain parching caste of Bihar and U.P.
214	Gonrhi	S	....	..	....
215	Gop	..	....	..	Goala.
216	Gosain	..	Giri, Bharati X, Dorihar X, Gosain Puran X, Jogi X.	..	....
217	Gosain Puran	..	..	..	Gosain.
218	Gorait	..	....	..	S. T. in Orissa, same as Korait.
219	Gowndala	XM	....	..	....
220	Gujar	XM	....	..	....
221	Gulgulia	XM	....	..	....
222	Guli	..	....	1881	....
223	Guria	M	....	..	....
224	Gurung	..	....	..	....
225	Hadi	XM	....	..	S. C. in Orissa, where it is same Haddi and Hari.
226	Hajam	..	....	..	Napit.
227	Hajang	X	....	..	....
228	Hajjam	..	....	..	....
229	Hakar	..	....	1881	....
230	Halalkhor	..	....	..	....
231	Halia	..	....	..	Kaonartta.
232	Halia-Dhoba	..	....	..	....
233	Haliaroi	X	....	..	Chasa Dhoba.
234	Halia-Rui	..	....	..	....
235	Halwai	..	....	..	....
236	Hansi	..	....	1881	....
237	Hari	S	Bhusan, Birbangshi, Birghoria, Harsantan.	..	....
238	Harsantan	..	....	..	Hari.
239	Hayu	..	....	..	....

Serial No.	Caste	Signs	Sub-caste and castes included under the main caste of column No. 2	Year of record	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
240	Ho	..	....	..	S. T. in Orissa.
241	Horohon	..	....	..	Munda.
242	Ishang	..	....	..	Murmi.
243	Jadab	..	....	..	Goala.
244	Jagwa	XM	....	..	....
245	Jaisi	XM	....	..	....
246	Jalia-Kaibartta	S	....	..	....
247	Jamatia	..	....	..	Tipara.
248	Jammal	XM	....	..	....
249	Janior	..	....	..	Khambu.
250	Jaraj	X	....	1901	Barnasankar.
251	Jetur	..	....	1881	....
252	Jhalla-Kshatriya	..	....	..	Jhalo Malo.
253	Jhalo	..	....	1881	....
254	Jhalo Malo	S	Jhalla Kshatriya, Malla-Kshatriya.	..	....
255	Jhinwar	XM	....	..	....
256	Jhora	M	....	..	....
257	Jimbar	..	....	..	Khambu.
258	Joba	XM	....	..	....
259	Julha	..	....	1911	....
260	Jugi or Jogi (Nath)	I	Mahatma	..	....
261	Jyotish	..	....	1901	....
262	Kachari	XM	....	..	....
263	Kacharu	X	....	..	....
264	Kachera (Kachara)	XM	....	..	....
265	Kadar	S	....	..	....
266	Kadma	..	....	..	Kandra.
267	Kahalia	XM	....	..	....
268	Kahar	..	....	..	....
269	Kaibartta	..	Chasi (Mahisya) and Jalia, Adi-Kshatriya, Halia.	..	....
270	Kaikardi	XM	....	..	....
271	Kalal	..	....	1881	....
272	Kalanga	M	....	..	....
273	Kalita	M	....	..	....
274	Kallar	M	....	..	....
275	Kalu	..	....	..	....
276	Kalwar	..	....	..	....
277	Kamar (Karmakar)	I	Kandigar, Karmar-Kshatriya, Kshatriya-Karmar, Biswakarma-Brahman.	..	....
278	Kami	..	....	..	....
279	Kamani	..	....	..	Pasi.
280	Kan	XM	....	..	....
281	Kandari	..	....	..	Patni.
282	Kandh	..	Khond, Kui-Loka, Kui-Enju, Skandh Sura.	..	See Remarks on 'Khond'.
283	Kandigar	..	....	..	Kamar.
284	Kandra (Kadma)	S	....	..	S. C. in Orissa, same as Kandara.
285	Kandu	..	....	..	....
286	Kanjar	M	....	..	....
287	Kansari (Kaseri)	..	....	..	....
288	Kantai	..	....	..	Rajbanshi.
289	Kaora	S	....	..	....
290	Kapali (Vaishya-Kapali)	I	....	..	....
291	Kapuria	M	....	..	....
292	Karal	..	....	..	Namosudra.
293	Karali	..	....	1881	....
294	Karan	I	....	..	....
295	Karanga	SXM	....	..	....
296	Karmar-Kshatriya	..	....	..	Kamar.
297	Karni	X	....	..	....
298	Karui	..	....	..	Karua is a S. C. in Orissa.
299	Karwara	MF	....	1901	24-Parganas.
300	Kasarwani	M	....	..	....
301	Kasaundhan	M	....	..	....
302	Kastha	S	....	..	....
303	Katia	MF	....	1901	S. C. in Orissa ; Found in Midnapur.
304	Kathuria	X	....	..	Namasudra.
305	Kawarow	MF	....	1901	....
306	Kawali	X	....	..	....

Serial No.	Caste	Signs	Sub-caste and castes included under the main caste of column No. 2	Year of record	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
307	Kayastha	1	Lala, Lalli	..	....
308	Kaur	SM	....	..	....
309	Kela	..	....	1901	S. C. in Orissa.
310	Kewat	..	....	..	....
311	Khadal	X	....	..	S. C. in Orissa.
312	Khaira	S	....	..	....
313	Khamaru	..	....	1881	....
314	Kham	..	....	..	Bhotia.
315	Khambu	..	Jinbar, Janior	..	....
316	Khami	X	....	..	....
317	Khanchra	X	....	1901	Barnasankar.
318	Khandabanik	..	....	..	Shaha.
319	Khandait	..	....	..	....
320	Kharia	..	....	..	S. T. in Orissa, same as Kharian.
321	Kharura	M	....	..	....
322	Kharwar	..	....	..	S. T. in Orissa.
323	Khas	..	....	..	....
324	Khasia	MX	....	..	....
325	Khatia	MX	....	..	....
326	Khatik	SM	....	..	....
327	Khatri	..	....	..	....
328	Khatwe	M	....	..	....
329	Khawas	..	....	..	....
330	Khen (Khyan) (Sen Kayastha)	..	....	..	....
331	Kheturi or Khetauri	MX	....	..	....
332	Kheyari	..	....	..	....
333	Khond	..	See 'Kandh'	..	S. T. in Orissa, same as Kond, Kandha, Naguli-Kandha or Sita-Kandha.
334	Khoria	..	....	1881	....
335	Khyang	X	....	..	....
336	Kichar (Kol-Kamar)	..	....	..	....
337	Kisan	..	....	..	S. T. in Orissa.
338	Koch	S	Koch-Kshatriya, Kshatriya-Koch	..	...
339	Koch-Kshatriya	..	....	..	Koch.
340	Kodmal	..	....	1881	....
341	Koiri	..	....	..	....
342	Kol	..	....	..	....
343	Koli	..	....	..	S. T. in Orissa.
344	Konai	S	....	..	....
345	Konwar	S	....	1931	....
346	Kora	S	Kuda, Kura	..	....
347	Koral	..	....	1881	....
348	Korwa	..	....	..	....
349	Koshta	M	....	..	....
350	Kotal	SMX	....	..	....
351	Krishna-Kandari	..	...	..	Patni.
352	Krishnapakhi	X	....	1901	Barnasankar.
353	Kshatriya	X	....	..	....
354	Kshatriya-Kaibarta	S	....	..	....
355	Kshatriya-Karmar	..	....	..	Kamar.
356	Kshatriya-Koch	..	....	..	Koch.
357	Kshatriya-Rajbanshi	..	....	..	Rajbanshi.
358	Kuda	..	....	..	Kora.
359	Kui-Enju	..	....	..	Kandh.
360	Kui-Loka	..	....	..	Kandh.
361	Kuki	X	....	..	....
362	Kuki (Hallam)	X	....	..	....
363	Kulal	..	....	..	Kumhar.
364	Kumar	..	....	..	Kumhar.
365	Kumari	..	....	..	Kumhar.
366	Kumbhakar	1	....	..	Kumhar.
367	Kumbi	..	....	..	Kurmi.
368	Kumhar	..	Ghatakar, Ghata-karpur, Ghatak-pur, Kulal, Kumar, Kumari, Khumbhakar, Rudrabans, Rud-rapal.	..	....
369	Kura	..	....	..	Kora.
370	Kural	..	....	1881	....
371	Kurariar	M	....	..	....

Serial No.	Caste	Signs	Sub-caste and castes included under the main caste of column No. 2	Year of record	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
372	Kuri	..	....	..	Mayra.
373	Kurmbi	..	....	..	Kurmi.
374	Kurmi	..	Kumbi, Kurmbi, Kurum, Kurumanik, Kurmi-Kshatriya.	..	....
375	Kurmi-Kshatriya	..	....	..	Kurmi.
376	Kurum	..	....	..	Kurmi.
377	Kurumanik	..	....	..	Kurmi.
378	Kusmetia	..	....	..	Bagdi.
379	Laheri	M	....	..	S. C. in Orissa.
380	Lai	XM	....	..	....
381	Lalbegi	S	....	..	....
382	Lala and Lalli	I	....	..	Kayastha.
383	Lawait	..	....	1881	....
384	Lepcha	ST	Mon, Rong	..	....
385	Let	..	....	..	Bagdi.
386	Lhopa-Bhotia	..	....	..	Bhotia.
387	Lhori	..	....	..	Bhotia.
388	Lhorong	..	....	..	Ykha.
389	Limbu	..	Chang, Tsang, Yak-thumba	..	....
390	Lohda	S	....	..	....
391	Lohait-Kuri	X	....	..	....
392	Lohar	S	Maharana	..	....
393	Lupta-Mahishya	..	....	..	Patni.
394	Lushai	MX	....	..	....
395	Machua	..	....	1891	....
396	Madhunapit	..	....	1901	....
397	Maiti	..	....	1881	....
398	Majhi	..	....	..	Patni.
399	Majwar (Machwar)	MX	....	..	....
400	Magar	..	....	..	Mangar.
401	Magh	..	....	..	....
402	Mahanta	MX	....	..	....
403	Mahar	S	....	..	....
404	Mahara	MX	....	..	....
405	Maharana	..	....	..	Lohar.
406	Mahatma	..	....	..	Jogi and Jugi.
407	Mahesri	X	....	..	....
408	Mahishya	I	Chasi-Kaibartta, Mahishya-Kshatriya.	..	....
409	Mahishya-Kshatriya	..	....	..	Mahishya.
410	Mahli	S	....	..	Mahali is a S. T. in Orissa.
411	Mahuri	M	....	..	....
412	Mahutia	MX	....	..	....
413	Mal	S	....	..	....
414	Mala	..	....	1891	S. C. in Orissa, same as Jhala.
415	Malar	M	....	..	....
416	Malhar	M	....	..	....
417	Mali (Malakar)	..	Phulmali	..	....
418	Malik	..	....	1891	....
419	Mallah	S	....	..	....
420	Mallah-Kshatriya	..	....	..	....
421	Malo	S	....	..	....
422	Malpahariya	S	....	..	....
423	Mandai	..	....	1881	....
424	Maldal	..	....	1881	....
425	Manjhi	..	....	..	Bagdi.
426	Mangaldaroo	MF	....	1901	....
427	Mangar	..	Magar, Thomi	..	....
428	Mar	MX	....	..	....
429	Markande	M	....	..	....
430	Mathia	MF	....	1901	....
431	Matia	..	...	..	Bagdi.
432	Matial	..	....	1881	....
433	Maulik (Naiya)	M	....	..	....
434	Mayra	.	Kuri	..	....
435	Mech	ST	Mechi	..	....
436	Mechi	..	....	..	Mech.
437	Mehtar	S	....	..	S. C. in Orissa, same as Bhangi.
438	Mirshikari	..	....	..	Bediya.
439	Modak	I	....	..	....
440	Mohadand	..	....	1881	....
441	Mohanti	..	....	1881	....

Serial No. 1	Caste 2	Signs 3	Sub-caste and castes included under the main caste of column No. 2 4	Year of record 5	Remarks 6
568	Sansia	MX	....	..	....
569	Santal	ST	....	..	S. T. in Orissa.
570	Sapuria	..	....	..	Bediya.
571	Sarak	..	....	..	....
572	Sarogi	..	....	..	....
573	Sarki	..	....	..	....
574	Satchasa	..	....	..	Sadgop.
575	Satchasi	X	....	..	Chasa-Dhoba and Sadgop.
576	Satnami	..	....	..	Chamar, S. C. in Orissa.
577	Satsudra	..	....	..	Sadgop.
578	Saundika	..	....	..	Sunri.
579	Saundika-Kshatriya	..	....	..	Sunri.
580	Saura Paharia (Male)	..	....	..	....
581	Savar and Sahar	..	....	..	S. T. in Orissa.
582	Sawasi	..	....	..	Pan.
583	Segiti	MF	....	1901	....
584	Shagarbangshi	..	....	1931	Shagirdpesha.
585	Shagarpesha	..	....	1931	Shagirdpesha.
586	Shaha	1	Sadhubanik, Khandabanik, Vaishya-Khandabanik, Vaishya-Shaha.	..	....
587	Shakzang	..	....	..	Bhotia.
588	Shandar	..	....	..	Bediya.
589	Sharpa	..	....	..	Bhotia.
590	Shiddiputra	..	....	..	Bhunmali.
591	Shikari	..	....	..	Ganrar.
592	Shrimali	M	....	..	....
593	Siyalgir	..	....	..	Siyal is S. C. in Orissa.
594	Skandha-Sura	..	....	..	Kandh.
595	Sokia	M	....	..	....
596	Sonar (Sarnakar)	1	....	..	....
597	Sondia	..	....	..	Sunri.
598	Sondia-Kshatriya	..	....	..	Sunri.
599	Subarnabanik	1	....	..	....
600	Sudha	M	....	..	....
601	Sudra	..	....	..	....
602	Sukladas	..	....	..	Dhoba.
603	Sukli	..	....	..	Sukuli is S. C. in Orissa.
604	Sunri	S	Saundika, Saundika-Kshatriya, Sondia, Sondia-Kshatriya.	..	....
605	Sunuwar	..	Sunwar ..	..	....
606	Sunrahiya	..	....	..	....
607	Sutarwala	..	....	1901	Barnasankar.
608	Sutradhar (Chhutar)	1	Biswakarma-Brahman ..	..	....
609	Tamag	..	....	..	Murmi.
610	Tamang	..	....	..	Murmi.
611	Tamaria	M	....	..	Tamadia is S. C. in Orissa.
612	Tambuli	1	....	..	....
613	Tanti and Tatwa	1	Asan, Tantubaya, Tantubai, Tatoya, Vaishya Basak.	..	....
614	Tantubai	..	....	..	Tanti.
615	Tantubaya	..	....	..	Tanti.
616	Tarkhin	MX	....	..	....
617	Tatoya	..	....	..	Tanti.
618	Teli and Tili	1	....	..	....
619	Telinga	..	....	..	....
620	Tentulia	..	....	..	Bagdi.
621	Thakur	MX	....	..	....
622	Thakuri	M	....	..	....
623	Thami	M	....	..	Mangar.
624	Thapa	MX	....	..	....
625	Tharu	..	....	..	Tharua is S. T. in Orissa.
626	Thathera	M	....	..	....
627	Themi	..	....	..	....
628	Tipara	X	Noatia, Jamatia ..	..	Found mainly in Hill Tippera.
629	Tirsulia	..	....	..	Pasi.

Serial No.	Caste	Signs	Sub-caste and castes included under the main caste of column No. 2	Year of record	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
630	Tiyar	S	....	..	S. C. in Orissa.
631	Toto	..	....	..	....
632	Tsang	..	....	..	Limbu
633	Turaha	..	....	..	....
634	Turi	S	....	..	S. C. in Orissa.
635	Ujia	M	....	..	....
636	Vaishya-Khandabanik	..	....	..	Shaha.
637	Vaishya-Saha	..	....	..	Shaha.
638	Vaisya (Baishya)	I	....	..	....
639	Vaisya-Basak	..	....	..	Tanti.
640	Vellala	MX	....	..	....
641	Vellular	MF	....	1901	....
642	Vennior	MF	....	1901	....
643	Vidhur	MF	....	1901	....
644	Yak-Thumba	..	....	..	Limbu.
645	Yamphu	..	....	..	Ykha.
646	Yaha	..	Phago, Lhorg, Samphu. ..	..	....

[I wish to express my obligations to Shri Bhudebchandra Banerji of the Census office for preparing the draft of this Appendix—A. M.]

GLOSSARY A—SCHEDULED CASTES

[*General Reference:* Census of India, 1931, Bengal, Report Volume. (1) *Abbreviations:* R—Risley, Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol., p., DG—District Gazetteer, D—Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal; S—Sherring; CB—Census of Bengal, Report Volume (Districts in which the caste was most prevalent in 1941 are indicated in brackets, with population in some cases). (2) The description 'Dravidian' and 'Aryan' refers to Risley's definition. (3) Populations for 1931, 1941, etc., are those returned for undivided Bengal.]

1. **Bagdi.—CB01-386; D.327; 1931-987,333; 1941-662,483 R.I.37-43**

(*Burdwan, Hughly, 24-Parganas, Midnapur, Bankura, Birbhum*—A cultivating, fishing and menial caste of Western and Central Bengal Appears to be aboriginal and Dravidian in descent. There are many indelicate legends regarding the origin of the caste. Some of them relate that the Bagdis are descended from the union of Siva and Parbati. Others trace the origin to Ram and a maid-servant, or to other gods or goddesses The sub-castes of the Bagdis in Bankura include Tentulia, Kasai-kulia, Dulia, Mechho, Dandamajhi, Kusmetia and Malla-metia (Matia or Matial). Further east the Bagdis are more and more Hinduised. In Bankura, Manbhum and part of Orissa adult marriage is frequent which is rare in the east. In marriage the rituals are to a large extent borrowed from Hindu custom, *sindurdan* being considered the most important item in the more aboriginal sections. Sanga marriage of widows is allowed in most places. Divorce is not allowed in the more Hinduised sections. The Bagdis are served by degraded Brahmans. Besides Hindu gods, Gosain Era and Bar Pahar are revered in the west. Manasa is worshipped with great pomp. On the last day of Bhadra, the female saint Bhadu, said to be a princess of Pachete, is worshipped. The dead are usually cremated. The social status is very low. The occupation is fishing, cultivation and personal service. Some also work as masons, while the Dulias were so long palanquin-bearers.

The more backward sections eat beef and pork, but other sections have abjured beef.

Gait says that the caste gave its name to or received it from the old region Bagri in Midnapur. Oldham considers the Bagdis a section of Mals. The Bagdi corresponds to Bagatit of the Brahmavaivarta Purana which traces the origin to a union of a Kshatriya with a Vaisya woman.

As regards Dandamajhis of Midnapur, Gait (CB01-407) says that they strenuously deny any relationship with the Bagdis, and that there is little to distinguish them from their Hindu neighbours.

2. **Bahelia.—R.I.45. S.I. 352-56; 1931-4,449; 1941-1,808 (Nadia 666)**

In Bengal they are professional hunters and are thus allied to Bedias (R). Also called Bhulas who are bird-catchers and labourers. Allied to Dosadhs according to Risley.

3. **Baiti.—R.I.52-54; 1931-8,873; 1941-6,541 (Bankura 1,589)**

Also known as Chunari and Chunia. They are lime-makers, mat-makers (patials), weavers, dancers and beggars. They are served by degraded Brahmans, but usually by the barbers and washermen.

4. **Bauri.—R.I.78-82, D.327; 1931-330,993; 1941-331,547 (Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhum, Hooghly, etc.)**

A cultivating, earthworking and palanquin-bearing caste of Western Bengal and Bihar of non-Aryan descent. Traces of totemism survive in many places. The dog and the red-backed heron are sacred to Bauris. As with Bagdis, the eastern groups are more Hinduised and employ patit Brahmans. In Bankura however they employ their own priest. The dead are usually cremated but often buried in Bankura. Both infant and adult marriages are prevalent. The marriage customs are much the same as with Bagdis. Divorce and widow remarriage are allowed. Though the caste is gradually being Hinduised, the favourite deities are still Manasa, Bhadu, Bar Pahar, Dharmaraj, Mansing and Kudiasini in Bihar. In many respect Bauris and Bagdis are similar. They are notorious for sexual laxness of their women and this may explain that both the castes readily admit members of other castes into their own.

Social status is the same as of Haris and Ghasis. In Manbhum and Birbhum they have a higher status and do menial work for even high caste Hindus. They eat anything,—beef, rats, pork and are strongly addicted to drink.

5. **Bedia.—R.I.83-85; D.326; 1931-7,263; 1941-6,229 (24-Parganas 1,852)**

A small Dravidian tribe of agriculturists of Chhotanagpur (R). In Bengal it comprises a number of vagrant gypsy-like groups who can hardly be considered to form a caste. Some of such groups are Bajigar, Mal or Ponkwah, Chiriamar or Pakhimara, Sampuria, etc. For details, *see* Risley.

6. **Beldar.—R.I.86-87; S.I.XIII; 1931-3,139; 1941-2,158 (Dinajpur, Malda, etc.)**

Bel means hoe. A wandering Dravidian caste of earth-workers and navvies. They carry earth on their head and never in baskets slung from the shoulders. Allied to Binds and Nunias. Adult marriage still survives. Widow remarriage and divorce are allowed. Divorced women may also remarry. Social customs are much the same as of low class Hindus of Bengal. Maithil Brahmans are employed. Status about the same as that of Nunias, Goras and Bauris.

7. **Bhuinmali.—R.I.105-f; CB01-137; 1931-89,802; 1941-61,615 (East Bengal, Dinajpur, Murshidabad, Birbhum, etc.)**

A menial caste of East Bengal. Risley thinks they may be remnants of an aboriginal tribe. In other parts of Bengal, Bhuinmali is considered to be the same as a Hari. The Bhuinmalis formerly claimed to be Sudras; in 1931, they claimed to be Vaisyas. The Barabhagia sub-caste are chiefly cultivators, musicians and palanquin-bearers. The Chhotobhagias are scavengers. The Bhuinmalis also do earthwork as plastering houses and puja mounds, repairing village footpaths, etc. Ordinarily they are sweepers but in Chittagong and Noakhali they also remove night-soil and dead animals. Gait notes that probably Haris who have given up scavenging and taken to more respectable occupations prefer the designation of Bhuinmali.

Bhuinmalis are served by degraded Brahmans, and by barbers and washermen who are also of the same caste. In some places Bhuinmalis have given up pork. It is only in the last century that they first declined to eat with Chandalas.

8. **Bhuiya.—R.I.108-16; D.139; D.G. (Orissa Tributary States), pp.42-56. 1931-33,614; 1941-40,258 (Burdwan, Midnapur, Bankura)**

The name refers to a large number of groups distributed all over Northern India, many of them being parts of Hindu orthodox society. Here Bhuiyas refer only to the tribal groups According to Risley Bhuiyas of Orissa States, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Santal Parganas and West Bengal have the same origin Those in Hazaribagh and Santal Parganas are considerably Hinduised, and the more well-to-do among them describe themselves as Tikaits or Ghatwals and claim Rajput descent. In Orissa a large section took up military occupations and became merged in the Khandaits. In Bihar on the other hand, the Bhuiyas came under the domination of the Hindus and as Musahars (rat-eaters) they took rank among the low castes of Bihar.

In Orissa States, in Keonjhar, Bonai, etc., the tribal organisation still exists, and the Bhuiyas of West Bengal, who are scheduled castes, are perhaps of the same class They are found chiefly in Burdwan, Midnapur and Bankura. The custom and observances of the Bhuiyas in Bengal have not been fully recorded. In Ranchi and neighbouring areas Thakurani, Mai, Darha Kudri, Kudri, etc, are revered. Rikhmun (Bear man) is revered as the ancestor of the tribe.

9 **Bhumij.—R.I. 116-28; D.174; 1931-83,995; 1941-83,447 (Midnapur, Bankura, 24-Parganas)**

A non-Aryan tribe of Manbhum, Singhbhum and Western Bengal. They are closely allied to if not identical with the Mundas (R). According to Risley they are Hinduised Mundas who have severed their connection with the parent tribe. For details *see* Dalton, p. 174 and Risley who has quoted Dalton *in extenso*. Adult marriage still is the rule though among the higher classes of the tribe, the zamindars and landlords, infant marriage is gaining ground. The marriage ceremony is a mixture of Hindu and tribal custom. Widow marriage is freely permitted by the sanga ritual, marriage to the husband's younger brother being proper. Divorce by husband for adultery of the wife is allowed. Divorced wives may marry again by sanga rites. The higher classes follow the Hindu religion while the mass worship Singbonga, Dharm and a host of minor gods, e.g, Jahir Buru, Karakata Kudra, Panchbahini, etc Karam is an important festival. The higher classes employ Brahmans while the mass are served by their own priests, the 'Layas'. The dead are cremated but the attendant custom, such as placing of large stones on the bones, and the manner of propitiation of the spirits of the dead, show a tribal origin of the caste. These customs are being slowly supplanted by Hindu rites. The main occupation is agriculture, while the section named Shelo smelt iron for their livelihood. The landlord class claim to be Rajputs, while the mass rank below the Kurmi but above Bauris, Bagdis, etc. The bulk of the tribe in Bengal is to be found in Midnapur.

10. **Bind.—R.I.130-134; 1931-19,160; 1941-15,097 (Malda, Nadia)**

A non-Aryan caste of Bihar and Upper India, also found in large numbers in Nadia and Pabna. Binds and Numias probably have the same origin but there is no satisfactory evidence. Binds trace their original habitation to Vindhya Hills. Adult marriage is prevalent but infant marriage is considered more respectable. They engage in agriculture, hunting, fishing and earthwork including excavation of wells.

Widows remarry by the *sagai* form and marriage to the younger brother of the husband is considered proper. Divorce is not allowed. The marriage ceremony presents no special feature. The dead are cremated. The religion also presents no special feature. The Hindu gods are revered but so also are Bandi, Sakha, Goraia, Bhuia, Panch Pir, etc., Kasi Baba is the patron saint.

Binds freely indulge in spirits and eat field rats, pork and even crocodiles in some places. Hence they are considered impure in many areas, though in other places they rank as Koiris and Gangotas and are served by Maithil Brahmans.

11. **Chamar.—R.I.175-182; S.I.391; 1931-148,661; 1941-127,183; (24-Parganas, Calcutta, Mymensing, Tippera)**

A tanner caste of Bihar and Upper India found in all parts of Bengal Many Chamars are now cultivators by profession Many of Bihar Chamars have a high caste appearance, observed by many authorities, for details, *vide* Risley. Chamars call themselves Ravidas or Ruidas. Many of them are by creed Sri-Narayanis. Both infant and adult marriages are in vogue. Widows are permitted to marry again, the deceased husband's younger brother being considered to be the proper match. Divorce is allowed and the divorced wives may remarry.

In Bengal they have no Brahman priest, one of their own elders serving as such. In Bihar sometimes Maithil Brahmans are employed. There is no special feature in the religion followed. Bandi, Goraia, etc., are held in reverence. Their principal festivals are the Sripanchmi in Magh and Devi puja on the Aswin Navami day. In Bihar the dead are buried, but in Eastern Bengal the dead are usually burnt. They eat beef, pork, fowl and also dead animals. Their position in the society is one of the lowest. The Chamar women are the midwives of Eastern Bengal. Muchis were doubtless originally a branch of the chamars though they claim to be a distinct caste of a somewhat higher position. They do not eat carrion and their touch is considered to be less defiling than chamars. *See* "Muchi".

12(a) **Dhoba.—R.I. 229-33; 1931-228,666; 1941-(inc. Dhobi)-187-495 (Midnapur, 24-Parganas, Calcutta and East Bengal)**

The washerman caste of Bengal and Orissa is entirely distinct from that of Bihar. As regards their origin according to the Puranas, *vide* Skanda Purana, where the washerman is stated to be born of the union of a Dhibara (fisherman) father and a Tivara mother. This is also the view of the Brahmavaivarta Purana. According to Brihad-Dharma Purana, the father is a Karana and the mother a Vaisya. Infant marriage is the rule. Widow remarriage is not allowed in Bengal but permitted in Orissa. Divorce is not allowed. Social and religious observances present no special feature. They are served by degraded Brahmans. Their rank in society is low but Dhobas consider themselves superior to many castes and would not generally wash for Patni, Muchi, Namasudra and the Bhuinmali.

12(b). **Dhobi.—R.I.233-36; S.I. Ch. XII**

The organisation of Bihar Dhobis is entirely distinct from those of Bengal and Orissa. Among Bihar Dhobis infant marriage is the custom. Widows and divorced women may marry by the *sagai* rite. For widows the proper person to remarry is the deceased husband's younger brother. Religious and social observances present no special feature. In many places, apart from the Hindu pantheon, special respect is paid to Gari Bhuia, Baram Ghosi, or Ghosi Pachain They are served by degraded Brahmans. The social position is low, and the Dhobis rank with Mushahars, Beldars, Chamars, etc.

13. **Doai.—R.I.238-9; 1931-1,073; 1941-3,742 (Bogra, Hooghly, Howrah)**

Also Patia Das. A low cultivating caste of East Bengal. Probably allied to Hajang(R). Doais of Rangpur have no Brahmans and they eat pork. Their occupation is mainly bearing palanquins and fishing. In Dacca, Doais have become fully Hinduised. In Dacca, they prepare mats but do not fish. They are served by Patit Brahmans. Their religious and social observances do not present any special feature. In West Bengal, the caste is found mainly in Hughli district.

14. Dom.—R.I. 240-251; CB01-437; S.I. 398 and D.326; 1931-138,926; 1941-118,800 (Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapur)

Also known as Chandal. Found extensively in Upper India, Bengal and Orissa. Risley considers Doms to belong to an aboriginal race, 'Dravidian'. As regards speculations regarding origin, *see* Risley. The caste is divided into local groups, *e.g.*, of Bihar, West Bengal, East Bengal, etc., which have more or less no connection with one another. Religious and social observances vary even from district to district, so also does the social organisation. In Central and Eastern Bengal infant marriage is the rule while in Bihar and West Bengal, adult marriage is also prevalent. The marriage rites among the Doms of Dacca are peculiar and are described by Risley, p. 243. In West Bengal the marriage rites are more or less Hinduised. In Bankura and Birbhum they are mainly the same as those in vogue among the Bagdis. Divorce and widow remarriage are usually allowed and the divorced woman may remarry. Except in Bihar where the widow is expected to marry the deceased husband's younger brother, there is no restriction on the widow. The wodow is usually married by the *sagai* or *sanga* rites. The caste organisation is strong and widow marriages and divorces are controlled by the same.

As religious observances vary from place to place it is not possible to describe the religion of the Doms even briefly. In Bihar in some places the sister's son or the eldest member of the family acts as the priest. In Bankura and some other districts, the priests are a special class of Doms, or Dharma Pandits act as priests. In Murshidabad and part of Manbhum a degraded class of Brahmans officiate as priests while in Santal Parganas, barbers perform the functions of the priest.

In Bengal, the Doms mostly lean toward Vaishnabism, and in addition to Radha and Krishna they worship Dharmaraja, Bhadu (*vide* Bagdi), the forest deity, Kalubir and others. In Central Bengal Kali is the favourite goddess while some revere the mythical Raja Harish Chandra. For other details, Risley, his pp. 246-47 may be referred to.

In Western and Central Bengal, the dead are cremated, while in Eastern Bengal it is reported that the dead are usually buried or thrown away in the rivers.

The Doms are sweepers, in some places they remove night-soil and dead bodies. Some make baskets and mats. Doms in many places eat beef, pork, field rats, and the flesh of dead animals Bajania Doms are musicians. Many Doms have taken to agriculture, while many are mere landless day-labourers.

The Doms are concentrated in West Bengal in the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapur.

15. Dosadh.—R.I. 252-58; S.I. 391; D. 326; 1931-35,928; 1941-23,033 (Burdwan, 24-Parganas, Calcutta, etc.)

A cultivating caste of Bihar and Chhotonagpur. They are also largely employed as village watchmen and messengers. They bear an evil reputation as habitual criminals. Risley describes them as 'a degraded Aryan or refined Dravidan' caste indicating a considerable admixture of blood.

Both infant and adult marriages are in vogue. Some Dosadhs hold that an adult bride should be married in the *sagai* form, like the widows. Widow remarriage and divorce are freely permitted. The marriage ceremonies are simple and follow the middle class Hindu rituals. No Brahman is employed except by the well-to-do, who employ degraded Brahmans.

The caste deity is the god Rahu. At the worship of the deity the priest is a Dosadh though often a Brahman is present. Other deities are deified heroes, Goraia, Salesh, Choar Mal, etc. In Eastern Bengal Sakadwipi Brahmans officiate as priests, while in the Santal Parganas, the Dhobi and the barber act as such.

The dead is usually cremated, and sometimes buried. Dosadhs eat pork and field rat and their social status is very low—no better than Doms and Chamars.

They act as carriers, porters, chaukidars, grooms, etc.

16. Ghasi.—R.I. 277-79; D.325; CB01-437; 1931-5,222; 1941-5,326 (Calcutta, Darjeeling)

A Dravidian fishing and cultivating caste of Chhotonagpur and Central India (R). They also act as musicians at weddings and festivals and also perform menial offices of all kinds. The women of the caste act as midwives and nurses to higher castes.

The caste ranks with Musahars and Doms. They eat beef and pork and are greatly addicted to drink. Colonel Dalton regards them as "Aryan helots".

Risley notes that the Simarloka sub-caste has a curious aversion for the Kayasth who is considered by the sub-caste as faithless even in the hour of death.

In Singhbhum Ghasis are sweepers. They are said to have come from Orissa.

Ghasis have their own priests and worship Dharma, Bar Pahar, Mangala, etc. as also the usual Hindu minor gods.

In Chhotonagpur, widow marriage and divorce are freely practised and the women are reputed to be very loose. Both infant and adult marriages are prevalent.

17. Gonhri.—R.I. 294-97; 1931-5,149; 1941-2,146

A fishing and cultivating caste of Bihar, who claim descent from Nisada, the ferryman who ferried Ramachandra across the Ganges at Allahabad. The physical appearance of the caste approaches the non-Aryan type.

Both adult and infant marriages are prevalent but the latter is considered to be more respectable. The marriage ceremony does not present any special feature. Widow remarriage and divorce are freely allowed and the divorced women may remarry The Gonhris are orthodox Hindus and are served by degraded Brahmans. Minor gods are Bandi, Goraia, Koila Baba and other deified persons, *e g*, Jai Singh (who is also revered by Tiyars). Many take pork and field rats. The status is undefined. Brahmans generally do not take water from their hands.

18. Hari.—R.I. 314-16; CB01-437; 1931-131,852; 1941-92,723

A menial and scavenging caste of Bengal, identified by Dr. Wise with Bhuinmalis. Risley thinks that the caste has been largely recruited from the ranks of the aboriginal races. There are many sub-castes, each following a different occupation. Thus, the Mihtar sub-caste removes night-soil; the Barabhagiyas serve as chaukidars, palanquin bearers, and musicians; the Khore keep pigs; the Siuli taps date palms; and the rest cultivate.

Infant marriage is deemed more respectable than adult marriage. The marriage rites are unusual for which *see* Risley. Widow remarriage is allowed and divorce is also permitted. Divorced women may remarry. Widows and divorced women marry by *nikah* form (R.).

They are served by priests of their own caste called Pandits, but in some areas degraded Brahmans are employed. The sister's son usually officiates at the ceremony corresponding to the Sradh. The dead are usually cremated.

No other caste will eat or take water from a Hari. Their social rank is of the lowest. They have almost no scruples regarding food, and they relish pork, field rats, fowls, and, in western districts, even beef.

Dulia is a sub-caste in Bankura, Bhuinmali in Birbhum, Kadma in Singhbhum. The sweeper sub-caste will not usually remove dead animals. Kali is specially revered but so also are Mangalchandi, Sitala, etc.

According to Brahmavaivarta Purana, the Haris are born of the union of a Let father and Chandala mother. The Haris claim that Brahma created them from the dust on his arm.

19. **Jalia Kaibarta.—R.I.340-342; CB31-477, 533-34; 1931-349,859; 1941-257,861**

Jalia is a general term applied to fishermen, such as Malos, Tiyars, Bauris, Bagdis, Rajbanshis and Kaivartas. The Chasi Kaivartas who have taken up agriculture as their profession and call themselves Mahisyas would have nothing to do with the Jalia Kaivartas who also claim to be Mahisyas along with Patnis. It is however held by most authorities that the two branches of the Kaivarta class have the same origin.

20. **Jhalo Malo or Malo.—R.11.64-8; CB21-467; 1931-197,789; 1941-163,067**

The boating and fishing caste of Bengal. Described by Risley to be the remnants of a distinct aboriginal (Dravidian) tribe, they themselves claim to be Jhalla and Malla Kshatriyas of Jhalawar and Mallagarh, respectively.

Infant marriage is usual. Divorce and widow remarriage are not permitted. They are served by barbers, washermen and degraded Brahmans. Social and religious customs do not present any special features. Special reverence is paid to the great rivers, Khal-Kumari and Khaja Khizr. They probably rank below Kaivartas.

Apart from boating and fishing, they also make twine, cultivate land, and sell grocery.

21. **Kadar.—R.I. 367-69; 1931-1,078; 1941-1,613 (Dinajpur, 24-Parganas, Howrah, etc.)**

'A non-Aryan caste of cultivators, fishermen and day-labourers in Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas, probably a degraded offshoot from the Bhuiya tribe' (R). Both infant and adult marriages are in vogue. Widows may freely remarry. Divorce is freely permitted and the divorced woman may marry. The village barber is the priest. They burn their dead. They eat beef, pork, fowl, and field rats As regards beef, it is claimed that they eat only the flesh of cattle that have died a natural death.

Their social position is quite low, Doms and Haris being the only people who will take either food or water from their hands.

22. **Kandra.—CB31-470; CB01-416; 1931-4,670; 1941-11,643**

Scheduled caste in 1931 but not in 1941. They are a low caste in Orissa, and are found chiefly in Contai and Tamluk subdivisions of Midnapur district. Kandras have a bad reputation as criminals They live by fishing, carrying lights in marriage processions, dancing in Hindu festivals, and also work as day-labourers and village chaukidars. Kandras and Kodmas have the same endogamous groups, and in 1931 local officers reported the two castes to be the same.

Widow remarriage and divorce are practised. The dead bodies are both cremated and buried. They are served by a degraded class of Brahmans. In 1901 they had no Brahman priests. They profess to be Vaishnabas but mainly worship village deities.

23. **Kaora.—CB01-413; 1931-107,867; 1941-92,926**

In 1891, Kaoras were treated as a sub-caste of Dom. They are most numerous in 24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly. They are also considered to be a sub-caste of Haris. They are swineherds by profession and also day-labourers and thieves (CB01).

24. **Karenga.—R.I.426; CB31-471; 1931-9,855; 1941-8,403**

A small Dravidian caste of Western Bengal who make baskets, dig tanks, and make also cart wheels and other wooden articles. The men also castrate goats and bullocks. Found chiefly in Midnapur, 24-Parganas and Hooghly.

25. **Kastha.—CB01-370-1; CB31-500; 1901-27,890. (for Bengal and Orissa); 1941-2,761**

A cultivating and landholding caste of Midnapur. They were 'depressed' in 1921 but not in 1931. They were described as clean Sudras in 1901 (CB01-370). There seems to be no ground for including them in the list of scheduled castes. They claim to be Kayasthas.

26. **Kaur.—R.I. 435; D.136; 1931-1,664; 1941-4,124**

A Dravidian cultivating caste of Orissa States and Chhotonagpur, found chiefly in Midnapur, Murshidabad and Dinajpur. Dudh Kaurs are fairly Hinduised and have Brahman priests, who are engaged only in marriages. Infant marriage is in vogue. Widow remarriage and divorce are allowed, widows being expected to marry the deceased husband's younger brother. Religious and social observances do not present any special features.

27. **Khaira.—R.I. 459; CB31-500; 1941-081**

A small caste of Hazaribagh who grow vegetables and other crops. They are believed to be akin to Kharwars (R) They are vegetable-growers and day-labourers of Midnapur, Angul and Orissa States. In Orissa States, they grow catechu and cultivate. (CB01-XXXVII.) Depressed class in 1921 but not in 1931, *vide* CB31-500.

28. **Khatik.—R.I.477; 1931-1,157; 1941-1,268 (Calcutta, Howrah, 24-Parganas, etc.)**

A cultivating and vegetable selling caste of Bihar. They are orthodox Hindus. No Brahmans are employed, the priests being members of the caste. Infant marriage is the rule. Widow remarriage and divorce are allowed. Social status is a little higher than that of Musahars.

29. **Koch.—R.I.490-500; D.89-92; 1931-80,002, 1941-42,806. Also Rajbanshi, Palia**

	1931	1941
Koch	80,002	42,806
Palia	43,163	..
Rajbanshi	1,487,469	..

The original inhabitants of Koch-Behar and neighbouring areas. Risley describes them as a Dravidian tribe with suspected admixture of Mongolian blood. Koches claim to be Kshatriyas and many of them probably returend themselves as Rajbanshis who however would have nothing to do with them. Ethnically Koches, Rajbanshis and Palias have the same origin according to Risley and this seems to be admitted generally. The Koches who were recorded as such in 1941 Census were of East Bengal mainly and only about 4,000 belonged to West Bengal as constituted at present. Risley treats the Koch as identical with the Rajbanshi and does not describe the Rajbanshis separately.

The Puranas give a rather fanciful account of the origin of the Koch for which *see* appendix.

30. **Konai.—CB01-420; 1931-41,058; 1941-41,486**

A caste found in Birbhum and Murshidabad. In Pabna Konais are considered to be the same as Matials, who were returned in 1901 as Muchis. The Chasi sub-caste are mainly cultivators, and occasionally fishermen or field-labourers. The Kurariar sub-caste are drummers or dealers in hide and sometimes labourers. The social rank is low. Widows are allowed to remarry. They specially venerate Manasha and Dharmaraj. Chasi Konais are fairly orthodox in their diet but the Kurariars eat buffaloes and sometimes even cows.

31. **Konwar.—1931-133; 1941-1,977**

Found in Birbhum and Murshidabad. No details available.

32. **Kora.—R.I. 506-10; 1931-46,617; 1941-39,240 (Burdwan, Midnapur, etc.)**

Also according to Risley, Kaora, Khaira and according to Gait, Kara. A caste of Chhotonagpur, Manbhum and Western Bengal, chiefly found in Burdwan division, Dinajpur and 24-Parganas. Koras of Bengal are more or less Hinduised. In Chhotonagpur and Manbhum, adult marriage is the rule, and both widow marriage and divorce are freely allowed. Their priests are not Brahmans but Layas who are members of the same caste. The dead are buried or burnt. They eat beef, pork and fowl but not field rats.

In Bengal, however, infant marriage is preferred, and widow remarriage has been practically abandoned They are served by degraded Brahmans and do not touch beef. In religion the Koras profess to be orthodox Hindus. They revere Manasa, Bhadu, Kudra and Bhairab Thakur, etc., in addition to the ordinary Hindu gods.

In Bengal, many Koras are cultivators. Others live by tank-digging, road-making and earthwork. They will not carry earth on their heads. According to Gait and Risley they are allied to Mundas.

33. **Kotal.—R.I.514; 1931-7,651; 1941-6,597**

A small cultivating caste of Dravidian origin found chiefly in Burdwan They are frequently employed as village watchmen Risley thinks they may be an offshoot of the Chandal caste as they claim descent from Guhak, the traditional ancestor of the Chandals. They do not recognise widow remarriage or divorce, and are served by degraded Brahmans. In religion they are orthodox Hindus, Kali, Lakshmi and Sasthi being their favourite deities. In diet they are orthodox. Their social position is equal to that of Namasudras.

34. **Lalbegi.—R.11.3-4; CB01-436; 1931-4,956; 1941-1,659**

A caste of sweepers mainly found in Calcutta and 24-Parganas. They are Mahomedans though some of them claim to be Hindus. They claim descent from a Mahomedan saint Lal Beg and follow many Hindu customs. They remove night-soil and sweepings but will not touch dead bodies. They marry young and allow divorce and remarriage of widows. They worship both Mahomedan Pirs (Pir Jahar and Panch Pir) and also Jagadamba and other godlings of lower caste Hindus. Their priest is of the same community. Except in East Bengal they take pork. They do not practise circumcision. They are supposed to have come from Upper India. The dead are buried, the funeral ceremonies being Mahomedan.

35. **Lodha.—CB01-422; 1931-10,964; 1941-11,641**

An aboriginal tribe of the Central Provinces. They are also found in large numbers in Angul, Orissa States, Singhbhum and Midnapur. The Chiriamars of Midnapur town probably are a branch of this tribe. The Lodhas of Midnapur are said to be identical with Savars and Sahars but in Orissa they are different They marry young and do not allow widow remarriage or divorce. Their traditional occupation is collection of jungle produce, but in Midnapur, they are also cultivators, labourers and fire-wood collectors and sellers. They have their own priests who are also Lodhas and are called Kotals. The favourite deities in Midnapur are Sitala, Varuna and Bhairab. As to their marriage ceremony, *vide* CB01-422.

36. **Lohar.—R.II. 22-34; 1931-49,968; 1941-67,440**

The blacksmith caste of Chhotonagpur and Behar. Risley thinks that the caste is a heterogeneous aggregate comprising members of different castes and tribes. Accordingly customs regarding marriage, divorce, religion, etc., vary from place to place. In Behar Lohars rank with Koiris and Kurmis, Brahmans take water from their hand and the social customs are similar to those of orthodox lower Hindu caste. In Chhotonagpur on the other hand their customs are mostly similar to those of the aboriginal races In Bankura degraded Brahmans are employed but usually the aboriginal priest and the local sorcerer minister to their spiritual wants. Some work as carpenters and many have taken to cultivation. In Chhotonagpur some Lohars still smelt iron themselves

37. **Mahar.—1931-1,791; 1941-6,917**

Found mainly in Midnapur (1941—2,233) and other West Bengal districts This is an Orissa tribe of basket-makers (CB31-477). Not described by Risley.

38. **Mahili, Mahli.—R.II. 40-3; 1931-19,106; 1941-21,393**

A Dravidian caste of palanquin-bearers, labourers, cultivators and bamboo-workers found mainly in Jalpaiguri, Midnapur and Dinajpur. They are of Chhotonagpur origin. Risley thinks that the main body of the caste is merely branch of the Santhals separated at a comparatively recent time.

Both infant and adult marriages are practised but the former is considered more respectable. The bride and the groom are first married to trees For further details, *see* Risley Divorce and widow remarriage are allowed. Divorced women may remarry and marriage to a younger brother of the deceased husband is considered proper.

The dead are buried, but also burnt in some localities. Mahlis profess to worship Hindu gods but special reverence is paid to Barpahari (*cf.* Santals and Mundas) and Manasa. (*Cf.* Bagdis) They eat beef, pork and fowl and rank with Bauris and Dosadhs.

39. **Mal.—R.II. 45-50; 1931-111,409; 1941-114,354**

Mainly found in Birbhum (1941—37,486), Bankura, Murshidabad, Dacca and Mymensingh. Dravidian cultivating caste of Western and Central Bengal (R). Many are employed as chaukidars and have the evil reputation for their thieving propensities (R). Beverley (CB72) thinks that Mals and Mal Paharias as also Oraons and Savars are of the same origin Chandals and Namasudras of Bengal may also have absorbed large sections of the Mals Manbhum (Mallabhum) and Maldah may owe their names to Mals Some Mals are snake-charmers and some Bedias by professions. Infant and adult marriages are both practised, the former being preferred Except among Rajbanshi Mals of Midnapur, widows may remarry Divorce is allowed and the divorced woman may remarry Mals are completely Hinduised in religion but Manasa is paid special reverence. Except in Santal Parganas where degraded Brahmens are employed, the priests are their own headmen or elders. The dead are cremated. Beef and pork are abjured but the social status of the caste is not higher than that of Bagdis.

40. **Mallah.—R.II. 63-64; 1931-25,903; 1941-18,604**

Found all over Bengal according to Census Reports. The name is actually a generic name for the various boating and fishing castes According to Sherring, Mallahs form a separate caste also. It is accordingly not clear what castes are included in Mallahs in the Censuses.

41. **Mal Paharia.—R.II. 66-72; D. 274; 1931-13,514; 1941-7,884**

Found in Jalpaiguri, Murshidabad, Darjeeling and Dinajpur mainly in 1941. They are an aboriginal tribe of Ramgarh Hills of the Santal Parganas. Buchanan thinks that the Malers, hillmen of the Rajmahal Hills are of the same origin. The tribes are altogether different according to Dalton and Ball (*see* Risley). Their languages are closely related

Adult marriage is usual. Widow remarriage is allowed, that to the deceased husband's younger brother being considered proper. Divorce also is allowed and remarriage of divorced women permitted.

The Sun is the head of the Mal Paharia pantheon. Dharitri or Bhuindev and Singhabahini as also Chordano

and Mahadano come next. Ancestor-worship is much in vogue. There are also village gods. There are no priests The dead are usually burnt. The Mal Paharias eat pork and fowl but abstain from beef, snakes and field rats.

42. **Methor.—S.I. 391; 1931-22,911; 1941-23,599**

The name is not strictly that of a caste but many of the sweeper castes were unable or professed to be unable to give their real caste names and the term had to be adopted *faut de mieux* (CB31). Highest number is found in Calcutta (1941—4,933).

43. **Muchi, Rishi, Ravidas, Ruidas.—R.II. 95-99; 1931-411,821; 1941-321,600**

Found all over Bengal, but mainly in Western and Central Bengal. This is the leather-dressing and cobbling caste of Bengal. Muchis are by origin doubtless a branch of the Chamars, though its members repudiate that name and claim to be a distinct caste of somewhat higher social position (R). Muchis tan hides like the Chamars.

As regards traditions of origin, *see* Risley. Both adult and infant marriages are practised but the latter is deemed more respectable. Divorce is allowed for adultery. Divorced women and widows may remarry by the *sanga* form with the permission of the *panchayet*. Widow marriage is already not in favour. The religion is that of the other castes of similar status and presents no special features. Among minor gods revered are Viswakarma, Sitala, Jalka Devi, etc. The Barabhagia sub-caste abjure beef and are served by degraded Brahmans. The Chhotobhagia caste eat beef. Most take pork and fowl, and have their priests from among themselves Usual occupations are tanning, making shoes, saddles, drums and baskets. They also act as musicians on festive occasions.

44. **Musahars.—R.II. 113-118; 1931-11,585; 1941-10,809**

Mainly found in Dinajpur, Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and Maldah. Musahar means a rat-catcher.

Risley considers the caste to be an offshoot of the Bhuiya tribe of Chhotonagpur.

Both infant and adult marriages are practised. Divorce is allowed Marriage of widows and of divorced women by the *sagai* form is also allowed.

Among Hindu gods and goddesses, Kali is popular, but the six Birs are kept in good humour They are Rikhmun, Tulsi, Ram, Bhawan, Asan and Charakh. They are not served by Brahmans who, however, are consulted for fixing auspicious days At Sraddhas, the sister's son acts as the priest (*cf* Dom) All kinds of food including pork, frogs, alligators, jackals, cats, lizards, snakes, iguanas, field rats are taken. Beef is forbidden except among the Pahari sub caste. By occupation they are palanqin-bearers, field-labourers and cultivators

45 **Nagesia (Nagesar, Kisan).—R.II. 122; D. 131; 1931-2,152; 1941-2,704**

Practically confined to Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling A small Dravidian tribe of Chhotonagpur. They worship the Sun and also the tiger in some localities. Some respect is paid also to Darha (*Cf.* Munda).

46. **Namasudra (Chandal).—R.I. 183; 1931-2,086,213; 1941-2,150,760**

According to Risley a non-Aryan caste of Bengal engaged for the most part in boating and cultivation. Their number is largest in the Dacca Division, Tippera, Jessore and Khulna but they are found in large number in 24-Parganas, Nadia and Midnapur also. They are the second largest caste in Bengal. In Manu the Chandals are depicted as the 'lowest of the mankind'—as outcastes and helots of the society. The description hardly applies to the Bengali Namasudras who are for the most part peaceful, hard-working, cheerful cultivators Some are shop-keepers, traders, carpenters and a considerable number now follow the various so-called learned professions.

According to Risley, Pods, Karals, Kotals, Nunias and Beruas are subdivisions of the Namasudras. But Pods themselves claim to be a superior caste.

Infant marriage is usual. Divorce is not allowed. Widow remarriage once universally practised is now practically prohibited

Namasudras are strict Hindus and their religious and social observances present no special feature. They are usually Vaishnavas and are served by degraded Brahmans. The washermen and the barbers are Namasudras. Special reverence is paid to Manasa Bastu Puja is a speciality. Bansura is worshipped by the Central Bengal Namasudras. The social position of the caste is still very low.

47. **Nunia.—R.II. 135-137; 1941-38,719**

Depressed class in 1921, but not in 1931 Found mainly in Mymensingh, Malda, Dinajpur, Rangpur, 24-Parganas and Burdwan.

The Nunia is a Dravidian caste of Bihar and Upper India engaged in cultivation, salt-petre-making and various kinds of earth-work, closely allied to Binds and Beldars, who may have the same origin (R). Infant marriage is the fashion Widow marriage is allowed in *sagai* form, that to the younger brother of the deceased husband being considered proper. Divorce is also allowed and the divorced women are allowed to marry in *sagai* form.

They are served by Tirhutia Brahmans. Ordinary form of Hinduism is followed Among minor gods worshipped are Bandi Goraya and Sitala. The dead are burnt. Nunias take pork and field-rat. In parts of Bihar they rank with Kurmis and Koiris but in other parts their status is lower and no higher caste will take water from them.

48. **Palia.—*See* Koch**

49. **Pan.—R.II. 155-159; 1931-791; 1941-1,735**

Also known as Chik or Chik Baraik in Manbhum and also as Ganda. A low weaving, basket-making and servile caste of Orissa and Chhotonagpur. From totemistic organisation of the caste Risley thinks they are Dravidians and not of Aryan descent as suggested by Dalton.

Adult marriage is usual. Widow marriage, preferably to the deceased husband's younger brother, is allowed. Divorce is allowed and the divorced women may remarry.

Pans are not served by Brahmans. Their priests are either Pans themselves or of the Nagesia caste

Religion is a sort of bastard Hinduism. One observer describes them as having very little religion of any kind They, however, worship some minor deities The dead are burnt but also buried in Lohardaga area. They eat beef, pork and fowl and their social status is exceedingly low.

50. **Pasi.—R.II. 166.168; S.I. 400; 1931-18,628; 1941-12,990**

Found mainly in 24-Parganas, Howrah, Hooghly and Burdwan. This is a Dravidian caste of Bihar, whose original occupation is believed to be tapping of palm trees. In Bengal they usually work as field labourers, coolies, servants, etc.

Infant marriage is considered respectable. Widow marriage in *sagai* form, preferably to the younger brother of the deceased husband is allowed. Divorce is allowed and divorced women may remarry.

Pasis are Saktas. Some sub-castes now employ degraded Brahmans. In funeral ceremonies, the sister's son

even now officiate as the priest. A number of minor deities are worshipped including Bandi Goraia, Ram Thakur, Sokha, etc.

Most of the Pasis eat fowl and field rats and rank with Binds and Chains.

51. **Patni.—R.II. 170-172; 1931-39,290; 1941-116,486**

The Patni is a boating, fishing, basket-making, trading and cultivating caste of Eastern Bengal. Risley considers Patnis of Dravidian descent. According to Dr Wise, Patnis were originally Doms. In North Bengal they are known as Dom Patnis. Now they claim to be Lupta Mahisyas which is strongly resented by the Mahisyas themselves.

Infant marriage is the rule. Widow remarriage and divorce are not allowed. Religion does not present any special features. Patnis are served by degraded Brahmans. When in danger, they invoke the Panch Pir The chief religious festival is the Ganga Puja. Brahmans would not take water from their hands The Dhobas and the Napits are of the Patni caste. They rank with Jalia Kaivartas.

52. **Pod.—R.II. 176-177; 1931-667,731; 1941-564,993**

A fishing, cultivating, land-holding and trading caste of Lower Bengal. They are found in large numbers in 24-Parganas.

They marry their daughters early, forbid widow marriage and do not recognise divorce. They are orthodox Hindus and are served by degraded Brahmans. Their status is low, almost the same as of Bagdis. They now claim to be Paundra Kshatriyas.

53. **Rábha.—D. 87-88; 1931-2,118; 1941-2,961**

Found in Jalpaiguri (1941—2,954). They belong to the Bodo group. Not described by Risley.

54. **Rajbanshi.**—*See* **Koch**

55. **Rajwar.—R.II. 192-194; D. 326; 1931-21,315; 1941-32,338**

A cultivating caste of Bihar, Chhotonagpur and Western Bengal, probably of aboriginal origin. Both infant and adult marriages are practised. Widow remarriage is allowed in *sagai* form but is growing unpopular. Divorce is allowed and the divorced women may remarry.

The dead are burnt and a piece of bone is saved for being thrown in the Ganges or the Damodar

They profess to be Vaishnavas and are served by degraded Brahmans. The social rank is low and the Brahmans will not take water from their hands. They abstain from beef and pork.

56. **Sunri.—R.II. 275-280; 1931-76,779; 1941.65,694**

Previous to 1911, Sahas and Sunris were enumerated together. Now Sahas claim that the Sunris are altogether a different caste. There are, however, grounds to hold that many Saha families were originally of Sunri origin.

Original profession of the caste was manufacture and sale of spirituous liquour. Many now follow mercantile pursuits.

Infant marriage is practised while widow remarriage and divorce are strictly prohibited.

Chief religious festivals are worship of Ganesa, Gandheswari and Durga. Many also worship Kartik. Sunris observe the usual social and religious customs of the middle-class and are served by degraded Brahmans. In spite of their fairly high economic position, the caste has a very low status. The Dhobas and the Napits are recruited from the Sunri caste.

57. **Tiyar.—R.II. 328-331; 1931-96, 375; 1941-41,403**

(The decrease in number in 1941 is probably very largely, if not entirely, due to the claim of the caste to be Rajbanshis or Mahisyas (CB31-487.) They also call themselves Tilak Das and Suryabangshis. The name is probably derived from Sanskrit Tivara, which means a hunter. It is a Dravidian boating and fishing caste of Bihar and Bengal. The origin is obscure.

Infant marriage is usual, while widow remarriage and divorce are not recognised.

Tiyars are all Vaishnavas The religious ceremonies are always held under trees, preferably Sheora trees. Special reverence is paid to Bura Buri, Ganga and Manasha. Like other boatmen, Pir Badar, Khaza Khizr and Madar are held in high esteem and invoked in times of danger. So also is Khal Kumari.

There is no special feature regarding social and religious observances Social status is uncertain in some places. They are usually not served by Dhobas and Napits. The priest is a degraded Brahman. The Bihar Tiyars have, in many cases, customs which differ from corresponding customs of Bengal Tiyars.

58. **Turi.—R.II. 333-335; 1931-17,362; 1941.15,784**

Mainly found in 24-Parganas (1941—14,345), Mymensingh, Jalpaiguri, Malda, Howrah, etc.

A non-Aryan caste of cultivators, workers in bamboo and basket-makers of Chhotonagpur. They are a Hinduised offshoot of Mundas (R). The language used is a dialect of Mundari.

Adult marriage is the rule. Widow marriage in *sagai* form is allowed, preferably to the younger brother of the deceased husband. Divorce is also allowed and the divorced women may remarry.

They are being rapidly Hinduised and many now belong to the Siva Narayani sect. But Baranda Bhut and Bura Buri are held in special reverence. Except the Siva Narayanis, Turis are lax in matters of food, beef and pork being eaten by most others.

GLOSSARY B—MISCELLANEOUS CASTES

[*General Reference*· CB31, pp. Abbreviations, as for Glossary A. Population figures are not available in most cases for recent years. Figures where stated refer to undivided Bengal.]

1. **Agaria.—R.I.3; D.322; 1931-230; 1941-1,243**

A cultivating caste of Hazaribagh and Orissa. They claim to be descended from Ksatriyas of Agra. The more Hinduised sections are served by Brahmans. Adult marriage is generally in vogue. Widow marriage is allowed, and divorce is permitted. Risley thinks that Agarias of Chhotonagpur are a section of the Korwas. The dead are buried but the bones are consigned to the Ganges.

2. **Asur.—R.I.25; D.221, also known as Lohar**

Ironsmelting caste of Lohardaga and Surguja. Adult marriage usual. Polygamy, divorce and widow marriage allowed. Women notoriously lax Dalton seems to identify them with the Asurs whom the Mundas conquered according to legend.

3 **Berua.—R.I.89; 1931-3,135; 1941-2,088**

Cultivating and fishing caste of East Bengal. Probably offshoot of Chandals. The name is derived from Bera, weir of reeds for catching mullet. The large number in Chittagong (1931-2,643) probably due to confusion with Baruas.

4. **Bhakat.—R.I.91; D.125-131; CB01-492; 1901-1,900**

Also Bhokta. Cultivating caste of Midnapur. Possibly Dravidian origin (Gait). They are strict Hindus being served by degraded Brahmans. Widow remarriage and divorce not allowed. The dead are cremated. Dalton would include them under Kharwars.

5. **Bhaskar.—R.I.97; CB01-403; 1901-515**

Idol-makers of Calcutta and North Bengal. Social position as of Dhobi(R). Painters in North Bengal (G).

6 **Bhat.—R.I.98-103; 1881-4,369**

Bhats of Bengal are probably different from those of Bihar. Numerous only in Midnapur and Birbhum. Claim to be descended from Brahman marriage brokers (Dr Wise q. R). Original occupation that of geneologists and family bards. Risley's description applies to the Bihar caste. Religious and social observances are same as of ordinary middle class Hindus.

7. **Bhatia.—R.I.103; 1931-322; 1941-312**

Depressed class in 1931 and 1941. Low mendicant caste living by dancing, juggling, and singing Found mainly in Calcutta.

8 **Bhar.—R.I.95-96; 1881-1,095**

A cultivating caste of Bihar and Chhotonagpur found in Nadia and Mymensing also. A Dravidian caste in the process of being Hinduised(R). Widow marriage and divorce have been discarded, but infant marriage has not yet been adopted as a general rule. Brahmans are employed and the dead burnt. The Bihar Bhars disown connection with the Bengal Bhars.

9. **Binjhia.—R.I.134-37; CB01-404; 1931-502; 1941-275**

Depressed and Scheduled caste in 1931 and 1941. Cultivating caste of Orissa States and Lohardaga. A branch lives in the Hills (Birjias). Allied to Asurs and Agarias according to Driver (q. Risley). Divorce and widow remarriage allowed, that to husband's younger brother being proper The plains Binjhias are mainly cultivators. They are more or less completely Hinduised, employing Brahmans as priests. Dead bodies are either buried or burnt. They eat fowl and wild pig. Hinduised Binjhias rank with Rautias, etc. They worship Vindhyabasini, Jagannath, Chadri Devi, etc., while in the Hills the pahariya Binjhias worship also the Sun (Singbonga) and the Moon (Mindbonga).

10. **Birhor.—R.I.137-8; D.218**

Depressed class in 1931. Dravidian tribe of Chhotonagpur living in the jungles and slowly being Hinduised. The dead are cremated. The religion is a mixture of Hinduism and Animism. Their minor gods are. Devi, Buria Mai, Dudha Mai, Biru Bhut, Darha, Sugu, etc. The dead are usually cremated and the ashes thrown into a stream.

11. **Chain.—R.I.166-68; S.I.386; 1881-64,436**

Cultivating and fishing caste of Bihar and West Bengal (esp. Malda, Rajshahi and Murshidabad). Probably Non-Aryan (R). Widow marriage allowed, that to husband's younger brother being proper. Women of lax morality. Degraded Maithil Brahmans are employed. Minor deity. Koila Baba Rank with Binds and Pasis.

12 **Chapoti.—CB01-405**

A small fishing and cultivating caste of Tulsihata thana (now Harischandrapur and Kharba) of Malda. Widow remarriage and divorce for adultery are allowed. Degraded Brahmans are employed. Pork is eaten.

13. **Chasati.—R.I.196; 1931-42,023**

Allied to Chasadhobas (R). They are cultivators and rearers of silkworm. Mainly found in Murshidabad and Malda.

14. **Deswali.—R.I.217**

A sub-tribe of Hinduised Santals of South Manbhum employing Brahmans.

15. **Dhokar.—R.I.236**

A sub-tribe of Gonds.

16. **Dhangar.—R.I. 219**

Means in the language of several tribes, youths of both sexes. In Bengal it means a nomadic labourer, that is, a Buna. Dhangar is the agricultural labourer of Chhotonagpur. Dhangar and Buna were recorded separate castes in 1941.

17. **Dhenuar.—R.I.224; 1941-554 (Malda-342)**

A small Dravidian caste of Chhotonagpur, probably related to Mundas (R).

18. **Dhanuk.—R.I.220-22; 1881-10,327 (Malda-5,044, Murshidabad-4,802)**

A cultivating caste of Bihar found in large numbers in Murshidabad and Malda. The origin is probably non-Aryan and a degraded parentage is given in the Puranas

Thus, in Padma Puran the parentage is Chamar father and Chandal mother. Widow marriage and divorce are recognised especially in the Santal Parganas. Divorced women may marry. Maithil Brahmans are employed, and the dead are cremated. They rank with Kurmis and Koiris. Minor gods: Bandi, Goraya, Dharm Raj, Ram Thakur, Gahil, etc. Sun worship is common in Baisakh.

19. **Ganesh (Gangal).—CB01-401; 1881-61,424 (Bengal and Bihar together)**

Found in Purnea, Malda and Dinajpur. Incorrectly identified with Gangauta by Risley (1. 268-9). The occupation is cultivation, weaving, and lime-burning. They eat pork and rank with Malis and Sunris.

20. **Garhal, Garal or Gandak(?)—R.I.271; CB01-410**

According to Gait, Garals are a sub-caste of Chandals though they do not admit it. They prepare chira Widow marriage and divorce are not allowed. They are served by napits and degraded Brahmans. Bat, Bel, and Neem trees are held sacred.

21. **Ganrar.—R.I.270; 1901-3,670**

Boating, fishing and trading caste of East Bengal and Kuch Bihar. Gangaridae of Pliny (R) They claim to be descended from Kandus of Bhagalpur. Widow marriage and divorce are not allowed. They are served by degraded Brahmans Some call themselves Shikaris. Gandapals were included in Ganrars in 1901. Minor deities: Khal Kumari, Khaza Khizr, Satya Narayan, Manasa, Buraburi, etc.

22. **Halalkhor.—R.I.310; CB31-467; CB01-436; 1931-876; 1941-157**

Scheduled caste in 1931 and 1941. Halalkhors are sweepers who will literally eat anything. Includes Mahomedans also. The term is actually a synonym of Methor and Bhangi. In Hazaribagh, they are served by degraded Brahmans, but in Champaran the barber is their priest. Panch Pirs, Manasa, Jagadamba, etc., are revered by sweepers.

23. **Kacharu.—R.I.366; 1901-1,196**

An East Bengal caste, found mainly in Madaripur subdivision of Faridpur district. They claim to be Kayasthas. The caste trade is manufacture of lac bracelets. Many are traders and grocers. They employ their own Brahmans. They are served by washermen and barbers but their watervessels are unclean. Special reverence is paid to Viswakarma.

24. **Kadma.—CB01-411**

Orissa and Midnapur. The caste figures included also Gharai, but Gait (CB01-411) doubts whether the inclusion is justified. In 1901 the strength was 45,080 for Bengal and Orissa. In the 1901 Census Kadmas and Kandras were enumerated separately. There is difference of opinion whether the two castes are identical. *See* Kandras in the section on Scheduled Castes. It is not clear whether in other Censuses Kadmas are included in Kandras.

25. **Kahar.—R.I.370-5; CB01-374; CB21-354; S.I.339; 1881-47,746**

Cultivating and palanquin-bearing caste of Bihar. Many are domestic servants. Probably remnants of a pre-Aryan race with admixture of some Aryan blood. The Rawani Kahars claim to be descended from Jarasandha, king of Magadha. Widow remarriage is allowed, the husband's younger brother having the first claim. Religious and social observances are like Hindus of similar status. Degraded Brahmans are employed. The dead are cremated Some eat fowl and even field rats. Minor deities: Ganesh, Dak, Bandi, Goraia, Dharmraj, Ram Thakur, Damubir, etc. Kahars rank with Kurmi and Goalas, etc. The Bengal Kahars—Dulias—are despised by the Bihar Kahars.

26. **Kala (Kara).—R.I.423**

A subsept of Besra Santals.

27. **Kallar.—CB01-415; 1901-total 7,600 (Katichua-3,900)**

Includes some communities who lost their castes on the occasion of some famine Tripur Das or Katichuas of Tippera lost their caste by intermarriage with Tiparas.

28. **Kalwar.—R.I.385; S.I.302; CB1931-469; 1931-3,900)**

A caste of Bihar distilling and selling liquor, also traders. Probably a degraded offshoot of one of the numerous branches of the Banias (R). Infant marriage. Widow remarriage allowed but divorce is not recognised generally except in Champaran district where divorced wives may remarry.

Minor deities: Sokha, Kali, Bandi, Goraiya, Panch Pir, Barham Deo, etc., varying with sub-castes. Degraded Brahmans are usually employed. Banodhia sub-caste employ Kanojia Brahmans.

Rank with Telis, Tatwas. Water not taken by higher castes.

29. **Kan.—R.I.296; CB1931-470; 1931-66; 1941-346**

Scheduled caste (1941). A very low caste of musicians akin to the Doms (R).

30 **Kandh (Khond).—R.I.397-413; D.285-304; 1931-1,525; 1941-292**

A 'Dravidian' tribe of Orissa States, living by hunting and crude agriculture. Scheduled caste (1941). For details regarding origin, internal structure, customs, religion, and human sacrifice practised till the middle of the 19th century, *see* Risley who quotes Fraser's *Golden Bough* I.384-90 *in extenso* on the last topic. Also *see* Dist. Gazetteer, Angul.

31. **Kandu.—R.I.414-413; 1881-12,926**

Grain-packing caste of Bihar (R). They often keep shops, manufacture and sell sweetmeats. Infant marriage. Widow marriage—often to husband's younger brother. Divorce for adultery is allowed by some sub-castes.

Maithil and Trihutia Brahmans serve without stigma. Minor gods: Goraiya (with Dosadh priest), Bandi Mai, Kangali Sahu, Sakha Siv Nath, Ram Thakur, etc. Panch Pir (Dacca).

Kandus also work as traders, masons, domestic servants, etc.

Rank with Koiris, Goalas, etc.

32. **Kantai.—R.I.420; 1901-158**

A group of Rajbanshis, by profession palanquin-bearers. Found in Rajshahi and Malda.

33. **Kapali.—R.421-22; CB31-470; 1931-165,589; 1921-158,864**

A cultivating and weaving caste of East Bengal. Also found in 24-Parganas. Origin according to Brahmavaivarta Puran is Tivara father and washerman mother. They claim to be vaisyas. Infant marriage usual. Widow

marriage and divorce not recognised Most are Vaishnavas, the Brahman serving are degraded Kartik is held in special veneration. Rank of the caste is about that of Dhobas and Sunris, but barbers and washermen serve them.

34. **Kapuria.—CB31-470; 1931-170; 1941-2,219**

Wandering group of horse-dealers originating in Central Provinces (CB31). They come mostly from Fatepur district of U. P. They beg and steal and deal in ponies and goats. They claim to be Brahmans. Minor deity: Sitala. They do not perform any sradh ceremony and observe only 3 days as period of impurity. Widow remarriage allowed, the husband's younger brother having preferential claim. Scheduled caste in 1941.

35. **Kara.—R.I.423**

A subsept of Besra Santals.

36. **Karan.—R.I.424-426**

The writer caste of Orissa. Some of them claim to be originally Kayastha, migrated from Bengal because they did not submit to Ballal Sen's social discipline. They rank in Orissa next to Brahmans. A peculiarity of the caste is that the marriage ceremony is performed in the daytime.

37. **Karni.—R.I.427; 1901-6,167**

A degraded caste of weavers in East Bengal They have special Barna Brahmans. Tantis disown them. Napits and Dhobas serve them without objection.

38. **Kawali.—R.I.437; 1901-670**

Musician caste, originally Kapalis (R). They are served by Dhobas and Napits. Mostly Vaishnavas, they revere Saraswati specially. The tradition is that they are descended from a Kayastha father and a washerwoman.

39. **Khandait.—R.I.481-84; 1901-2,588; 1921-34,328**

The generic name of the feudal militia of Orissa (R). They claim pure Ksatriya descent. Beames thinks that Khandaits are of mixed origin, with considerable non-Aryan admixture. Risley thinks that the Khandaits are mostly composed of Bhuiyas of the southern group In Chhotonagpur, widow remarriage allowed, but not in Orissa generally. They rank next to Rajputs in Orissa. Khanda means a sword and khandaits originally were the professional soldiers in Orissa. Most are now landholders, tenure-holders, chaukidars and rayats. Chasa Khandaits, who are cultivators, form a separate inferior group.

40. **Kharia.—R.I.466-472; D.158 (differs in many respects from Risley); 1901-5,681**

The plains Kharias are to a large extent civilised but there are still some Hill Kharias in the jungles of Manbhum, Singhbhum and Orissa States, who live a very primitive life, depending mostly on jungle products. These Kharias are fast dying out and not much is known about them.

The plains Kharias who are good cultivators, resemble Mundas physically. Marriage is arranged by the parents and may take place only in the month of Magh. Divorce is allowed for adultery and the divorced woman may remarry. Widows also may remarry, and the husband's younger brother is expected to be the choice. They do not employ Brahmans and have priests of their own The dead, if married, are burnt and the remains thrown in the nearest river. A tall slab of stone is set up near the house to which daily oblations are supposed to be offered. The unmarried are buried.

Religion is a mixture of animism and nature worship. Gods: Bar Pahar. Borho Dubo, Nasan Dubo, Giring (Sun), Jyolo (Moon), Pat Dubo, etc.

41. **Khen.—R.I. 489 (Khyan), CB31-473; 1941-8,630 (Rangpur, 6,300); 1881-26,712**

A caste found in North Bengal and Assam. They claim to be Kayasthas. Risley wrongly identifies them with Kalitas. Customs and religion as of high class Hindus of Bengal. They hold a respectable rank in society, but in CB31, it is reported that they are looked upon as Kayasthas of a low class Recorded as Sen Kayasthas in 1941.

42. **Kheyari.—1941-8,363**

Mainly found in Jalpaiguri.

43. **Khodal.—CB1901-419** .

Low caste of Orissa found mainly in Balasore, and Midnapur. In Balasore, they dig earth and grow vegetables In Puri, they are palanquin-bearers, day-labourers and firewood-collectors and sellers.

44. **Kichak.—1931-2; CB01-419**

Sweeper caste. In 1901, a small community of the name was returned from Dacca. Hodgson reports a tribe of the same name in Tarai. They are mentioned in the Statistical account of Purnea, but no trace since. In the old Police Code, Kichaks are described as an offshoot of the Bauri Race of Upper India who come to Bengal in winter. Their occupation is begging, jugglery, sorcery and also theft and cattle-lifting. The Dacca group had a tradition that they were dacoits deported from Rangpur and Dinajpur. They are street sweepers but will not touch night-soil They have no priests, but barbers and washermen work for them. They speak a form of Gujrati.

45. **Koiri.—R.I.500-05; 1901-6,878; 1921-16,021; 1931-abt. 20,000; S.I. Ch.X. 323-32**

A very numerous cultivating caste of Bihar. No tradition or evidence of aboriginal origin. Most of the sub-castes allow widow remarriage in *sagai* form, the younger brother of the husband being the proper person to marry. In some areas divorce is allowed and divorced women may marry again. In Bhagalpur and Patna divorce is not recognised.

In Bihar, Koiris are orthodox Hindus but in Chotanagpur, the serving Brahmans are degraded. Rank with Kurmis and goalas In North Bhagalpur, they eat field rats. In Chotonagpur, Marang Buru or Bar Pahari is revered along with the Hindu gods. Elsewhere the minor deities are, Bandi, Goraia, Dharmraj, Ram Thakur, etc. Koiris are expert market gardeners growing and selling all kinds of vegetables. A large proportion are, however, landless day labourers.

46 **Korwa.—R.I.511-13, D.221**

A Dravidian tribe of Surguja, Jashpur and Palamau. They mainly live on jungle products which they also trade in. Their system of agriculture is primitive, only virgin soil being cultivated by "jhooming". This makes the tribe migratory. Not much is known about their religion They are said to worship their ancestors. In Jashpur the bloodthirsty goddess Khuria Rani is propitiated with slain goats and buffaloes.

47. **Kurariar.—CB1901-421; 1901-650 (Bengal and Behar)**

A criminal tribe of Purnea, also known as Byadh. Their traditional occupation is catching and selling birds. They also sell firewood. They live in the jungle and live on

jungle products. They claim to be Hindus employing the village barber as the priest. Their special deity is the deified hero Lalmohan Palwan, who was killed by a tiger.

48. **Kurmi.—R.I.528-537; S.I.-323; D.317; 1901-98,000; 1921-193,176**

A very large cultivating caste of Upper India, Bihar, Chhotonagpur and Orissa. Their origin is obscure. Behar Kurmis are fairly goodlooking and Campbell and Dalton consider them Aryan in look. The Kurmis of Chhotonagpur, Manbhum and Orissa however can hardly be distinguished from a Bhumij or Santal. The Santals consider the Kurmis to be descended from the same stock as their own and will eat cooked rice from them. The Chhotonagpur Kurmis have many customs clearly tribal whereas Kurmis of Bihar are practically orthodox Hindus. In Midnapur, Kurmis are giving up divorce and widow marriage.

The religion of Behar Kurmis differs little from that of other Hindu castes of similar social standing. Brahmans serve them without stigma. They do not take any prohibited food and their social rank is respectable and Brahmans will take water from their hands. Social customs are like those of other Hindus of similar status except that in Gaya, unmarried persons of either sex are buried and not cremated. The Kurmis of Behar are excellent cultivators but as regards special crops they are not so skilful as the Koiris.

Chhotonagpur Kurmis.—'The animistic beliefs characteristic of the Dravidian races are overlaid by the thinnest veneer of conventional Hinduism and the vague shapes of ghosts or demons who haunt the jungle and the rocks are the real powers to whom the average Kurmi looks for the ordering of his moral and physical welfare. Chief among these are Bar Pahar, Garoar, Kinchakeswari, Boram Devi, Dakum Buri, etc. In Chhotonagpur Brahmans are either not employed or employed only on special occasions. But in Midnapur, Brahmans are called in on all social and religious occasions, but the Brahmans are degraded.

Special festivals are the Bandhana and Akhan Jatra. By abstaining from beef and pork, they have raised themselves a step higher than the Santhals and Oraons, but the fact that they eat fowl and field rats and indulge freely in spirituous liquor excludes them from the circle of castes from whose hands a Brahman will take water.'

Mahatos of Midnapur are probably Hinduised Kurmis of Chhotonagpur origin. Census Report of Bihar, 1931.

Kurmis claim to be Khatriyas.

49. **Madhunapit—1901-31; R. II.26-27**

A confectioner caste. According to Dr. Wise they are the most respected confectioners in East Bengal. CB1901 reports them in 24-Parganas and Manbhum Considered to belong to the Nabasakh group. Origin is uncertain For traditions, *see* Risley.

50. **Nagar.—R.II.120-21; 1881-24,882; 1931-16,151**

A small cultivating caste of Bhagalpur. Found in Murshidabad and Malda (1881-2,463, and 12,319), origin of the caste is obscure. Divorce is not permitted but widows may remarry. Religion same as popular Hinduism. Served by Brahmans without stigma. Brahmans and higher castes do not take water from them. They rank just above Dosadhs. Depressed class in 1931 (1931-Malda 14,356).

51. **Naik (Laik).—CB1901-424**

A separate caste reported from Bankura. Possibly they are Khairas. They claim to rank above Bauris. Widow marriage and divorce not usually allowed.

52. **Nat.—R.II.129**

A dancing and musician caste of Eastern Bengal.

53. **Nekua.—CB1901-425; 1901-391; 1941-1**

A small community of cultivators found in 24-Parganas. They were formerly weavers and have separate priests of their own.

54. **Nuri.—R.II.137; 1901-972**

A caste of jewellers and lac-workers said to have been brought from Orissa by a Maharaja of Krishnagar.

55. **Palwars.—R.II.155; 1901-715 (Malda and Murshidabad)**

An up-country caste, by profession dealers in *ghi*, boatmen, cultivators and makers of brickdust Also tradesmen's clerks. Title Suryabansi. Said to be descended from Tiyars and Dosadhs (CB 1901).

56. **Patial.—1901-7,656; R.II.169**

Mat-making caste of Eastern Bengal

57. **Pundarik.—R.II.179 (Puro)-CB1901-425; 1901-35,840; 1931-31,255; 1941-124,394**

Risley says it is a title of Pods who rear cocoons and cultivate chillies, ginger, etc. In Jatimala, they are stated to be born from the union of a Vaisya man and a Sunri woman. Puros claim that they are descended from Pundra, son of Bali and scion of the ancient kingdom of Paundrabardhana. Gait thinks that they are of the same origin as Pods. In 1931, Pundariks were recorded as untouchables. In 1941, more than a lakh were returned from Khulna alone.

58. **Raju.—1901-104,298; (Midnapur and Orissa); CB1901-426; 1931-56,778 (Midnapur-54,764).**

A cultivating caste of Orissa. They claim descent from a Raja Chauranga Deb. Some claim Ksatriya origin. Titles Ghose, Pal, Datta, Jana, Mahanti, etc. They rank with Nabasakh group and are served by good Brahmans. Social and ceremonial practices are much the same as of Navasakhs.

59 **Sair.—R.II.216; 1901-277**

Closely allied to Bagdis. Found in Midnapur and Burdwan. Cultivators.

60. **Sagirdpesha.—R.I.215; CB1901-433-44; 1931-333**

In Orissa a designation of the illegitimate offspring of a Brahman woman by a Kayastha man (R), of women of the Chasa Bhandari and other indigenous castes by a Kayastha or a high caste man (Gait). In social observances they follow the practices of the higher castes and employ good Brahmans. For details *see* CB1901.

61. **Samanta.—CB1901-427; 1901-3,688**

Found in Midnapur and Chhatna Thana of Bankura. The origin is probably aboriginal, but they claim to be Ksatriyas. Usual occupation cultivation. Served by good Brahmans.

62. **Sarak.—R.II.236-37, CB1901-427-430**

	1901	1881
Burdwan	819	38
Birbhum	87	..
Bankura	1,972	601
Midnapur	436	..
Hughli	165	..
Manbhum	10,496	8,218
Ranchi	1,942	1,515
S. P.	982	448

(Orissa—Puri, Cuttak, etc., 460.)

Saraks of Burdwan, Birbhum and Manbhum are Hinduised but retain the tradition of immigrating from up-country and being originally Jains. They are still strictly vegetarians and even avoid the use of the word 'cut'. Widow marriage and divorce are not allowed. They are served by Brahmans who are degraded in some places. In Vishnupur they have taken to weaving. In Brahmavaivarta Purana, their origin has been stated to be the union of a Jolaha man with a Kuvinda woman.

The Saraks of Orissa are Buddhists (CB1901) though they sometimes employ Brahmans They have a tradition that they immigrated from Burdwan.

63. **Savar.—R.II.241-246 also Saura**

Savars of Orissa are not yet Hindus Those of Bankura and Midnapur are more or less Hinduised, employ degraded Brahmans and rank with Bagdis, Koras, etc.

Dalton thinks they are Dravidians, while others think they are Kolarians. Possibly Male and Suar of Rajmahal Hills are a distant branch. Savars of Bankura follow the same social observances as Hindus of similar status.

64. **Siyalgir.—CB1901-435; 1901-598**

They live in Mohanpur outpost in Danton thana in Midnapur. They speak a dialect of Gujrati. They are supposed to have migrated six or seven generations ago. Dead buried. No Brahmans, Paramaniks engaged as priests. Widows are allowed to remarry. May be descended from Bhils (Gait). Some sell fish some sell groceries, some cultivate, some make and sell bamboo mats and a few are cultivators.

65. **Toto.—CB1901-171; CB1931-487-488**

There were in 1931 only 61 houses in one bustee in Toto village (Alipur Duars). Allied to Bhotias. Their income is from sale of oranges. The dead are buried. There are no special ceremonies at birth, marriage or death. They worship goddess Kalawari, who has no image, also Ispa and Chima who are propitiated to avoid sickness and other troubles.

66. **Sukli.—R.II.273-4; 1931-3,860 (Midnapur, 3,477); 1881-21,618 (19,886); 1901-38,678**

Depressed class in 1921. A cultivating caste of Midnapur. Some Suklis especially in Howrah have adopted weaving as profession. But they are looked down upon by the Tantis.

Suklis say that they emigrated to Midnapur about six hundred years ago with a Solanki chief and claim to be Solankis themselves Infant marriage is the custom. Widow marriage and divorce are not allowed. The serving Brahmans are degraded. The Suklis rank with Pods and Dhobas and Brahmans do not take water from their hands.

STATE TABLES OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

CONTENTS

NOTE

ALTHOUGH OSTENSIBLY the All-India Census tabulation programme of 1951 had very littl to do with the tabulation of individual castes, yet the West Bengal Government took advan tage of the occasion by ordering tabulation of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes by the district. The tables that follow, excepting Tables IV-VII, were prepared at the request of the State Tables VI and VII are abstracts from Sorter's tickets prepared in connexion with the Union Tables, the Registrar General for India finally deciding against making them All-India features. A very short abstract of State Tables I and II is all that appears in the Census Report of West Bengal, Sikkim and Chandernagore, Part II—Tables. Advantage was however taken of the staff employed by the State Government to prepare State Tables IV and V which are unique tables for a Bengal census report. And so is State Table VIII which shows down to the rural and urban police stations and groups of towns the tabulation of each scheduled caste and scheduled tribe. No caste table in the past has attempted publication in such detail. This table will come handy to all in following the delimitation of electoral constituencies for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

It is hoped that the glossary of castes and sub-castes of the Hindus published earlier in pages 59-69 of this book will help in arriving at a tentative list of backward castes, as the non-backward castes, scheduled castes, and scheduled tribes for 1951 according to the President's Order have been marked off in the list. It is also hoped that the source glossaries of scheduled castes and miscellaneous castes published in pages 70-81 of this book will assist the public in laying their hands upon the official sources, helping them to follow the deliberations of the Backward Classes Commission.

A. MITRA

STATE TABLE I

Population of Scheduled Castes in West Bengal in 1951

Names of the Scheduled Castes	West Bengal		*Burdwan Division*		Burdwan		Birbhum		Bankura	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
All Scheduled Castes	2,479,195	2,217,010	1,197,738	1,140,796	305,716	279,090	161,068	156,522	206,862	204,637
1 Bagdi ...	464,546	439,815	363,108	345,811	99,639	90,032	44,164	43,243	44,838	42,764
2 Bahelia ...	189	180	21	2	5	..	..	..	.	..
3 Baiti ...	2,414	1,979	1,643	1,273	542	521	423	104	148	93
4 Bauri ...	162,613	170,918	160,217	168,790	59,937	64,225	18,114	17,792	65,743	67,138
5 Bediya ..	5,804	5,239	4,742	4,501	289	118	123	122	144	159
6 Beldar ...	732	357	287	97	168	51	..	2	1	..
7 Bhuimali ...	9,260	10,139	2,060	3,476	40	70	1,799	1,635	48	665
8 Bhuiya ..	34,804	29,259	24,623	20,245	8,737	6,739	931	734	2,240	2,412
9 Bhumij ...	42,544	43,895	33,580	36,154	868	683	26	8	8,270	7,313
10 Bind ...	10,198	8,683	1,246	720	109	39	1	..	47	47
11 Chamar ...	56,605	31,087	21,356	10,452	8,657	3,960	1,403	1,422	170	186
12 Dhoba ...	39,503	31,067	20,034	17,087	2,600	1,989	615	670	1,599	1,449
13 Doai ...	1,273	663	291	314	2	185	..	5	280	109
14 Dom ...	57,407	52,941	49,883	47,072	16,373	15,576	15,423	15,260	6,762	5,894
15 Dosadh ...	19,314	10,819	7,888	3,642	3,861	2,339	102	40	2	5
16 Ghasi ...	2,034	1,500	254	272	6	71	1	5	8	13
17 Gonrhi ...	958	1,295	339	687	173	484	..	..	..	..
18 Hari ...	49,674	46,515	39,125	36,719	10,190	10,556	7,816	7,720	4,066	3,643
19 Jalia Kaibartta...	43,515	40,454	27,753	26,717	5,655	5,388	3,232	2,604	2,164	2,898
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo ...	24,462	22,133	3,279	2,661	645	564	112	340	967	569
21 Kadar ...	273	324	62	199	..	2	..	.	..	..
22 Kandra ...	608	715	435	625	47	16	.	2	5	..
23 Kaora ...	70,513	61,075	21,278	18,371	1,524	976	.	..	148	59
24 Karenga ...	4,947	3,757	4,441	3,198	6	3	2	..	286	161
25 Kastha ...	291	183	59	9	6	2	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur ...	817	344	87	91	46	5	..	2	..	4
27 Khaira ...	21,128	22,859	18,632	20,664	2,627	2,288	267	243	12,322	13,335
28 Khatik ...	2,115	1,518	698	521	126	80	5	1	1	8
29 Koch ...	556	375	16	53	1	45	..	..	..	..
30 Konai ...	16,753	15,669	7,968	7,143	61	59	7,627	7,045	273	16
31 Konwar ...	2,402	1,060	643	376	104	127	17	20	21	23
32 Kora ...	22,117	21,337	18,333	18,706	7,306	7,295	2,460	2,225	2,367	2,963
33 Kotal ...	3,622	4,188	3,175	3,858	2,207	2,102	137	126	65	85
34 Lalbegi ...	246	189	71	71	48	47	.	..	..	.
35 Lodha ...	4,485	3,861	4,440	3,847	73	54	8	3	23	..
36 Lohar ...	32,377	31,303	21,228	20,834	2,802	2,512	1,621	1,656	14,102	14,212
37 Mahar ...	2,166	2,040	1,559	1,478	394	93	386	454	1	140
38 Mahli ...	13,370	12,961	4,305	4,157	741	675	465	325	397	409
39 Mal ...	46,992	44,105	34,869	33,806	2,086	1,536	19,391	20,250	7,435	6,624
40 Mallah ...	13,004	8,525	3,829	3,098	958	818	484	424	266	264
41 Malpahariya ...	2,658	2,155	180	90	..	5	127	82	..	3
42 Methor ...	21,571	14,232	9,819	7,309	1,949	1,643	2,139	1,237	162	144
43 Muchi ...	159,984	121,685	82,260	74,544	35,137	30,405	22,244	22,140	6,910	6,065
44 Musahar ...	5,466	4,266	648	233	376	76	134	69	2	..
45 Nagesia ...	1,466	940	3	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra ...	170,469	154,254	51,229	52,602	15,135	15,882	1,326	1,242	1,443	1,482
47 Nuniya ...	16,075	8,073	4,583	2,166	2,628	1,693	26	23	11	4
48 Paliya ...	6,459	5,666	171	109	5	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan ...	875	462	690	419	1	4	19	70	80	51
50 Pasi ...	14,917	7,844	5,516	2,414	2,171	764	44	13	14	20
51 Patni ...	18,194	14,840	13,102	11,240	1,162	842	328	179	9,152	7,472
52 Pod ...	307,900	285,193	38,891	42,263	119	95	2,524	2,664	16	19
53 Rabha ...	3,304	1,809	1,265	175	1	2	.	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi ...	392,429	350,190	48,670	49,452	1,831	1,577	2,276	1,989	..	6
55 Rajwar ...	16,172	9,529	5,727	3,894	1,123	755	71	54	301	172
56 Sunri ...	21,735	23,418	18,919	21,220	1,509	1,340	2,434	2,059	12,805	15,539
57 Tiyar ...	22,611	19,367	4,625	2,944	867	214	124	138	..	..
58 Turi ...	10,279	7,761	3,583	1,918	2,043	1,468	97	81	757	..

Names of the Scheduled Castes	Midnapur		Hooghly		Howrah		*Presidency Division*		24-Parganas	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
All Scheduled Castes	242,317	240,476	161,825	158,299	119,950	101,772	1,281,457	1,076,214	563,635	488,967
1 Bagdı ..	65,466	62,832	74,678	74,870	34,323	32,070	101,438	94,004	56,417	53,303
2 Bahelia ..	11	2	2	..	3	..	168	178	18	2
3 Baiti ..	81	118	67	83	382	354	771	706	62	71
4 Baurı ..	5,814	6,581	10,540	13,029	69	25	2,396	2,128	252	173
5 Bedıya ..	4,096	3,984	43	62	47	56	1,062	738	158	126
6 Beldar ..	8	14	30	18	80	12	445	260	51	24
7 Bhuımalı ..	99	1,069	..	31	74	6	7,200	6,663	999	1,008
8 Bhuıya ..	10,912	9,841	913	395	890	124	10,181	9,014	2,659	1,960
9 Bhumıj ..	22,018	25,651	2,351	2,465	47	34	8,964	7,741	7,968	7,027
10 Bind ..	16	61	1,027	573	46	..	8,952	7,963	554	213
11 Chamar ..	1,213	933	3,086	1,091	6,827	2,860	35,249	20,635	15,800	9,524
12 Dhoba ..	8,472	7,491	2,057	1,335	4,691	4,153	19,469	13,980	8,460	6,205
13 Doai ..	7	14	.	1	2	..	982	349	34	248
14 Dom ..	6,867	5,983	3,406	3,475	1,052	884	7,524	5,869	1,329	799
15 Dosadh ..	46	16	2,272	668	1,605	574	11,426	7,177	3,710	1,607
16 Ghasi ..	45	25	43	5	151	153	1,780	1,228	637	543
17 Gonrhi ..	89	31	14	155	63	17	619	608	291	93
18 Harı ..	7,659	6,989	8,928	7,330	466	481	10,549	9,796	2,297	2,078
19 Jalıa Kaibartta	6,053	6,289	5,307	4,872	5,342	4,666	15,762	13,737	5,218	4,237
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	798	589	681	520	76	79	21,183	19,472	2,766	2,313
21 Kadar ..	22	133	1	..	39	64	211	125	40	10
22 Kandra ..	368	565	2	26	13	16	173	90	29	20
23 Kaora ..	4,872	4,820	6,174	5,372	8,560	7,144	49,235	42,704	36,914	35,319
24 Karenga ..	2,385	1,559	21	16	1,741	1,459	506	559	473	557
25 Kastha ..	36	3	1	1	16	3	232	174	166	134
26 Kaur ..	15	9	23	50	3	21	730	253	359	123
27 Khaıra ..	1,583	2,716	1,800	2,053	33	29	2,496	2,195	242	38
28 Khatik ..	212	203	80	48	274	181	1,417	997	326	125
29 Koch ..	15	6	.	..	..	2	540	322	7	..
30 Konai ..	1	1	6	12	..	10	8,785	8,526	7	6
31 Konwar ..	86	89	85	35	330	82	1,759	684	810	264
32 Kora ..	4,451	4,490	1,517	1,716	232	17	3,784	2,631	1,813	342
33 Kotal ..	756	1,538	9	7	1	..	447	330	13	..
34 Lalbegi ..	..	15	.	..	23	9	175	118	16	..
35 Lodha ..	2,771	3,269	1,548	519	17	2	45	14	22	8
36 Lohar ..	1,476	1,518	873	906	354	30	11,149	10,469	744	682
37 Mahar ..	709	780	59	2	10	9	607	562	90	18
38 Mahli ..	2,291	2,434	284	212	127	102	9,065	8,804	605	653
39 Mal ..	3,687	3,462	2,153	1,807	117	127	12,123	10,299	1,125	476
40 Mallah ..	303	89	848	1,176	970	327	9,175	5,427	2,918	1,975
41 Malpahariya ..	1	..	52	..	..	..	2,478	2,065	..	2
42 Methor ..	1,440	1,337	1,196	599	2,933	2,349	11,752	6,923	3,295	1,704
43 Muchi ..	4,451	4,046	8,381	7,577	5,137	4,311	77,724	47,141	24,298	15,451
44 Musahar ..	26	2	89	68	21	18	4,818	4,033	153	60
45 Nagesia ..	1	7	2	..	..	..	1,463	933	23	8
46 Namosudra ..	19,574	19,169	5,706	7,312	8,045	7,515	119,240	101,652	52,390	50,607
47 Nuniya ..	69	42	1,212	256	637	148	11,492	5,907	3,267	1,047
48 Paliya ..	125	107	41	2	..	..	6,288	5,557	6	..
49 Pan ..	510	253	76	24	4	17	185	43	41	17
50 Pası ..	235	130	1,137	644	1,915	843	9,401	5,430	6,912	4,049
51 Patni ..	606	1,765	1,632	925	222	57	5,092	3,600	749	385
52 Pod ..	19,531	18,239	2,178	6,558	14,523	14,688	269,009	242,930	259,945	235,486
53 Rabha ..	160	171	1	..	1,103	2	2,039	1,634	41	63
54 Rajbanshi ..	26,087	25,597	6,728	7,760	11,748	12,523	343,759	300,738	43,536	39,420
55 Rajwar ..	2,325	2,065	616	232	1,291	616	10,445	5,635	4,495	1,900
56 Sunri ..	649	765	527	542	995	975	2,816	2,198	827	452
57 Tiyar ..	546	556	908	517	2,180	1,519	17,986	16,423	6,474	5,421
58 Turı ..	172	13	414	347	100	9	6,696	5,843	784	591

Names of the Scheduled Castes	Calcutta		Nadia		Murshidabad		Malda		West Dinajpur	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
All Scheduled Castes	89,962	33,729	106,193	85,209	102,615	97,117	65,177	71,202	66,997	56,121
1 Bagdi ...	2,042	1,710	19,773	16,763	20,290	20,121	1,547	1,334	917	655
2 Bahelia ...	..	..	51	33	84	117	14	24	..	1
3 Baiti ..	15	3	392	320	264	286	29	22	4	..
4 Bauri ...	37	9	797	726	1,221	1,130	..	..	69	46
5 Bediya ...	120	9	136	85	161	145	80	62	94	38
6 Beldar ...	70	9	5	2	1	1	141	104	166	120
7 Bhuimali ...	123	21	408	360	1,079	1,079	923	1,043	3,071	2,526
8 Bhuiya ...	1,813	442	559	584	850	452	1,664	3,276	1,460	1,512
9 Bhumij ...	40	21	408	331	140	19	147	14	10	14
10 Bind ...	400	187	496	460	1,003	869	5,872	5,757	337	448
11 Chamar ...	12,076	3,830	2,374	2,016	1,010	1,145	2,177	3,272	889	626
12 Dhoba ...	6,156	2,917	1,214	1,163	1,138	1,000	1,058	2,086	220	156
13 Doai ...	10	53	35	2	860	.	..	..	43	46
14 Dom ...	3,501	2,612	400	406	1,109	1,122	349	418	44	69
15 Dosadh ...	4,145	1,490	268	87	510	1,107	829	1,741	236	57
16 Ghasi ...	13	.	54	38	..	.	50	95	134	115
17 Gonhri ...	14	5	55	40	240	432	1	10	8	..
18 Hari ...	811	579	897	952	2,473	2,595	2,849	2,663	983	719
19 Jalia Kaibartta	1,674	1,154	2,823	2,962	1,880	1,613	2,245	2,034	669	630
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	409	100	9,826	8,808	5,739	6,036	1,618	1,363	553	736
21 Kadar ...	3	1	..	5	..	1	29	37	139	71
22 Kandra ...	119	4	..	6	23	16	..	..	2	44
23 Kaora ...	7,108	2,288	1,572	814	418	239	2,884	3,785	139	120
24 Karenga ...	9	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	22	..
25 Kastha ...	56	5	..	..	..	..	2	35	..	..
26 Kaur ...	51	7	..	..	77	27	13	2	19	..
27 Khaira ...	83	3	110	76	26	50	472	274	256	260
28 Khatik ...	1,056	812	1	..	..	6	1	5	30	49
29 Koch ...	3	..	..	..	..	..	227	91	204	127
30 Konai ...	41	3	..	..	8,716	8,493	..	..	8	10
31 Konwar ...	416	97	12	8	41	30	46	124	37	32
32 Kora ...	198	11	1	10	283	465	645	1,013	738	573
33 Kotal ...	21	1	26	17	380	306	7	3	..	..
34 Lalbegi ...	138	116	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha ...	17	6	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar ...	488	30	431	420	6	13	254	207	275	236
37 Mahar ...	160	17	1	..	30	51	147	155	93	150
38 Mahli ...	205	111	207	210	483	121	582	665	1,711	1,254
39 Mal ...	30	18	593	317	8,691	7,980	540	603	699	682
40 Mallah ...	2,064	127	248	180	663	443	2,054	2,031	534	366
41 Malpahariya ...	128	1	..	..	355	528	56	77	64	110
42 Methor ...	5,806	2,992	742	451	713	799	193	216	169	127
43 Muchi ...	22,943	5,020	10,038	8,931	11,913	11,735	2,610	3,682	1,629	889
44 Musahar ...	85	16	107	100	407	320	3,187	2,255	644	582
45 Nagesia ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra ...	5,296	3,203	41,206	30,973	8,218	7,427	2,057	2,440	3,751	1,992
47 Nuniya ...	2,197	348	222	219	776	736	2,039	1,960	1,448	1,047
48 Paliya ...	10	2	..	..	3	..	556	1,223	5,713	4,331
49 Pan ...	37	1	31	5	3	3	..	..	45	..
50 Pasi ...	1,914	716	187	70	33	16	113	165	86	36
51 Patni ...	51	14	1,558	667	690	694	461	724	235	187
52 Pod ...	954	540	1,780	920	4,849	4,664	1,436	1,325	30	10
53 Rabha ...	61	..	..	..	1	14	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi ...	1,492	865	3,817	2,589	13,196	11,126	9,773	10,521	35,997	31,492
55 Rajwar ...	2,255	442	1,975	1,832	698	751	233	236	247	124
56 Sunri ...	648	575	34	33	490	411	516	391	15	13
57 Tiyar ...	72	29	310	84	263	212	10,506	9,557	301	1,120
58 Turi ...	278	155	13	134	102	191	1,945	2,082	1,810	1,573

Names of the Scheduled Castes	Jalpaiguri		Darjeeling		Cooch Behar		Chandernagore	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
All Scheduled Castes	127,566	107,637	14,881	11,199	144,431	125,033	3,889	1,568
1 Bagdi ...	367	60	4	7	81	51	881	249
2 Bahelia ...	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..
3 Baiti ...	..	..	5	3	..	1	1	..
4 Bauri ...	4	1	12	..	4	43	26	7
5 Bediya ...	185	197	17	13	111	63	3	..
6 Beldar ...	7	..	..	..	4	..	26	1
7 Bhuimali ...	147	136	81	102	369	388	4	..
8 Bhuiya ...	1,010	734	109	48	57	6	119	1
9 Bhumij ...	246	311	5	4	..	..	37	..
10 Bind ...	128	9	10	..	152	20	42	..
11 Chamar ...	438	129	155	19	330	74	89	53
12 Dhoba ...	627	246	397	94	199	113	51	33
13 Doai ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
14 Dom ...	511	207	118	82	163	154	26	27
15 Dosadh ...	1,278	999	161	29	289	60	209	68
16 Ghasi ...	689	253	203	184	..	..	6	..
17 Gonrhi ...	10	28	..	..	..	..	29	..
18 Hari ...	194	175	37	33	8	2	44	42
19 Jalia Kaibartta ...	289	220	50	19	914	868	106	143
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	169	45	21	..	82	71	123	30
21 Kadar ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
22 Kandra ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..
23 Kaora ...	148	109	49	13	3	17	381	176
24 Karenga ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha ...	..	..	1	..	7	..	..	..
26 Kaur ...	110	26	57	54	44	14	..	..
27 Khaira ...	1,200	1,421	61	49	46	24	2	1
28 Khatik ...	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	33
29 Koch ...	90	104	..	..	9	..	..	..
30 Konai ...	3	.	..	1	10	13	..	..
31 Konwar ...	153	35	204	74	40	20	..	..
32 Kora ...	69	205	24	8	13	4	..	6
33 Kotal ...	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi ...	4	1	7	1	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha ...	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
36 Lohar ...	8,040	8,131	874	750	37	..	9	3
37 Mahar ...	54	167	3	..	29	4	..	..
38 Mahli ...	4,872	5,466	358	294	42	30	3	4
39 Mal ...	167	58	157	83	121	82	26	43
40 Mallah ...	460	268	99	15	135	22	177	136
41 Malpahariya ...	1,131	722	744	623	..	2	..	..
42 Methor ...	252	198	227	118	355	318	44	37
43 Muchi ...	1,697	674	647	209	1,949	550	877	312
44 Musahar ...	145	651	50	49	40	..	..	4
45 Nagesia ...	1,157	671	240	188	43	66	..	..
46 Namosudra ...	2,732	1,984	399	268	3,191	2,758	61	6
47 Nuniya ...	828	206	149	34	566	310	72	24
48 Paliya ...	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
49 Pan ...	1	4	..	..	27	13	1	.
50 Pasi ...	88	367	44	1	24	10	184	65
51 Patni ...	876	563	223	208	249	158	15	15
52 Pod ...	4	1	..	..	11	4	..	..
53 Rabha ...	1,582	1,287	..	..	354	270	..	..
54 Rajbanshi ...	93,465	79,245	8,550	7,344	133,933	118,136	97	17
55 Rajwar ...	159	91	82	26	301	233	42	13
56 Sunri ...	159	232	65	32	62	59	56	17
57 Tiyar ...	3	..	51	..	6	..	..	..
58 Turi ...	1,613	997	131	118	20	2	6	1

STATE TABLE II

Population of Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal in 1951

Names of the Scheduled Tribes	West Bengal		Burdwan Division		Burdwan		Birbhum		Bankura		Midnapur	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All Scheduled Tribes	588,156	577,181	305,705	322,636	71,652	62,893	39,046	40,371	68,243	69,958	100,572	111,953
1 Bhutia*	2,594	2,216	144	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
2 Lepcha	6,927	6,503	35	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
3 Mech	5,991	4,796	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	1,570	3,126	652	2,185	14	88	.	.	21	.	594	971
5 Munda	42,668	40,255	5,106	4,534	1,339	1,108	76	99	89	145	2,491	2,539
6 Oraon	108,228	95,068	8,468	7,498	2,673	1,882	57	745	126	161	1,357	1,686
7 Santal	420,178	425,217	291,300	308,419	67,626	59,815	38,913	39,527	68,007	69,652	96,125	106,757

Names of the Scheduled Tribes	Hooghly		Howrah		Presidency Division		24-Parganas		Calcutta		Nadia	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
All Scheduled Tribes	23,827	33,416	2,365	4,045	282,451	254,545	32,942	28,759	233	100	6,382	4,606
1 Bhutia*	142	..	..	..	2,450	2,216	14	4	2	12	..	..
2 Lepcha	31	..	1	..	6,892	6,503	21	2	4	3	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	5,991	4,796	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	14	1,124	9	2	918	941	356	247	6	2	..	2
5 Munda	787	506	324	137	37,562	35,721	8,006	9,621	46	40	761	610
6 Oraon	3,196	2,510	1,059	514	99,760	87,570	11,188	9,240	34	18	1,934	1,447
7 Santal	19,657	29,276	972	3,392	128,878	116,798	13,357	9,645	141	25	3,687	2,547

Names of the Scheduled Tribes	Murshidabad		Malda		West Dinajpur		Jalpaiguri		Darjeeling		Cooch Behar		**Chandernagore**	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
All Scheduled Tribes	11,491	11,950	40,724	39,739	63,572	60,622	102,489	86,703	23,107	20,944	1,511	1,122	77	62
1 Bhutia*	..	..	..	..	..	..	350	266	2,084	1,934	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	36	165	6,831	6,333	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	.	..	..	..	..	5,833	4,674	120	104	38	18	..	..
4 Mru	7	106	20	8	154	82	302	372	73	122	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	82	154	65	67	4,562	3,812	20,806	18,684	3,124	2,628	110	105	30	52
6 Oraon	535	704	3,934	3,569	10,274	10,400	62,299	53,477	9,032	8,185	530	530	21	9
7 Santal	10,867	10,986	36,705	36,095	48,582	46,328	12,863	9,065	1,843	1,638	833	469	26	1

**See* Note on page 94

STATE TABLE III

Abstract of Population of Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal in 1951

Districts	Santal	Oraon	Munda	Mru	Mech	Lepcha	Bhutia*	Total Scheduled Tribes
West Bengal ..	845,395	203,296	82,923	4,696	10,787	13,430	4,810	1,165,337
Burdwan Division ..	599,719	15,966	9,640	2,837	..	35	144	628,341
Burdwan ..	127,441	4,555	2,447	102	..	..	..	134,545
Birbhum ..	78,440	802	175	..	..	..	..	79,417
Bankura ..	137,659	287	234	21	..	..	..	138,201
Midnapur ..	202,882	3,043	5,030	1,565	..	3	2	212,525
Hooghly ..	48,933	5,706	1,293	1,138	..	31	142	57,243
Howrah ..	4,364	1,573	461	11	..	1	..	6,410
Presidency Division ..	245,676	187,330	73,283	1,859	10,787	13,395	4,666	536,996
24-Parganas ..	23,002	20,428	17,627	603	..	23	18	61,701
Calcutta ..	166	52	86	8	..	7	14	333
Nadia ..	6,234	3,381	1,371	2	..	..	..	10,988
Murshidabad ..	21,853	1,239	236	113	..	..	..	23,441
Malda ..	72,800	7,503	132	28	..	..	..	80,463
West Dinajpur ..	94,910	20,674	8,374	236	..	..	..	124,194
Jalpaiguri ..	21,928	115,776	39,490	674	10,507	201	616	189,192
Darjeeling ..	3,481	17,217	5,752	195	224	13,164	4,018	44,051
Cooch Behar ..	1,302	1,060	215	..	56	..	..	2,633
Chandernagore ..	27	30	82	..	..	..	..	139

*NOTE: The population of the scheduled tribe of 'Bhutias' in 1951 given in these tables as well as Union Table DIII, published at page 451 of Vol. VI, Part II Tables, has been compiled strictly on the returns of those persons who declared themselves as belonging to the special group of that scheduled tribe in answer to question 2 (c) of the All-India Census Questionnaire of 1951. Presumably the 1941 census returns for Bhutias were also compiled on the same criterion, thus registering a decline from 1931. But it is pertinent to point out that the scheduled tribe of Bhutias probably also includes (1) Tibetans or Bhutias of Tibet; (2) Dukpas or Drukpas, or Bhutias of Bhutan; (3) Kagatays or Yolmos, or Bhutias of Nepal; (4) Sherpas, or Bhutias of Nepal and (5) Sikkimese Bhutias, or Bhutias of Sikkim. If we proceed on this assumption (*See* pages 75-6 of *Darjeeling Gazetteer* by A. J. Dash, Bengal Government Press, 1947) the population of the scheduled tribe of Bhutias would perhaps greatly increase.

As there was no information in the census slip answering to the above classification, no tabulation was possible of 'Bhutias' on the above mentioned scheme. But a detailed tabulation of mother tongue, even by dialects, was made specially for the district of Darjeeling at my instance (which constituted a departure from the general pattern of tabulation of mother tongues in the 1951 census), because the figures of the 1941 census had been studied and it was anticipated that some difficulty was likely to arise in Darjeeling district owing to the lack of a general understanding in this district as to what a 'scheduled tribe' was. Accordingly the following populations speaking the following mother tongues (dialects) were tabulated. The sum of these populations may reasonably be regarded as belonging to the scheduled tribe of Bhutias:

Population speaking mother tongue	West Bengal		Darjeeling		Jalpaiguri	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1 Bhotia (Bhutia) ..	4,483	2,919	4,219	2,844	245	73
2 Dukpa (Drukpa) ..	603	518	603	518	..	..
3 Kagatay ..	147	203	147	203	..	..
4 Sharpa (Sherpa) ..	4,755	4,234	4,755	4,234	..	..
5 Tibetan ..	793	727	761	675	..	..
6 Yolmo ..	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	..	..
Total ..	10,781	8,601	10,485	8,474	245	73

It is obvious from the above statement that many persons who even speak Bhotia as their mother tongue did not declare themselves as belonging to the special group of 'Bhutia' in answer to question 2 (c) of the Census Questionnaire. But as it is not permitted to 'correct' a census return, the figures as thrown up by the census of 1951 are retained in this volume as well as in Vol. VI, Part II Tables, in reading which, however, the above remarks may be borne in mind.

STATE TABLE IV

Comparative Table of Scheduled Castes, 1872-1951

FAMILY NAMES

Bagdis

In 1886 (RISLEY)—

Bagdı, Bagh, Batal, Dahei, Das, Dhara, Ghatoal, Khan, Mal, Mali, Malik, Mandal, Manjhi, Mirdha, Moshal, Patar, Patra, Paramanik, Rai, Rana, Rajbansi, Sai, Sardar, Santra, Santh, Sing—26. Total persons—75.

Highest frequency—Bagdi.

In 1951 (as returned in the slips of BANKURA)—

Bagh, Barik, Bolen, Boyra, Bhuina, Chair, Dhak, Dhara, Dule, Durlav, Ghati, Ghosh, Gharui, Hat, Hazra, Keyot, Khan, Khandait, Kusha Kshatriya, Let, Lohar, Laek, Mal, Malik, Manjhi, Manna, Mete, Moral, Nungri, Pandit, Panja, Pakare, Patra, Paramanik, Porel, Rai, Samanta, Santra, Tailongi, Tentule, Zar—41.

Sadgop (1886)—

Biswas, Chowdhuri, Dandabat, Das, Datta, Ghosh, Hazra, Katia, Konar, Mandal, Mullik, Neugi, Pal, Rai, Santra—16. Total persons—30.

Highest frequency—Ghosh.

Pod (1886)—

Bin, Das, Gain, Gharami, Garoi, Haldar, Mandal, Naskar, Paramanik, Sardar—10. Total persons—65.

Highest frequency—Naskar.

Chandal (1886)—

Das, Dhara, Koel, Kotoal, Mandal, Paramanik—6. Persons—9.

Highest frequency—Kotoal.

Rajbansi (1886)—

Das, Paramanik, Poli, Singh—4. Persons—97.

Highest frequency—Das.

Kaibarta (1886) (RISLEY)—

Adak, Basu, Bagh, Biswas, Das, De, Dhar, Gorai, Ghosh, Haldar, Hat, Kole, Maiti, Maitra, Mandal, Manna, Mitra, Neugi, Paramanik, Sarcar, Samanta, Shai—22. Persons—95.

Highest frequency—Das.

Bauri (1886)—

No family name.

Santals of West Bengal (1886)—

All were Manjhis.

Name of Caste—BAGDI

WEST BENGAL :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	904,361	635,308	937,606	850,163	973,791	970,270	726,269	701,110	663,046
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	189,671	138,006	185,172	179,568	195,874	197,624	149,461	148,788	205,074
Birbhum	87,407	60,105	87,519	72,967	87,548	88,342	76,080	42,032	56,094
Bankura	87,602	55,069	89,662	55,077	95,481	90,868	49,729	47,146	18,632
Midnapur	128,298	65,834	153,560	136,506	150,690	142,212	75,469	74,497	76,285
Hooghly	149,548	109,249	156,240	148,304	178,649	188,723	157,304	134,115	152,618*
Howrah	66,393	61,721	76,836	75,811	77,803	72,603	59,621	54,943	
24-Parganas	109,720	79,859	99,779	101,763	99,425	94,198	87,223	78,654	93,832
Calcutta	3,752	1,191	5,365	3,628	4,867	7,239	..	4,507	†
Nadia	36,536	25,492	40,054	32,331	40,321	46,435	31,731	42,947	35,576
Murshidabad	40,411	37,512	40,275	42,138	40,543	39,745	39,651	30,568	23,929
Malda	2,881	374	1,715	1,126	1,617	1,156	..	2,609	708
West Dinajpur	1,572	679	843	534	767	929	..	1,536	152
Jalpaiguri	427	125	347	287	72	105	..	24,527	146
Darjeeling	11	92	32	88	47	47	.	46	.
Cooch Behar	132	..	207	35	87	44	..	14,196	.
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*These two districts were not shown separately.

†Included in 24-Parganas.

Name of Caste—BAHELIA

WEST BENGAL :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	369	1,527	1,900	..	957	3,278	..	5,951	4,095
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	5	..	67	..	..	2	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	District figures are not available separately.	32
Birbhum	..	..	7	..	..	3			48
Bankura	.	..	..	..	..	..			17
Midnapur	13	221	..	..	..	11			38
Hooghly	2	195	60	..	..	..			18
Howrah	3	2	22	..	..	32			
24-Parganas	20	22	132	.	..	41			25
Calcutta	..	.	34	..	..	139			..
Nadia	84	666	430	..	..	838			1,270
Murshidabad	201	292	388	..	..	995			1,524
Malda	38	127	759	..	940	1,205			991
West Dinajpur	1	2	1	..	15	1			44
Jalpaiguri	1	..	..	..	2	..			88
Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	..	4			..
Cooch Behar	1	..	..	..	..	7			..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..			..

Name of Caste—BAITI

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	4,393	5,328	6,981	..	194	10,936	11,615	11,559	30,511
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	1,063	658	1,372	..	..	1,694	2,091	District figures are not available separately.	3,084
Birbhum	527	132	235	..	..	494	..		454
Bankura	241	1,589	329	..	..	1,137	..		158
Midnapur	199	473	901	..	..	467	..		1,982
Hooghly	150	221	709	..	..	1,454	5,077		} 1,636
Howrah	736	598	853	..	.	1,240	1,020		
24-Parganas	133	190	435	..	..	1,499	1,528		900
Calcutta	18	..	30	..	..	12	..		..
Nadia	712	927	976	..	..	1,776	1,899		1,789
Murshidabad	550	485	676	..	..	933	..		552
Malda	51	10	425	..	77	46	..		19,322
West Dinajpur	4	41	28	..	106	109	..		600
Jalpaiguri	..	4	..	..	11	52	..		20
Darjeeling	8	..	12	..	..	20	..		14
Cooch Behar	1	..	..	..	..	3	..		..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..

Name of Caste—BAURI

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	333,531	327,015	328,540	299,777	310,701	305,457	271,004	250,264	197,869
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	124,162	112,563	123,864	113,745	114,302	113,377	92,322	82,254	70,598
Birbhum	35,906	37,797	36,998	34,734	36,855	36,235	30,137	27,258	24,569
Bankura	132,881	130,198	119,350	95,851	111,313	113,325	123,197	117,548	76,915
Midnapur	12,395	12,182	13,763	15,315	14,429	16,503	13,193	12,746	14,946
Hooghly	23,569	27,208	25,994	29,478	24,182	15,747	6,081	1,861	} 780
Howrah	94	1,111	280	792	374	48	..	4	
24-Parganas	425	509	972	1,114	1,334	1,581	..	519	644
Calcutta	46	7	180	74	163	71	..	4	..
Nadia	1,523	2,016	2,105	3,224	2,689	2,661	2,467	2,018	2,016
Murshidabad	2,351	3,135	4,000	4,746	4,339	4,557	3,607	4,411	6,536
Malda	..	9	787	148	158	551	..	509	383
West Dinajpur	115	213	226	333	248	549	..	1,099	384
Jalpaiguri	5	61	21	169	268	129	..	30	2
Darjeeling	12	6	..	44	31	113	..	1	100
Cooch Behar	47	..	..	10	6	10	..	2	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—BEDIYA

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	11,043	4,241	4,351	..	5,720	7,902	8,946	8,063	4,018
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	407	119	429	..	156	424	1852	District figures are not available separately.	36
Birbhum	245	127	340	..	468	636	..		593
Bankura	303	410	246	..	292	150	..		3
Midnapur	8,080	301	491	..	288	434	..		128
Hooghly	105	60	108	..	178	46	..		} 109
Howrah	103	105	125	..	88	112	..		
24-Parganas	284	1,652	1,012	..	1,052	2,934	5,187		628
Calcutta	129	1	61	..	7	..	..		..
Nadia	221	218	199	..	204	595	..		434
Murshidabad	306	185	167	..	75	291	..		235
Malda	142	..	34	..	162	263	..		40
West Dinajpur	132	315	209	..	588	523	1,907		1,704
Jalpaiguri	382	741	581	..	1,090	541	..		108
Darjeeling	30	7	..	..	3	30	..		..
Cooch Behar	174	..	349	..	1,069	923	..		..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..

Name of Caste—BELDAR

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	1,089	1,980	3,132	..	4,752	4,491	3,479	1,454	2,796
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	219	18	88	..	104	286	..	District figures are not available separately.	161
Birbhum	2	..	..	..	31	..	..		102
Bankura	1	..	..	..	..	..	..		26
Midnapur	22	57	14	..	36	36	..		102
Hooghly	48	107	57	..	..	..	..		} 2
Howrah	92	17	47	..	53	18	..		
24-Parganas	75	39	11	..	73	50	..		53
Calcutta	79	21	384	..	12	..	..		..
Nadia	7	143	15	..	6	..	..		65
Murshidabad	2	31	13	..	48	132	..		538
Malda	245	562	1,322	..	2,017	1,899	2,247		..
West Dinajpur	286	881	1,175	..	1,936	1,488	1,232		1,449
Jalpaiguri	7	104	6	..	432	581	..		298
Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	..	1	..		..
Cooch Behar	4	..	..	..	4	..	..		..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..

Name of Caste—BHUIMALI

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	19,399	21,058	19,286	17,156	14,659	13,218	70,917	52,125	4,960
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	110	1	34	378	..	..	..	District figures are not available separately.	..
Birbhum	3,434	3,182	2,273	2,128	2,189	541	..		..
Bankura	713	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Midnapur	1,168	15	2	55	..	..	..		..
Hooghly	31	8	68	6	..	..	..		..
Howrah	80	..	44	9	.	..	..		..
24-Parganas	2,007	301	78	47	323	1	7,951		14
Calcutta	144	6	28	231	..	3	..		..
Nadia	768	1,920	1,599	2,258	1,966	2,203	7,393		1,866
Murshidabad	2,158	3,419	2,936	2,071	2,573	2,795	11,996		1
Malda	1,966	3,068	1,690	2,220	2,231	2,567	..		2,109
West Dinajpur	5,597	8,269	7,694	5,241	2,327	3,579	34,647		792
Jalpaiguri	283	867	1,148	626	1,359	575	7,173		178
Darjeeling	183	2	50	25	1	14	1,757		..
Cooch Behar	757	..	1,642	1,861	1,690	940	..		..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..

Name of Caste—BHUIYA

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931*	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	64,063	36,272	A=45,557 B=44,522	51,773	60,308	40,119	22,694	29,207	16,970
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	15,476	9,144	9,908	6,621	7,668	4,828	4,147	1,209	1,625
Birbhum	1,665	876	1,209	1,078	867	1,416	1,505	1,422	970
Bankura	4,652	4,357	4,148	3,084	3,724	3,634	3,481	2,631	278
Midnapur	20,753	10,126	14,726	11,469	14,702	11,573	10,628	21,128	11,336
Hooghly	1,308	1,951	2,422	2,364	3,051	2,317	1,658	162	} 9
Howrah	1,014	404	1,286	1,049	718	496	..	5	
24-Parganas	4,619	2,005	2,879	3,559	4,541	2,356	1,275	680	817
Calcutta	2,255	1,085	1,439	1,976	2,127	1,022	..	..	..
Nadia	1,143	1,989	1,607	1,825	2,247	2,845	..	703	786
Murshidabad	1,302	847	118	218	2,350	1,398	..	937	949
Malda	4,940	891	2,540	5,912	5,569	1,821	..	259	194
West Dinajpur	2,972	686	1,005	7,281	8,336	3,968	..	45	..
Jalpaiguri	1,744	1,710	2,197	4,589	3,776	1,903	..	..	..
Darjeeling	157	201	66	704	540	474	..	15	6
Cooch Behar	63	..	7	44	92	68	..	11	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*Total A includes 1,035 Tribals. B—Hindus.

Name of Caste—BHUMIJ

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931*	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	86,439	79,213	A=79,518 B=78,804	74,976	83,268	77,622	64,908	56,604	38,064
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	1,551	1,539	2,455	696	1,165	398	..	81	293
Birbhum	34	39	63	..	..	1	..	58	49
Bankura	15,583	17,616	18,106	16,270	19,757	19,785	20,798	18,129	1,466
Midnapur	47,669	40,457	44,853	39,636	45,742	44,233	38,804	25,258	35,344
Hooghly	4,816	5,534	3,509	4,738	2,474	1,764	..	386	} 13
Howrah	81	189	104	134	152	205	..	..	
24-Parganas	14,995	12,041	9,508	11,015	12,225	9,568	5,306	5,551	660
Calcutta	61	2	31	28	7	.	..	..	..
Nadia	739	710	548	1,565	1,443	936	..	124	159
Murshidabad	159	209	71	77	71	349	..	152	42
Malda	161	372	..	291	..	261	..	..	38
West Dinajpur	24	..	..	5	3	34	..	6,834	..
Jalpaiguri	557	495	267	468	229	76	..	..	..
Darjeeling	9	10	3	52	..	12	..	31	..
Cooch Behar	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*Total A includes 690 Tribals and 24 Christians. B—Hindus.

Name of Caste—BIND

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	18,881	12,895	16,591	10,437	18,911	14,199	11,816	9,898	8,234
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	148	33	239	..	79	128	..	13	76
Birbhum	1	14	2	..	..	14	..	130	..
Bankura	94	..	2	..	..	..	..	3	112
Midnapur	77	..	28	..	9	1	..	28	41
Hooghly	1,600	849	1,002	..	833	..	.	16	} 38
Howrah	46	3	86	..	103	178	..	9	
24-Parganas	767	544	616	..	1,981	767	..	14	44
Calcutta	587	471	353	..	770	608	..	103	..
Nadia	956	2,320	1,824	..	1,809	1,165	1,421	1,082	1,017
Murshidabad	1,872	1,126	998	..	952	894	..	887	787
Malda	11,629	7,204	10,960	10,437	11,957	10,209	10,395	7,578	6,002
West Dinajpur	785	325	277	..	209	56	..	29	117
Jalpaiguri	137	6	128	..	111	45	..	..	..
Darjeeling	10	.	..	..	..	15	..	..	..
Cooch Behar	172	..	76	..	98	69	.	6	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—CHAMAR

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	(Chamar and Muchi) 1891	1881	(Chamar and Muchi) 1872
Total	87,692	81,138	99,706	98,398	89,386	78,035	260,878	275,540	286,806
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	12,617	7,961	6,284	3,836	3,560	6,795	51,280	49,229	53,477
Birbhum	2,825	4,301	4,375	5,778	4,253	3,626	37,164	30,975	30,146
Bankura	356	1,049	205	79	178	389	5,450	9,495	3,117
Midnapur	2,146	3,202	2,714	2,321	1,660	2,550	7,379	13,387	8,544
Hooghly	4,177	8,286	8,916	7,830	3,610	3,101	20,534	21,869	} 24,396
Howrah	9,687	6,735	11,419	11,123	8,485	6,575	3,764	5,815	
24-Parganas	25,324	23,013	25,946	29,159	23,305	13,651	42,189	36,586	70,403
Calcutta	15,906	13,218	24,867	20,259	27,073	24,586	..	8,590	..
Nadia	4,390	1,316	1,109	2,021	1,702	1,426	44,346	61,058	57,375
Murshidabad	2,155	5,229	5,749	5,819	7,178	7,605	34,698	22,550	30,619
Malda	5,449	3,158	3,721	4,443	4,427	4,527	5,982	7,718	4,929
West Dinajpur	1,515	2,643	1,559	2,365	1,828	962	5,180	4,043	3,279
Jalpaiguri	567	850	1,283	1,797	1,250	1,306	1,617	2,163	436
Darjeeling	174	177	633	438	435	193	..	778	85
Cooch Behar	404	..	926	1,130	442	743	1,295	1,284	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—DHOBA

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	70,570	70,342	92,639	95,923	98,184	100,122	107,256	109,662	114,310
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	4,589	3,354	3,951	3,592	3,933	4,061	3,845	20	7,152
Birbhum	1,285	1,715	1,762	1,556	1,960	2,196	3,820	3,210	2,131
Bankura	3,048	4,232	3,960	3,783	4,234	4,846	4,297	4,412	2,343
Midnapur	15,963	20,565	32,961	33,590	37,253	37,522	39,351	41,607	34,896
Hooghly	3,392	4,216	4,294	4,663	4,876	5,087	7,960	7,988	12,152 (Hooghly and Howrah)
Howrah	8,844	7,608	9,517	9,675	9,820	9,557	9,277	9,324	
24-Parganas	14,665	12,834	14,577	16,780	14,522	14,091	21,135	13,973	39,591
Calcutta	9,073	7,348	11,252	8,594	9,217	9,826	..	4,070	..
Nadia	2,377	2,452	3,131	6,097	3,092	4,328	7,175	10,495	4,815
Murshidabad	2,138	1,761	2,080	2,067	2,908	3,009	4,558	7,048	5,295
Malda	3,144	2,298	3,481	3,349	3,756	3,489	4,097	3,893	3,507
West Dinajpur	376	817	680	803	1,346	1,027	1,741	2,002	2,177
Jalpaiguri	873	632	556	643	479	396	..	980	166
Darjeeling	491	510	209	440	496	426	..	330	85
Cooch Behar	312	..	228	291	292	261	..	310	..
Sikkim	..	..	6	4	13	7	..	..	..

Name of Caste—DOAI

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	1,936	1,544	887	..	242	5,005	..	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	187	..	..	..	..	..	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	..	..
Birbhum	5	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Bankura	389	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Midnapur	21	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Hooghly	1	958	..	..	..	..		..	..
Howrah	2	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
24-Parganas	282	163	..	..	..	..		..	..
Calcutta	63	..	..	..	..	4		..	..
Nadia	37	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Murshidabad	860	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Malda	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
West Dinajpur	89	265	..	..	88	2,738		..	..
Jalpaiguri	..	158	..	..	154	1,715		..	..
Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Cooch Behar	..	..	887	..	..	548		..	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..

Name of Caste—DOM

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	110,348	105,316	128,593	131,219	147,758	153,770	237,066*	142,822	146,277
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	31,949	29,618	34,910	35,563	39,396	39,943	39,689*	39,030	52,327
Birbhum	30,683	32,232	36,278	35,046	38,779	40,666	36,159	35,316	34,897
Bankura	12,656	12,906	13,915	13,676	17,132	17,520	18,048*	17,581	7,193
Midnapur	12,850	11,140	15,179	14,836	17,146	15,378	23,560*	16,549	18,610
Hooghly	6,881	6,636	8,207	9,101	10,460	10,516	26,419*	10,825	10,715 (Hooghly and Howrah)
Howrah	1,936	1,685	2,629	2,929	3,303	3,162	20,980*	3,209	
24-Parganas	2,128	1,132	2,552	2,894	3,186	3,494	60,545*	3,015	6,478
Calcutta	6,113	3,008	3,757	3,928	5,490	9,625	..	1,705	..
Nadia	806	994	1,467	3,073	1,990	2,718	2,942*	3,335	2,937
Murshidabad	2,231	4,298	5,584	5,487	6,833	7,680	6,800*	7,505	10,490
Malda	767	504	923	1,091	1,132	1,161	1,924	1,228	1,227
West Dinajpur	113	309	1,032	1,364	1,152	927	..	2,138	1,242
Jalpaiguri	718	807	1,488	1,134	939	628	..	935	73
Darjeeling	200	47	111	284	124	107	..	162	88
Cooch Behar	317	..	561	813	696	245	..	289	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	5	4	..	..	..	..

*Includes Doms and Kaoras.

Name of Caste—DOSADH

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	30,133	17,818	28,652	30,255	35,293	24,586	12,257	15,564	10,291
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	6,200	3,125	2,951	2,699	2,288	1,792	..	509	563
Birbhum	142	99	149	163	125	139	..	60	96
Bankura	7	96	6	13	24	18	..	16	2
Midnapur	62	123	66	55	20	51	..	112	58
Hooghly	2,940	1,843	2,415	2,481	2,389	1,197	..	232	461 (Hooghly and Howrah)
Howrah	2,179	878	2,756	2,380	4,449	2,727	1,173	883	
24-Parganas	5,317	3,068	6,927	7,230	7,007	3,952	2,921	1,189	5,641
Calcutta	5,635	3,851	6,324	5,894	8,803	7,787	..	3,441	..
Nadia	355	208	430	1,141	894	345	1,485	39	87
Murshidabad	1,617	1,195	1,571	1,952	2,304	2,038	2,721	656	911
Malda	2,570	1,306	2,985	2,857	3,317	2,644	3,957	2,223	1,402
West Dinajpur	293	1,394	776	1,196	1,137	339	..	6,000	948
Jalpaiguri	2,277	557	660	973	1,189	480	..	6	54
Darjeeling	190	75	170	361	307	500	..	107	68
Cooch Behar	349	..	466	860	1,040	577	..	91	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—GHASI

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931*	1921	1911	1901	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	3,534	4,978	A=5,334 B=5,006	..	4,731	2,340	..	938	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	77	..	..	..	..	92	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	District figures are not available separately.	..
Birbhum	6	..	..	..	..	..			..
Bankura	21	14	19	..	2	..			..
Midnapur	70	63	40	..	28	345			..
Hooghly	48	17	..	..	..	19			..
Howrah	304	238	164	..	35	24			..
24-Parganas	1,180	1,632	1,217	..	940	373			..
Calcutta	13	..	157	..	16	3			..
Nadia	92	76	744	..	5	110			..
Murshidabad	..	..	..	..	..	31			..
Malda	145	134	201	..	118	101			..
West Dinajpur	249	288	197	..	310	248			..
Jalpaiguri	942	2,123	2,378	..	2,978	864			..
Darjeeling	387	393	217	..	299	130			..
Cooch Behar	..	..	..	..	..	..			..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..			..

*Total A includes 328 Tribals. B—Hindus.

Name of Caste—GONRHI

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	2,253	1,941	4,739	..	8,582	7,479	3,871	885	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	657	34	30	..	41	..	..	District figures are not available separately.	..
Birbhum	..	23	..	..	89	114	..		..
Bankura	..	20	..	..	..	..	..		..
Midnapur	120	89	2	..	2	..	..		..
Hooghly	169	18	59	..	..	..	..		..
Howrah	80	3	2	..	..	32	..		..
24-Parganas	384	25	254	..	27	31	..		..
Calcutta	19	..	83	..	162	..	..		..
Nadia	95	..	39	..	172	63	..		..
Murshidabad	672	1,553	3,323	..	2,827	2,105	..		..
Malda	11	144	947	..	4,609	4,438	3,871		..
West Dinajpur	8	2	..	..	560	425	..		..
Jalpaiguri	38	30	..	..	69	255	..		..
Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	10	7	..		..
Cooch Behar	..	..	..	..	14	9	..		..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..

Name of Caste—HARI

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	(Hari and Mihtar*) 1891	1881	1872
Total	96,189	84,352	120,399	133,760	154,878	159,782	119,318	164,055	169,373
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	20,746	17,897	20,132	20,815	23,248	23,892	22,976*	22,121	27,254
Birbhum	15,536	16,714	22,321	20,896	24,601	27,634	28,539	23,286	21,751
Bankura	7,709	7,288	6,850	6,395	7,339	7,862	6,725	6,251	2,445
Midnapur	14,648	13,162	25,038	24,046	26,686	27,352	26,421*	25,573	21,963
Hooghly	16,258	6,004	6,068	8,123	9,730	9,305	12,967*	13,030	17,311 (Hooghly and Howrah)
Howrah	947	813	2,096	3,779	2,116	2,028	3,451*	2,150	
24-Parganas	4,375	3,292	4,883	6,671	5,196	4,380	..	3,441	6,402
Calcutta	1,390	402	1,073	992	2,999	1,586	..	657	..
Nadia	1,849	2,260	3,280	3,729	4,035	5,069	..	6,415	4,113
Murshidabad	5,068	5,547	7,149	7,749	8,435	8,883	..	7,753	13,345
Malda	5,512	3,450	6,530	8,901	10,093	11,078	15,067*	11,788	14,148
West Dinajpur	1,702	5,395	11,841	16,853	24,154	22,628	..	31,934	35,325
Jalpaiguri	369	1,792	2,081	3,596	4,304	5,208	..	6,625	4,555
Darjeeling	70	336	548	701	1,091	1,779	..	1,237	761
Cooch Behar	10	..	509	514	851	1,098	3,172	1,794	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*Includes Haris and Mihtars.

Name of Caste—JALIA KAIBARTTA

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	(Includes Chasi Kaibartta) 1891	1881	1872
Total	83,969	72,724	122,093	135,277	98,835	74,061	1,619,271	107,533	110,125
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	11,043	7,951	8,968	6,174	3,469	2,570	26,656	5,374	10,533
Birbhum	5,836	5,462	697	2,633	961	2,762	7,172	4,059	765
Bankura	5,062	5,928	4,726	14,306	3,851	1,158	18,434	3,310	1,261
Midnapur	12,342	12,872	45,015	40,343	40,202	34,468	803,998	20,179	20,450
Hooghly	10,179	10,161	13,740	10,469	8,072	7,869	143,780	10,369	15,829 (Hooghly and Howrah)
Howrah	10,008	10,414	19,197	19,670	15,640	8,157	178,155	6,467	
24-Parganas	9,455	9,371	9,268	12,579	4,015	4,634	163,970	11,424	23,979
Calcutta	2,828	318	3,756	6,423	3,476	176	..	3,021	..
Nadia	5,785	704	2,391	4,854	671	1,860	99,419	19,052	20,398
Murshidabad	3,493	1,658	1,726	2,500	1,869	1,693	91,900	2,867	3,014
Malda	4,279	659	1,064	1,593	1,097	793	37,744	1,328	2,186
West Dinajpur	1,299	6,422	6,624	7,824	10,507	4,186	39,765	13,560	10,296
Jalpaiguri	509	1,740	2,760	3,325	3,308	2,136	3,655	3,870	1,370
Darjeeling	69	64	71	149	21	76	1,419	13	44
Cooch Behar	1,782	..	2,000	2,435	1,676	1,523	3,204	2,640	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—JHALO MALO OR MALO

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	46,595	33,730	35,332	38,069	49,793	46,058	39,039	19,454	8,797
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	1,209	612	746	756	953	..	..	District figures are not available separately.	..
Birbhum	452	..	5	..	390	2,579	4,465		..
Bankura	1,536	302	191	7	1,931	..	..		1,268
Midnapur	1,387	3,155	54	87	2	351	..		..
Hooghly	1,201	150	549	437	2,342	..	..		..
Howrah	155	111	103	137	1,103	..	..		..
24-Parganas	5,079	1,630	3,073	3,004	3,032	1,547	..		150
Calcutta	509	..	921	286	388	136	..		..
Nadia	18,634	20,409	19,995	21,409	25,753	26,049	21,962		2,567
Murshidabad	11,775	3,565	3,498	3,629	4,977	5,123	5,050		1,317
Malda	2,981	2,281	4,620	5,810	5,400	4,729	5,662		3,495
West Dinajpur	1,289	1,497	1,406	2,051	3,126	5,048	1,900		..
Jalpaiguri	214	18	..	202	265	317	..		..
Darjeeling	21	..	..	105	3	14	..		..
Cooch Behar	153	..	171	149	128	165	..		..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..

Name of Caste—KADAR

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931*	1921	1911	1901	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	597	1,380	A=980 B=960	..	810	331	..	436	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	2	162	21	..	..	..	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	District figures are not available separately.	..
Birbhum	..	..	..	..	..	..			..
Bankura	..	..	..	..	..	..			..
Midnapur	155	54	134	..	..	..			..
Hooghly	1	21	..	..	..	..			..
Howrah	103	257	..	..	..	11			..
24-Parganas	50	318	..	..	..	..			..
Calcutta	4	..	..	..	..	..			..
Nadia	5	41	..	..	..	5			..
Murshidabad	1	..	..	..	..	..			..
Malda	66	58	..	..	265	79			..
West Dinajpur	210	469	825	..	545	236			..
Jalpaiguri	..	..	..	..	..	..			..
Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	..	..			..
Cooch Behar	..	..	..	..	..	..			..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..			..

*Total A includes 20 Tribals. B—Hindus.

Name of Caste—KANDRA

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	1,323	11,563	4,695	26,389	36,932	40,730	27,211	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	63	..	13	..	5	..	..	..	..
Birbhum	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bankura	5	21	..	..	88	4	..	..	..
Midnapur	933	10,863	4,306	26,389	35,696	40,101	27,211	..	..
Hooghly	28	57	..	..	..	276	..	..	..
Howrah	29	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
24-Parganas	49	597	371	..	1,081	349	..	..	..
Calcutta	123	..	..	..	56	..	..	..	..
Nadia	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Murshidabad	39	24	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
Malda	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Dinajpur	46	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cooch Behar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—KAORA

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	131,588	88,731	104,300	104,529	107,239	105,490	237,066*	..	94,039
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	2,500	1,103	651	283	456	642	39,689*	..	3,274
Birbhum	..	197	31	61	..	..	36,159	..	410
Bankura	207	1,649	1	4	99	274	18,048*	..	135
Midnapur	9,692	2,686	7,240	4,051	4,885	5,598	23,560*	..	4,048
Hooghly	11,546	9,553	12,084	10,883	12,827	14,292	26,419*	..	26,481
Howrah	15,704	15,719	19,047	20,097	19,110	17,575	20,980*	..	..
24-Parganas	72,233	55,085	61,802	63,855	64,483	62,741	60,545*	..	55,764
Calcutta	9,396	852	2,907	3,449	4,177	3,302	..	..	..
Nadia	2,386	1,060	537	1,261	1,083	1,062	2,942*	..	2,312
Murshidabad	657	5	..	152	73	4	6,800*	..	1,120
Malda	6,669	15	..	1	..	..	1,924	..	494
West Dinajpur	259	55	..	79	45	..	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri	257	418	..	108	..	..	..	..	..
Darjeeling	62	334	..	244	1	..	..	..	1
Cooch Behar	20	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*Includes Doms and Kaoras.

Name of Caste—KARENGA

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	8,704	8,403	9,851	..	..	14,978	15,013	..	9,995
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	9	..	3	..	..	7	..	..	153
Birbhum	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	48
Bankura	447	644	861	..	..	1,343	..	..	412
Midnapur	3,944	2,898	4,316	..	..	6,239	6,079	..	5,662
Hooghly	37	177	9	..	..	114	..	..	} 1,787
Howrah	3,200	2,951	2,983	..	..	2,676	2,468	..	
24-Parganas	1,030	1,728	1,603	..	..	4,593	6,466	..	1,284
Calcutta	11	..	76	..	..	6	..	..	..
Nadia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	310
Murshidabad	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Malda	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	75
West Dinajpur	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	253
Jalpaiguri	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cooch Behar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—KASTHA

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	474	2,557	2,600	11,977	20,750	27,644	22,889	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	8	63	..	..	13	..	..	..	..
Birbhum	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bankura	..	114	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Midnapur	39	1,401	2,600	11,977	20,719	27,625	22,889	..	..
Hooghly	2	309	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howrah	19	33	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24-Parganas	300	525	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Calcutta	61	22	..	..	15	..	..	..	..
Nadia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Murshidabad	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Malda	37	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Dinajpur	..	14	..	..	3	19	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri	..	69	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Darjeeling	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cooch Behar	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—KAUR

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	1,161	3,595	317	..	9	34	..	24	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	51	72	..	..	..	6	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	District figures are not available separately.	..
Birbhum	2	1	..	..	..	..			..
Bankura	4	..	..	..	..	..			..
Midnapur	24	1,292	..	..	..	..			..
Hooghly	73	11	..	..	..	..			..
Howrah	24	..	..	..	..	..			..
24-Parganas	482	309	..	..	3	..			..
Calcutta	58	..	110	..	..	..			..
Nadia	..	70	..	..	..	..			..
Murshidabad	104	791	..	..	..	..			..
Malda	15	8	..	..	..	..			..
West Dinajpur	19	797	136	..	..	..			..
Jalpaiguri	136	236	..	..	..	28			..
Darjeeling	111	8	51	..	6	..			..
Cooch Behar	58	..	20	..	..	..			..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..			..

Name of Caste—KHAIRA

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881 (Undivided Bengal)	1872
Total	43,987	48,391	38,107	3,350	41,826	37,464	37,395	36,928	2,411
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	4,915	3,573	2,651	..	2,000	..	..	District figures are not available separately.	..
Birbhum	510	611	..	..	101	525	..		..
Bankura	25,657	26,906	26,958	..	30,467	31,340	28,359		..
Midnapur	4,299	2,786	4,299	3,350	4,547	3,050	7,236		2,411
Hooghly	3,853	3,984	4,160	..	4,071	1,530	1,800		..
Howrah	62	87	..	..	..	..	..		..
24-Parganas	280	249	..	..	27	147	..		..
Calcutta	86	1	..	..	..	..	..		..
Nadia	186	33	39	..	180	116	..		..
Murshidabad	76	13	..	..	10	..	..		..
Malda	746	338	..	..	393	532	..		..
West Dinajpur	516	805	..	..	1	203	..		..
Jalpaiguri	2,621	8,352	..	..	29	1	..		..
Darjeeling	110	653	..	..	..	..	..		..
Cooch Behar	70	..	..	..	..	20	..		..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..

Name of Caste—KHATIK

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	3,633	1,193	1,075	..	7	250	..	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	206	63	97	..	..	..	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	..	..
Birbhum	6	18	21	..	..	..		..	..
Bankura	9	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Midnapur	415	158	108	..	..	4		..	..
Hooghly	128	36	48	..	..	..		..	..
Howrah	455	283	182	..	..	85		..	..
24-Parganas	451	195	320	..	..	54		..	..
Calcutta	1,868	440	299	..	..	71		..	..
Nadia	1	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Murshidabad	6	..	..	..	..	25		..	..
Malda	6	..	..	..	1	..		..	..
West Dinajpur	79	..	..	..	..	2		..	..
Jalpaiguri	3	..	..	..	..	9		..	..
Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	6	..		..	..
Cooch Behar	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..

Name of Caste—KOCH

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	931	4,324	12,071	54,327	48,677	269	1,228,299	1,050,171	44,923
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	46	..	..	623	..	..	..	1,005	..
Birbhum	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,861	..
Bankura	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	224	..
Midnapur	21	..	678	34	9	..	..	2,523	..
Hooghly	..	..	..	..	..	21	..	5	..
Howrah	2	..	4	72	..	..	..	95	..
24-Parganas	7	423	..	28	..	..	..	1,757	..
Calcutta	3	3	35	47	2	9	..	..	..
Nadia	..	..	..	297	..	..	..	15,335	2
Murshidabad	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	17,582	139
Malda	318	1,112	2,830	7,630	5,563	8	62,975	60,700	14,173
West Dinajpur	331	2,252	6,163	42,810	36,754	231	481,591	407,923	30,605
Jalpaiguri	194	516	1,009	1,380	4,967	..	297,852	208,322	4
Darjeeling	..	18	122	141	65	..	33,472	30,381	..
Cooch Behar	9	..	1,230	1,261	1,317	..	352,409	299,458	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—KONAI

WEST BENGAL :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	32,422	33,275	34,682	15,300	1,753	32,101	..	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	120	141	31	..	..	..	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	..	..
Birbhum	14,672	14,394	14,387	15,300	..	15,500		..	..
Bankura	289	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Midnapur	2	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Hooghly	18	50	5	..	..	..		..	..
Howrah	10	..	6	..	..	..		..	..
24-Parganas	13	3	978	..	..	..		..	..
Calcutta	44	..	48	..	..	..		..	..
Nadia	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Murshidabad	17,209	18,674	18,755	..	..	16,598		..	..
Malda	..	..	472	..	1,668	..		..	..
West Dinajpur	18	11	..	..	85	3		..	..
Jalpaiguri	3	2	..	..	..	..		..	..
Darjeeling	1	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Cooch Behar	23	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..

Name of Caste—KONWAR

WEST BENGAL :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	3,462	1,798	116	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	231	173	..	..	..	..	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	..	..
Birbhum	37	996	..	..	..	..		..	..
Bankura	44	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Midnapur	175	24	..	..	..	..		..	..
Hooghly	120	17	..	..	..	..		..	..
Howrah	412	4	..	..	..	..		..	..
24-Parganas	1,074	6	..	..	..	..		..	..
Calcutta	513	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Nadia	20	23	116	..	..	..		..	..
Murshidabad	71	410	..	..	..	..		..	..
Malda	170	120	..	..	..	..		..	..
West Dinajpur	69	12	..	..	..	..		..	..
Jalpaiguri	188	8	..	..	..	..		..	..
Darjeeling	278	5	..	..	..	..		..	..
Cooch Behar	60	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..

Name of Caste—KORA

WEST BENGAL :	1951	1941	1931*	1921	1911	1901	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	43,454	38,743	A=48,728 B=46,252	29,881	44,815	47,823	31,243	25,740	12,519
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	14,601	14,269	14,557	11,638	13,029	13,052	5,336	District figures are not available separately.	726
Birbhum	4,685	4,685	8,993	6,100	9,680	11,202	10,267		3,776
Bankura	5,330	3,253	5,525	4,569	4,613	4,970	4,746		1,216
Midnapur	8,941	8,085	10,247	7,574	8,795	8,610	8,845		6,181
Hooghly	3,233	3,562	3,205	..	2,548	1,882	2,049		..
Howrah	249	35	230	..	..	139	..		..
24-Parganas	2,155	1,047	86	..	478	412	..		11
Calcutta	209	..	48	..	129	141	..		..
Nadia	11	..	14	..	104	846	..		3
Murshidabad	748	489	558	..	1,044	2,019	..		606
Malda	1,658	1,601	3,371	..	2,871	3,492	..		..
West Dinajpur	1,311	1,695	1,861	..	1,398	1,007	..		..
Jalpaiguri	274	22	33	..	109	50	..		..
Darjeeling	32	..	..	..	1	1	..		..
Cooch Behar	17	..	..	..	16	..	..		..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..

*Total A includes 2,476 Tribals. B—Hindus.

Name of Caste—KOTAL

WEST BENGAL :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	7,810	6,410	7,627	4,930	..	10,550	11,119	13,816	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	4,309	5,271	6,060	4,930	..	8,445	9,684	District figures are not available separately.	..
Birbhum	263	286	12	..	..	372	..		..
Bankura	150	70	51	..	..	144	..		..
Midnapur	2,294	1	..	..	..	10	..		..
Hooghly	16	11	16	..	..	..	..		..
Howrah	1	..	..	..	..	2	..		..
24-Parganas	13	13	100	..	..	..	..		..
Calcutta	22	..	13	..	..	..	..		..
Nadia	43	169	122	..	..	150	..		..
Murshidabad	686	589	1,253	..	..	1,426	1,435		..
Malda	10	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
West Dinajpur	..	..	..	..	..	1	..		..
Jalpaiguri	2	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Darjeeling	1	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Cooch Behar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..

Name of Caste—LALBEGI

WEST BENGAL :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	435	1,486	4,326	..	36	4,620	..	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	95	75	107	..	..	..	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	..	..
Birbhum	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Bankura	..	..	..	..	..	10		..	..
Midnapur	15	..	105	..	..	..		..	..
Hooghly	..	22	35	..	..	..		..	..
Howrah	32	109	167	..	..	28		..	..
24-Parganas	16	535	1,001	..	..	440		..	..
Calcutta	254	726	2,433	..	..	3,048		..	..
Nadia	..	4	10	..	..	..		..	..
Murshidabad	10	..	20	..	..	6		..	..
Malda	..	..	..	..	12	..		..	..
West Dinajpur	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Jalpaiguri	5	4	..	..	24	50		..	..
Darjeeling	8	11	448	..	..	1,038		..	..
Cooch Behar	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	23	..	..	..		..	..

Name of Caste—LODHA

WEST BENGAL :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	8,346	11,639	10,960	..	7,362	6,284	..	3,780	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	127	4	29	..	37	85	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	District figures are not available separately.	..
Birbhum	11	..	..	..	..	..			..
Bankura	23	8	..	..	..	..			..
Midnapur	6,040	10,374	9,820	..	6,329	4,629			..
Hooghly	2,067	1,163	963	..	907	1,533			..
Howrah	19	39	68	..	31	..			..
24-Parganas	30	35	27	..	17	2			..
Calcutta	23	10	50	..	15	34			..
Nadia	..	..	3	..	..	..			..
Murshidabad	4	..	..	..	..	..			..
Malda	..	..	..	..	..	..			..
West Dinajpur	..	..	..	..	..	..			..
Jalpaiguri	2	6	..	..	26	1			..
Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	..	..			..
Cooch Behar	..	..	..	..	..	..			..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..			..

Name of Caste—LOHAR

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891 (Includes Kamar)	1881	1872
Total	63,680	59,858	48,182	65.413	44,939	192,043	171,415	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,576,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	5,314	5,139	4,761	3,600	1,958	22,642	20,371	..	..
Birbhum	3,277	3,330	2,909	2,229	1,940	11,502	10,195	..	..
Bankura	28,314	28,563	25,533	41.486	25.059	45,950	41,149	..	..
Midnapur	2,994	3,364	1,988	1,279	452	36,515	38,777	..	..
Hooghly	1,779	1,949	1,653	2,028	1,045	10,613	13,841	..	..
Howrah	384	385	298	387	477	5,659	5,327	..	..
24-Parganas	1,426	924	857	1,020		14,943	16,577	..	..
Calcutta	518	527	559	898	1,193	7,730	..	..	..
Nadia	851	988	428	555	354	13,781	12,925	..	..
Murshidabad	19	64	5	33	37	6,040	..	..	..
Malda	461	271	421	793	2,898	7,241	5,293	..	..
West Dinajpur	511	1,220	426	842	4,007	4,795	4,395	..	..
Jalpaiguri	16,171	11,616	6,820	8,887	4,607	2,524	2,565	..	..
Darjeeling	1,624	1,518	1,419	1,228	749	1,634	..	..	..
Cooch Behar	37	..	105	148	163	474	..	..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	11	..	3	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—MAHAR

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	4,206	5,193	1,666	..	590	573	..	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	487	668	..	..	28	..	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	..	..
Birbhum	840	615	5	..	..	..		..	..
Bankura	141	607	..	..	..	..		..	..
Midnapur	1,489	2,233	1,658	..	562	573		..	..
Hooghly	61	10	..	..	..	..		..	..
Howrah	19	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
24-Parganas	108	82	..	..	..	..		..	..
Calcutta	177	5	3	..	..	..		..	..
Nadia	1	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Murshidabad	81	307	..	..	..	..		..	..
Malda	302	78	..	..	..	..		..	..
West Dinajpur	243	580	..	..	..	..		..	..
Jalpaiguri	221	8	..	..	..	..		..	..
Darjeeling	3	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Cooch Behar	33	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..

Name of Caste—MAHLI

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931*	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	26,331	20,707	A=18,194 B=15,462	..	14,900	10,309	4,277	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,186
Burdwan	1,416	1,220	781	..	585	544	..	..	..
Birbhum	790	955	641	..	606	792	..	..	..
Bankura	806	770	..	..	522	413	..	..	..
Midnapur	4,725	4,469	3,678	..	3,789	3,465	3,112	..	..
Hooghly	496	234	91	..	61	..	..	..	..
Howrah	229	4	28	..	1	..	..	..	..
24-Parganas	1,258	451	7	..	154	215	..	..	..
Calcutta	316	..	46	..	1	12	..	..	..
Nadia	417	16	..	..	..	21	..	..	..
Murshidabad	604	182	172	..	52	109	..	..	..
Malda	1,247	1,393	1,968	..	2,707	1,574	1,165	..	..
West Dinajpur	2,965	2,331	3,153	..	2,765	1,347	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri	10,338	8,257	7,171	..	3,267	1,484	..	..	..
Darjeeling	652	425	458	..	390	310	..	..	..
Cooch Behar	72	..	..	..	..	23	..	..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*Total A includes 1,664 Tribals and 1,068 Christians. B—Hindus.

Name of Caste—MAL

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931*	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	91,097	82,953	A=91,547 B=91,292	82,620	83,383	84,802	64,144	59,660	65,813
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	3,622	2,607	1,474	1,279	1,892	2,152	1,729	1,319	3,078
Birbhum	39,641	37,486	40,999	36,690	42,631	38,697	29,525	15,136	9,346
Bankura	14,059	15,196	12,745	11,212	11,962	14,964	12,958	12,477	8,436
Midnapur	7,149	5,175	8,362	8,460	7,322	7,567	4,317	3,964	5,726
Hooghly	3,960	3,856	3,089	3,330	1,217	1,265	1,978	507	}1,058
Howrah	244	60	459	137	23	31	..	16	
24-Parganas	1,601	143	364	717	245	287	..	328	955
Calcutta	48	6	364	84	20	2	..	43	..
Nadia	910	1,158	1,488	527	..	300	..	14,284	4,407
Murshidabad	16,671	13,965	16,808	16,905	15,315	14,867	13,637	9,687	29,281
Malda	1,143	1,452	3,045	1,183	2,006	2,553	..	862	2,062
West Dinajpur	1,381	1,252	1,843	1,926	547	2,064	..	1,033	1,446
Jalpaiguri	225	159	446	32	107	6	..	..	16
Darjeeling	240	78	48	4	74	42	..	..	2
Cooch Behar	203	..	13	134	22	5	..	4	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*Total A includes 253 Tribals and 2 Buddhists. B—Hindus.

Name of Caste—MALLAH

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	21,529	10,309	15,194	..	17,619	16,592	..	36,837	32,025
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	1,776	259	440	..	120	748	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	.	1,663
Birbhum	908	33	6	..	28	26		3,158	466
Bankura	530	659	..	..	554	39		2,544	1,333
Midnapur	392	1,615	20	..	41	7		9,859	1,895
Hooghly	2,024	1,262	1,878	..	1,854	2,284		633	}1,424
Howrah	1,297	550	804	..	1,402	2,751		657	
24-Parganas	4,893	1,593	4,035	..	4,941	4,408		965	2,304
Calcutta	2,191	1,386	2,322	..	2,766	3,802		2,230	..
Nadia	428	379	607	..	622	47		4,301	13,237
Murshidabad	1,106	249	496	..	1,078	407		6,265	7,322
Malda	4,085	736	1,679	..	1,036	280		4,309	1,656
West Dinajpur	900	992	2,156	..	1,130	1,024		1,298	675
Jalpaiguri	728	459	393	..	1,669	488		3	24
Darjeeling	114	137	69	..	13	110		556	26
Cooch Behar	157	..	289	..	365	171		59	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	8	..		..	..

Name of Caste—MALPAHARIYA

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931*	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	4,813	6,219	A=7,809 B=6,834	..	8,635	3,908	..	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	5	58	199	..	17	..	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	..	..
Birbhum	209	279	..	..	179	597		..	..
Bankura	3	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Midnapur	1	..	15	..	..	..		..	..
Hooghly	52	4	..	..	..	..		..	..
Howrah	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
24-Parganas	2	1	..	..	8	..		..	..
Calcutta	129	..	..	..	..	8		..	..
Nadia	..	75	3	..	315	..		..	..
Murshidabad	883	1,249	527	..	870	677		..	..
Malda	133	396	930	..	1,292	50		..	..
West Dinajpur	174	930	1,592	..	1,613	530		..	..
Jalpaiguri	1,853	1,800	2,735	..	2,893	1,310		..	..
Darjeeling	1,367	1,427	1,801	..	1,436	717		..	..
Cooch Behar	2	..	7	..	12	19		..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..

*Total A includes 917 Tribals and 58 Christians. B—Hindus.

Name of Caste—METHOR

WEST BENGAL :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891 (Included with Hari)	1881 (Undivided Bengal).	1872
Total . . .	35,803	17,623	18,657	..	1,632	10,824	..	28,379	21,163
Total Hindus . .	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	3,592	1,120	1,180	..	..	1,206	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	District figures are not available separately.	890
Birbhum	3,376	366	50	..	..	268			101
Bankura	306	134	72	..	..	142			56
Midnapur	2,777	1,883	1,542	..	..	907			3,904
Hooghly	1,795	1,296	1,152	..	..	728			} 908 (Hooghly and Howrah)
Howrah	5,282	1,544	1,894	..	..	1,734			
24-Parganas	4,999	1,446	2,184	..	..	1,181			8,471
Calcutta	8,798	4,933	7,301	..	..	1,587			..
Nadia	1,193	772	466	..	..	452			434
Murshidabad	1,512	1,132	504	..	..	435			4,489
Malda	409	247	..	..	128	286			37
West Dinajpur	296	1,154	1,109	..	944	775			1,336
Jalpaiguri	450	435	725	..	560	353			311
Darjeeling	345	1,161	196	..	..	392			226
Cooch Behar	673	..	282	..	..	378			..
SIKKIM	..	..	3	..	..	..			..

Name of Caste—MUCHI

WEST BENGAL :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891 (Chamar and Muchi)	1881	1872
Total . . .	281,669	219,071	267,576	263,639	285,348	270,759	260,878	..	..
Total Hindus . .	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	65,542	51,677	63,885	54,921	62,125	57,966	51,280	..	..
Birbhum	44,384	40,397	45,395	37,317	42,431	41,282	37,164	..	..
Bankura	12,975	11,016	11,598	10,980	12,070	11,357	5,450	..	..
Midnapur	8,497	7,693	8,452	9,221	9,135	8,320	7,379	..	..
Hooghly	15,958	14,217	17,746	20,219	21,715	21,732	20,534	..	..
Howrah	9,448	3,558	6,435	7,299	6,146	6,073	3,764	..	..
24-Parganas	39,749	22,600	33,434	42,588	40,517	38,625	42,189	..	..
Calcutta	27,963	8,478	12,943	12,271	10,516	8,477	..	..	..
Nadia	18,969	27,513	30,561	31,730	40,191	40,113	44,346	..	..
Murshidabad	23,648	21,141	22,448	20,572	21,891	24,731	34,698	..	..
Malda	6,292	2,781	4,040	3,012	2,677	2,126	5,982	..	..
West Dinajpur	2,518	5,585	6,790	7,186	8,036	4,962	5,180	..	..
Jalpaiguri	2,371	1,842	1,826	2,907	3,340	2,040	1,617	..	..
Darjeeling	856	573	156	243	397	547	..	..	..
Cooch Behar	2,499	..	1,867	3,173	4,161	2,408	1,295	..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	19	..	2	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—MUSAHAR

WEST BENGAL :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total . . .	9,732	8,305	9,213	..	9,250	7,468	1,594	1,664	..
Total Hindus . .	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	452	540	583	..	827	711	..	3	..
Birbhum	203	317	240	..	1	152	..	..	..
Bankura	2	30	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Midnapur	28	10	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
Hooghly	157	217	276	..	124	14	..	..	..
Howrah	39	4	371	..	82	1	..	..	..
24-Parganas	213	172	307	..	877	145	..	6	..
Calcutta	101	72	66	..	108	56	..	..	..
Nadia	207	282	116	..	73	10	..	9	..
Murshidabad	727	205	531	..	1,810	1,945	1,594	1,064	..
Malda	5,442	1,920	3,175	..	1,919	1,910	..	139	..
West Dinajpur	1,226	3,124	2,916	..	2,124	1,785	..	45	..
Jalpaiguri	796	1,205	341	..	837	415	..	..	..
Darjeeling	99	207	234	..	303	249	..	384	..
Cooch Behar	40	..	57	..	163	72	..	14	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—NAGESIA

WEST BENGAL :	1951	1941	1931*	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	2,406	2,699	A=2,177 B=1,974	..	1,277	2,323	..	..	..
Total Hindus . .	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	..	..	..	..	..	..	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	..	..
Birbhum	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Bankura	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Midnapur	8	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Hooghly	2	11	..	..	..	..		..	..
Howrah	..	..	52	..	..	..		..	..
24-Parganas	31	21	..	..	2	..		..	..
Calcutta	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Nadia	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Murshidabad	..	39	9	..	..	..		..	..
Malda	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
West Dinajpur	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Jalpaiguri	1,828	2,192	1,641	..	988	446		..	..
Darjeeling	428	436	358	..	287	1,877		..	..
Cooch Behar	109	..	117	..	..	..		..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..

*Total A includes 198 Tribals and 5 Christians. B—Hindus.

Name of Caste—NAMOSUDRA

WEST BENGAL :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	324,723	134,748	161,804	165,027	160,304	174,888	195,353	168,872	201,745
Total Hindus . .	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	31,017	11,778	14,809	15,133	14,909	18,960	18,075	16,887	33,326
Birbhum	2,568	1,226	1,687	1,451	1,602	1,839	5,777	2,099	890
Bankura	2,925	398	890	497	805	1,364	1,695	1,326	507
Midnapur	38,743	25,534	37,188	43,376	35,123	36,857	41,939	27,826	24,713
Hooghly	13,018	5,769	6,524	7,363	8,201	9,822	14,042	11,845 }	21,568
Howrah	15,560	12,607	13,174	11,048	11,119	10,302	9,773	9,282 }	
24-Parganas	102,997	31,490	31,287	30,064	26,874	24,715	21,895	21,277	46,056
Calcutta	8,499	953	3,808	1,804	1,141	1,313	..	830	..
Nadia	72,179	26,891	30,512	31,991	34,624	37,695	37,858	43,780	42,062
Murshidabad	15,645	9,078	11,337	12,005	14,468	16,026	24,319	17,972	21,764
Malda	4,497	1,072	1,355	869	999	3,198	4,669	1,157	1,216
West Dinajpur	5,743	5,093	3,752	4,001	4,201	5,048	6,981	7,180	7,371
Jalpaiguri	4,716	1,818	1,673	1,289	1,105	2,558	3,844	1,895	1,980
Darjeeling	667	41	42	31	120	156	..	308	292
Cooch Behar	5,949	..	3,766	4,105	5,013	5,035	4,486	5,208	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—NUNIYA

WEST BENGAL :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	24,148	21,819	21,533	25,745	22,805	14,730	4,390	7,821	..
Total Hindus . .	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	4,321	2,339	2,065	1,265	922	896	..	32	..
Birbhum	49	12	111	853	52	120	..	28	..
Bankura	15	2	..	1	50	..	..	1	..
Midnapur	111	116	129	103	59	118	..	4,667	..
Hooghly	1,468	1,650	2,311	1,630	1,066	733	..	41	..
Howrah	785	814	1,657	1,536	585	949	..	256	..
24-Parganas	4,314	2,345	4,723	5,576	2,959	1,507	..	451	..
Calcutta	2,545	1,760	2,208	1,150	1,615	1,180	..	261	..
Nadia	441	677	701	2,897	1,415	75	..	25	..
Murshidabad	1,512	1,314	1,925	1,069	1,578	877	..	80	..
Malda	3,999	5,060	5,656	3,210	4,048	2,055	..	..	..
West Dinajpur	2,495	4,644	..	3,075	4,158	2,764	3,203	1,336	..
Jalpaiguri	1,034	905	46	1,561	2,254	987	..	281	..
Darjeeling	183	181	1	435	408	301	..	362	..
Cooch Behar	876	..	..	1,384	1,636	2,168	1,187	..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—PALIYA

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	12,125	5,955	39,848	..	..	266,453	..	..	351,420
Total Hindus	19,462,706	12,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	5	..	..	..	..	..	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	..	.
Birbhum	..	..	..	..	..	2		..	..
Bankura	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Midnapur	232	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Hooghly	43	..	..	..	..	..		..	1
Howrah	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
24-Parganas	6	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Calcutta	12	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
Nadia	..	..	33	..	..	..		..	..
Murshidabad	3	..	.	..	..	14		..	..
Malda	1,779	1,668	6,153	..	..	13,876		.	24,320
West Dinajpur	10,044	4,219	33,509	..	..	252,059		..	326,971
Jalpaiguri	..	68	150	..	..	48		..	128
Darjeeling	1	..	3	..	..	454		..	..
Cooch Behar	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..

Name of Caste—PAN

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	1,337	1,349	762	.	1,461	7,984	1,452	36	9,720
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	5	36	12	..	8	.	.	.	.
Birbhum	89	1	..	..	..	3	.	36	..
Bankura	131	18	..	..	..	612	..	..	..
Midnapur	763	599	270	..	816	5,990	1,452	..	9,709
Hooghly	100	45	..	..	11	58	..	..	..
Howrah	21	101	152	..	..	124	.	..	..
24-Parganas	58	114	312	..	164	39	..	..	11
Calcutta	38	..	9	..	66	1	..	..	..
Nadia	36	.	..	..	1	74	..	..	..
Murshidabad	6	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..
Malda	..	.	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
West Dinajpur	45	19	1	..	..	13	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri	5	416	..	..	183	832	..	..	..
Darjeeling	..	..	6	..	184	222	..	..	..
Cooch Behar	40	..	..	..	23	15	..	..	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—PASI

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	22,761	11,730	16,377	..	11,901	8,013	1,685	2,683	3,682
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	2,935	1,690	1,411	..	1,046	810	..	254	318
Birbhum	57	53	100	..	62	106	..	53	6
Bankura	34	27	21	..	32	7	..	6	4
Midnapur	365	444	363	..	322	225	..	144	643
Hooghly	1,781	1,667	1,615	..	916	521	..	326	} 813
Howrah	2,758	1,697	2,756	..	2,262	1,175	.	424	
24-Parganas	10,961	4,573	6,552	..	4,513	2,872	1,685	664	1,226
Calcutta	2,630	1,242	2,451	..	1,743	1,542	..	98	..
Nadia	257	183	317	..	303	227	..	7	1
Murshidabad	49	..	291	..	115	72	..	55	265
Malda	278	100	330	..	314	303	..	582	312
West Dinajpur	122	48	78	..	113	44	..	..	90
Jalpaiguri	455	6	7	..	24	22	..	63	4
Darjeeling	45	..	..	..	4	1	..	4	..
Cooch Behar	34	..	85	..	132	86	..	3	..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—PATNI

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	33,034	88,632	5,909	7,717	7,414	8,156	11,965	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	2,004	5,577	61	72	99	205	..	..	..
Birbhum	507	123	13	5	41	39	..	..	..
Bankura	16,624	23,626	..	5	61	194	..	..	..
Midnapur	2,371	47,164	30	44	65	37	..	..	..
Hooghly	2,557	4,620	58	80	103	85	..	..	..
Howrah	279	98	183	166	41	60	..	..	..
24-Parganas	1,134	592	750	426	561	644	5,464	..	..
Calcutta	65	11	132	25	..	15	..	..	..
Nadia	2,225	2,338	2,074	3,241	3,186	2,568	3,630	..	..
Murshidabad	1,384	1,188	1,565	1,096	1,514	1,664	1,745	..	..
Malda	1,185	215	278	430	1,028	1,643	1,126	..	..
West Dinajpur	422	1,073	500	1,053	506	676	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri	1,439	1,834	19	775	14	131	..	..	..
Darjeeling	431	173	..	84	..	..	..	..	..
Cooch Behar	407	..	246	215	195	195	..	..	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—POD

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	593,093	453,524	476,589	431,327	393,168	351,373	313,566	252,449	170,529
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	214	14	40	88	56	118	..	42	226
Birbhum	5,188	1,854	7,019	2	35	..	6,132	30	68
Bankura	35	..	..	2	..	105	..	196	3
Midnapur	37,770	26,029	36,688	33,445	29,231	28,547	22,930	13,660	4
Hooghly	8,736	3,457	3,120	3,323	5,566	3,253	2,685	1,958	16,727 (Hooghly and Howrah)
Howrah	29,211	20,246	23,183	22,918	20,964	19,258	16,553	14,138	
24-Parganas	495,431	398,843	399,082	368,490	333,747	294,760	236,806	217,187	149,075
Calcutta	1,494	805	2,015	1,415	1,455	2,227	..	139	..
Nadia	2,700	1,368	2,392	1,199	1,781	2,799	5,821	4,518	4,250
Murshidabad	9,493	463	2,574	311	325	303	13,065	147	86
Malda	2,761	445	476	1	..	3	9,574	366	66
West Dinajpur	40	..	..	8	..	..	..	68	24
Jalpaiguri	5	..	..	122	..	..	..	..	..
Darjeeling	..	..	..	3	7	..	..	..	..
Cooch Behar	15	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—RABHA

West Bengal:	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	5,113	2,955	3,015	..	722	..	..	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Birbhum	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bankura	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Midnapur	331	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hooghly	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howrah	1,105	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24-Parganas	104	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Calcutta	61	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nadia	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Murshidabad	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Malda	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Dinajpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri	2,869	2,954	2,076	..	722	..	..	..	..
Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cooch Behar	624	..	938	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—RAJBANSHI

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	742,619	826,640	1,209,612	1,165,141	1,218,346	939,291	30,508	..	290,584
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	3,408	2,822	3,462	2,649	2,529	2,349	3,595	..	..
Birbhum	4,265	4,377	4,352	1,292	369	..	2,659	..	1
Bankura	6	160	7,298	..	2	..	..	..	3
Midnapur	51,684	30,582	8,937	121	30	..	..	..	17
Hooghly	14,488	8,962	7,552	1,102	623	243	..	..	22
Howrah	24,271	25,157	17,585	1,700	5	..	..	..	..
24-Parganas	82,956	59,878	40,047	8,264	2,662	3,592	..	..	170
Calcutta	2,357	620	2,014	429	566	26	..	..	..
Nadia	6,406	11,847	14,651	8,728	14,986	17,958	15,095	..	1,530
Murshidabad	24,322	20,303	24,354	8,898	10,414	7,397	9,159	..	17,507
Malda	20,294	24,421	42,009	39,429	60,346	38,799	..	..	24,724
West Dinajpur	67,489	334,614	360,368	429,525	442,990	180,599	..	..	86,351
Jalpaiguri	172,710	281,045	331,168	310,545	315,257	321,023	..	..	137,135
Darjeeling	15,894	21,852	26,969	23,191	28,944	29,006	..	..	23,124
Cooch Behar	252,069	..	318,846	329,268	338,623	338,299	..	..	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—RAJWAR

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	25,701	21,826	16,674	..	19,508	10,631	2,324	19,342	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	1,878	2,009	2,067	..	1,394	565	..	236	..
Birbhum	125	231	369	..	486	158	..	7,585	..
Bankura	473	539	420	..	365	353	..	134	..
Midnapur	4,390	4,303	4,561	..	5,286	4,605	2,324	10,265	..
Hooghly	848	1,243	179	..	415	34	..	2	..
Howrah	1,907	676	183	..	93	37	..	133	..
24-Parganas	6,395	3,135	1,730	..	1,801	185	..	469	..
Calcutta	2,697	508	868	..	980	517	..	62	..
Nadia	3,807	4,986	3,318	..	5,565	949	..	113	..
Murshidabad	1,449	2,568	1,623	..	951	2,086	..	163	..
Malda	469	1,128	1,191	..	2,013	995	..	15	..
West Dinajpur	371	260	136	..	42	..	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri	250	204	29	..	112	140	..	145	..
Darjeeling	108	36	..	..	5	2	..	20	..
Cooch Behar	534	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—SUNRI

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901 (Includes Saha)	1891 (Includes Kalwar)	1881	1872
Total	45,153	60,008	73,978	82,766	102,799	114,652	108,473	118,329	118,542
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	2,849	9,157	12,005	14,571	19,917	19,694	20,294	19,873	22,259
Birbhum	4,493	11,284	14,226	13,269	15,859	16,948	16,600	15,833	21,173
Bankura	28,344	25,774	25,168	26,119	25,696	24,326	22,265	21,350	12,657
Midnapur	1,414	1,864	5,431	5,793	6,312	6,135	8,555	7,666	3,084
Hooghly	1,069	2,046	2,131	1,459	3,051	2,852	4,966	3,560	6,509 (Hooghly and Howrah together)
Howrah	1,970	1,758	1,916	3,363	4,005	3,443	3,777	3,085	
24-Parganas	1,279	2,547	3,340	6,242	6,720	5,936	7,116	5,270	13,272
Calcutta	1,223	1,022	2,236	2,120	4,140	7,024	..	3,595	..
Nadia	67	554	1,793	1,186	5,724	8,176	6,423	11,796	10,118
Murshidabad	901	2,071	3,113	4,478	6,329	11,940	10,724	13,038	16,411
Malda	907	889	1,634	2,192	2,375	2,649	4,125	5,943	4,792
West Dinajpur	28	587	588	995	1,147	3,502	3,628	5,096	6,685
Jalpaiguri	391	368	318	765	392	1,172	..	1,525	1,116
Darjeeling	97	87	52	118	353	342	..	5	466
Cooch Behar	121	..	27	96	779	513	..	694	..
Sikkim	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—TIYAR

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total . . .	41,978	28,845	71,620	135,540	157,396	148,729	117,192	189,270	148,612
Total Hindus . .	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	1,081	158	598	978	1,761	2,162	..	3,369	3,631
Birbhum	262	59	420	1,756	4,466	3,474	1,004	1,775	307
Bankura	..	..	1,869	..	6	124	.	866	62
Midnapur	1,102	1,485	4,438	20,056	19,366	21,207	8,093	4,240	16,304
Hooghly	1,425	1,850	3,299	8,118	8,382	8,949	9,233	6,687	} 23,051
Howrah	3,699	3,299	11,578	23,902	23,960	21,914	18,789	15,623	
24-Parganas	11,895	14,345	34,420	57,492	64,058	54,402	46,512	37,171	49,709
Calcutta	101	109	275	272	798	954	..	581	..
Nadia	394	267	744	978	1,864	2,057	2,288	2,444	12,433
Murshidabad	475	1,417	3,272	9,787	17,975	19,804	15,158	7,729	12,033
Malda	20,063	5,484	10,314	11,615	14,025	12,948	14,301	15,736	13,717
West Dinajpur	1,421	372	380	584	727	717	1,814	3,001	17,364
Jalpaiguri	3	..	13	2	3	1	..	35,896	..
Darjeeling	51	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	1
Cooch Behar	6	..	..	..	4	14	..	54,152	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of Caste—TURI

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total . .	18,040	13,503	13,127	..	14,155	7,936	1,256	3,182	1,128
Total Hindus . .	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	3,511	2,517	466	..	387	167	..	District figures are not available separately.	47
Birbhum	178	628	31	..	..	..	..		65
Bankura	757	3	..	..	..	51	..		..
Midnapur	185	6	28	..	1	9	..		4
Hooghly	761	679	54	..	76	..	..		} 46
Howrah	109	5	6	..	16	17	..		
24-Parganas	1,375	1,353	765	..	1,128	659	..		92
Calcutta	433	22	282	..	100	30	..		..
Nadia	147	143	..	..	941	664	..		336
Murshidabad	293	189	169	..	109	180	..		472
Malda	4,027	1,821	4,359	..	4,106	2,709	1,256		..
West Dinajpur	3,383	3,835	4,707	..	5,078	2,620	..		66
Jalpaiguri	2,610	1,995	2,142	..	1,977	559	..		..
Darjeeling	249	307	117	..	232	271	..		..
Cooch Behar	22	..	1	..	4	..	..		..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..

STATE TABLE V

Comparative Table of Scheduled Tribes, 1872-1951

Name of Tribe—BHUTIA

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931*	1921	1911†	1901‡	1891	1881	1872
Total	4,810	7,808	A=14,749 B= 1,422	15,707	A=16,917 B= 2,211	A=14,426 B= 2,555	12,900	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	..	..	83	..	..	..	..	..	..
Birbhum	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bankura	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Midnapur	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hooghly	142	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howrah	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24-Parganas	18	..	..	..	16	..	..	..	..
Calcutta	14	..	376	..	446	3	..	..	..
Nadia	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Murshidabad	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Malda	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Dinajpur	..	..	15	..	3	..	..	..	..
Jalpaiguri	616	321	3,630	4,997	5,673	6,798	4,001	..	..
Darjeeling	4,018	7,487	10,629	10,710	10,768	7,620	8,899	..	..
Cooch Behar	..	..	7	..	10	5	..	..	..
SIKKIM	15,672	13,174	11,554§	11,580	12,414	8,185	..	..	..

*Total A includes 13,246 Buddhists and 81 Animists. B represents Hindus.
†Total A includes 14,541 Buddhists and 165 Animists. B represents Hindus.
‡Total A includes 11,871 Buddhists. B represents Hindus.
Note—In 1891 and 1921, religions have not been separately shown.
§Bhutias of Sikkim are all Buddhists except 5 Animists.
Note—*See* note on page 94.

Name of Tribe—LEPCHA

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931*	1921	1911	1901	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	13,430	12,468	A=12,719 B= 214	9,669	9,842	10,052	9,717	26	3,952
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	District figures are not available separately.	..
Birbhum	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Bankura	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Midnapur	3	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Hooghly	31	..	..	..	2	..	..		..
Howrah	1	..	1	..	..	..	..		..
24-Parganas	23	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Calcutta	7	..	101	..	4	..	..		..
Nadia	..	..	..	..	1	..	..		..
Murshidabad	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Malda	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
West Dinajpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Jalpaiguri	201	..	511	..	129	80	..		..
Darjeeling	13,164	12,468	12,101	9,669	9,706	9,972	9,717		3,952
Cooch Behar	..	..	1	..	..	..	..		..
SIKKIM	13,756	12,523	13,060	9,021	9,031	7,313	..		..

*Total A includes 456 Tribals, 10,099 Buddhists and 1,950 Christians. B—Hindus.

Note—In 1901 and 1911 all Lepchas were Buddhists.

Name of Tribe—MECH

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931*	1921	1911†	1901‡	1891	(Undivided Bengal) 1881	1872
Total	10,787	7,158	A=9,981 B=4,872	10,777	A=19,893 B= 7,022	A=23,247 B=19,709	25,386	9,009	933
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	District figures are not available separately.	..
Birbhum	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Bankura	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Midnapur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Hooghly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Howrah	.	..	..	.	..	..	..		..
24-Parganas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Calcutta	..	..	15	..	..	..	..		..
Nadia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Murshidabad	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Malda	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
West Dinajpur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Jalpaiguri	10,507	6,886	9,510	10,777	19,893	22,350	21,608		40
Darjeeling	224	272	379	.	.	340	..		893
Cooch Behar	56	..	77	..	..	557	3,778		..
SIKKIM	1	..	..	..	..	1	..		..

*Total A includes 2,561 Tribals, 2,541 Christians and 7 Buddhists. B—Hindus.

†Total A includes 12,871 Animists. B—Hindus.

‡Total A includes 3,538 Animists. B—Hindus.

Name of Tribe—MRU

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931*	1921	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Total	4,696	1,497	A=46 B=38	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	102	..	..	..	..	..	..	Less than 1,000 in a district not recorded in the Census Report.	..
Birbhum	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Bankura	21	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Midnapur	1,565	..	8	..	..	..	..		..
Hooghly	1,138	..	16	..	..	..	..		..
Howrah	11	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
24-Parganas	603	..	.	..	..	..	..		..
Calcutta	8	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Nadia	2	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Murshidabad	113	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Malda	28	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
West Dinajpur	236	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
Jalpaiguri	674	932	..	..	..	..	..		..
Darjeeling	195	565	22	..	..	..	..		..
Cooch Behar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..

*Total A includes 8 Tribals. B—Hindus.

Name of Tribe—MUNDA

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931*	1921†	1911‡	1901§	1891	1881 (Undivided Bengal)	1872
Total	82,923	65,332	A=82,669 B=46,597	A=76,160 B=27,378	A=41,023 B=13,218	A=36,508 B=26,367	7,730	3,737	..
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,457	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	2,447	554	494	1,300	1,302	1,142	..	District figures are not available separately.	..
Birbhum	175	105	707	1,018	157	217	..		..
Bankura	234	121	542	173	222	207	1,327		..
Midnapur	5,030	2,796	2,911	4,639	2,686	1,238	2,388		..
Hooghly	1,293	855	590	646	787	992	..		..
Howrah	461	427	741	368	592	470	..		..
24-Parganas	17,627	16,314	20,669	16,925	13,165	9,229	..		..
Calcutta	86	13	627	463	155	81	..		..
Nadia	1,371	1,378	1,720	1,706	826	577	..		..
Murshidabad	236	413	539	811	565	580	..		..
Malda	132	274	2,062	424	732	213	..		..
West Dinajpur	8,374	5,463	9,193	7,512	6,355	5,873	..		..
Jalpaiguri	39,490	33,964	36,624	34,601	10,789	11,672	2,732		..
Darjeeling	5,752	2,655	5,062	5,322	2,437	3,984	1,283		..
Cooch Behar	215	..	188	252	253	33	..		..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..

*Total A includes 33,479 Tribals, 2,592 Christians and 1 Buddhist. B—Hindus.

†Total A includes 48,782 Animists. B—Hindus.

‡Total A includes 27,805 Animists. B—Hindus.

§Total A includes 10,141 Animists. B—Hindus.

Name of Tribe—ORAON

WEST BENGAL:	1951	1941	1931*	1921†	1911‡	1901	1891§	1881 (Undivided Bengal)	1872 (Includes Dhangar)
Total	203,296	170,915	A=197,466 B=119,064	A=175,809 B= 51,562	A=139,593 B=67,261	A=102,983 B=95,859	30,071	2,929	25,168
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	4,555	598	1,290	1,032	515	759	..	District figures are not available separately.	991
Birbhum	802	47	75	187	433	94	..		5,159
Bankura	287	34	7	20	20	13	..		105
Midnapur	3,043	958	930	1,733	577	537	..		528
Hooghly	5,706	3,732	4,417	3,189	3,231	3,460	1,993		626
Howrah	1,573	1,176	1,959	2,049	2,932	3,328	1,318		
24-Parganas	20,428	12,908	16,021	13,424	12,055	5,931	..		3,362
Calcutta	52	23	498	63	79	510	..		..
Nadia	3,381	4,949	4,735	3,015	3,838	1,818	..		265
Murshidabad	1,239	1,842	3,274	2,084	2,607	1,697	..		6,131
Malda	7,503	3,433	4,961	5,745	4,198	3,559	..		3,165
West Dinajpur	20,674	14,188	18,667	16,046	14,881	10,371	1,386		2,735
Jalpaiguri	115,776	117,235	127,530	115,350	89,483	62,844	20,051		453
Darjeeling	17,217	9,792	12,412	10,952	4,739	8,042	5,323		1,648
Cooch Behar	1,060	..	690	920	5	20	..		..
SIKKIM	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..

*Total A includes 71,176 Tribals, 7,147 Christians and 79 Buddhists. B—Hindus.

†Total A includes 124,247 Animists. B—Hindus.

‡Total A includes 72,332 Animists. B—Hindus.

§Total A includes 7,124 Animists. B—Hindus.

Name of Tribe—SANTAL

West Bengal :	1951	1941	1931*	1921†	1911‡	1901§	1891	1881	1872
Total	845,395	662,651	A=753,663 B=401,932	A=672,615 B=141,997	A=636,900 B=230,712	A=512,047 B=256,997	304,122	36,622	138,862
Total Hindus	19,462,706	15,675,021	13,411,957	12,354,763	12,759,100	12,323,909	10,973,975	11,157,448	10,679,168
Burdwan	127,441	115,547	101,522	79,099	65,979	46,457	22,256	5,806	4,487
Birbhum	78,440	60,920	64,079	57,180	56,087	47,221	21,770	726	6,954
Bankura	137,659	118,476	114,577	104,912	115,017	105,682	101,537	20,034	25,378
Midnapur	202,882	151,132	169,750	152,751	161,532	148,251	119,159	565	96,921
Hooghly	48,933	47,974	38,013	34,953	22,992	9,955	4,109	36	} 46
Howrah	4,364	1,136	1,426	959	532	327	..	67	
24-Parganas	23,002	2,209	4,721	2,043	685	2,233	1,499	31	814
Calcutta	166	28	736	291	56	27	..	..	..
Nadia	6,234	2,542	1,292	1,751	353	369	..	29	6
Murshidabad	21,853	17,357	22,725	18,403	14,393	12,556	4,879	1,663	3,002
Malda	72,800	38,345	72,145	72,140	66,504	52,126	20,989	833	215
West Dinajpur	94,910	87,723	130,328	120,211	109,620	74,101	6,515	6,813	1,039
Jalpaiguri	21,928	16,411	27,859	23,988	22,033	10,857	1,409	..	..
Darjeeling	3,481	2,851	4,299	3,607	946	1,859	..	19	..
Cooch Behar	1,302	..	191	327	171	26	..	..	..
Sikkim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

*Total A includes 342,136 Tribals, 9,581 Christians and 14 Buddhists. B—Hindus.

†Total A includes 530,618 Animists. B—Hindus.

‡Total A includes 406,188 Animists. B—Hindus.

§Total A includes 255,050 Animists. B—Hindus.

STATE TABLE VI

Scheduled Castes by Livelihood Classes in 1951

State, Division and District	Total			Persons (including dependants) who derive their principal means of livelihood from							
				I Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependants		II Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependants		III Cultivating labourers and their dependants		IV Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent-receivers and their dependants	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
WEST BENGAL, CHANDERNAGORE AND SIKKIM	4,701,774	2,483,183	2,218,591	625,992	611,887	453,590	421,354	610,847	531,109	4,844	5,318
1·25 Himalayan West Bengal Division	530,747	286,878	243,869	127,030	110,735	97,019	79,795	12,609	10,029	865	1,014
2·11 West Bengal Plain Division	4,170,915	2,196,206	1,974,709	498,962	501,152	356,571	341,559	598,238	521,080	3,979	4,304
Chandernagore ..	5,457	3,889	1,568	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Sikkim ..	112	99	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
West Bengal ..	4,696,205	2,479,195	2,217,010	625,992	611,887	453,590	421,354	610,847	531,109	4,843	5,318
Burdwan Division ..	2,338,534	1,197,738	1,140,796	230,971	239,036	224,362	215,924	411,593	389,032	1,539	1,931
Burdwan ..	584,806	305,716	279,090	29,708	30,191	64,500	57,260	102,849	93,931	430	537
Birbhum ..	317,590	161,068	156,522	23,048	23,610	26,149	24,873	82,560	74,166	292	252
Bankura ..	411,499	206,862	204,637	48,262	47,519	30,713	32,862	91,700	92,380	188	478
Midnapur ..	482,793	242,317	240,476	81,538	81,138	56,043	53,203	61,864	66,459	396	426
Hooghly ..	320,124	161,825	158,299	33,505	45,000	35,549	35,498	46,958	38,137	153	199
Howrah ..	221,722	119,950	101,772	14,910	11,578	11,408	12,228	25,662	23,959	80	39
Presidency Division ..	2,357,671	1,281,457	1,076,214	395,021	372,851	229,228	205,430	199,254	142,077	3,304	3,387
24-Parganas ..	1,052,602	563,635	488,967	169,268	170,000	77,157	69,809	124,250	79,194	1,860	1,742
Calcutta ..	123,691	89,962	33,729	322	21	57	3	8	9	129	236
Nadia ..	191,402	106,193	85,209	26,356	23,885	13,276	12,713	16,686	10,674	180	131
Murshidabad ..	199,732	102,615	97,117	15,959	16,384	13,972	13,271	28,431	25,704	88	95
Malda ..	136,379	65,177	71,202	26,947	28,934	10,160	12,813	8,532	9,225	22	21
West Dinajpur ..	123,118	66,997	56,121	29,139	22,892	17,587	17,026	8,738	7,242	160	148
Jalpaiguri ..	235,203	127,566	107,637	41,863	35,459	49,287	39,251	2,007	1,276	455	522
Darjeeling ..	26,080	14,881	11,199	4,956	4,348	3,939	3,338	521	343	47	45
Cooch Behar ..	269,464	144,431	125,033	80,211	70,928	43,793	37,206	10,081	8,410	363	447

State, Division and District	Persons (including dependants) who derive their principal means of livelihood from							
	V Production other than cultivation		VI Commerce		VII Transport		VIII Other services and miscellaneous sources	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
WEST BENGAL, CHANDERNAGORE AND SIKKIM	372,794	308,915	103,762	80,645	54,291	28,944	257,063	230,419
1·25 Himalayan West Bengal Division	29,790	32,276	4,132	2,529	2,429	1,058	13,004	6,433
2·11 West Bengal Plain Division	342,970	276,633	99,630	78,116	51,862	27,886	243,994	223,979
Chandernagore ..	2,721	989	5	310	219	137	943	132
Sikkim ..	34	6	..	..	..	..	65	7
West Bengal ..	370,039	307,920	103,757	80,335	54,072	28,807	256,055	230,280
Burdwan Division ..	171,664	141,963	35,052	36,728	23,028	15,995	99,529	100,187
Burdwan ..	70,883	58,541	6,376	6,947	5,645	3,435	25,325	28,248
Birbhum ..	8,607	13,557	1,876	1,861	1,231	1,005	17,305	17,198
Bankura ..	19,954	16,210	3,369	4,619	2,246	1,657	10,430	8,912
Midnapur ..	13,704	14,767	8,639	7,828	4,442	3,550	15,691	13,105
Hooghly ..	22,284	18,067	5,267	6,229	2,735	2,069	15,374	13,100
Howrah ..	36,232	20,821	9,525	9,244	6,729	4,279	15,404	19,624
Presidency Division ..	198,375	165,957	68,705	43,607	31,044	12,812	156,526	130,093
24-Parganas ..	89,918	81,431	33,727	18,898	9,618	4,908	57,837	62,985
Calcutta ..	29,842	8,012	14,890	5,822	14,421	4,279	30,293	15,347
Nadia ..	15,645	13,238	7,560	6,973	3,010	964	23,480	16,631
Murshidabad ..	22,092	20,731	5,602	6,162	959	929	15,512	13,841
Malda ..	8,138	7,621	1,415	2,062	302	386	9,661	10,140
West Dinajpur ..	2,950	2,648	1,379	1,161	305	288	6,739	4,716
Jalpaiguri ..	23,937	26,607	2,304	1,089	1,545	716	6,168	2,717
Darjeeling ..	3,012	2,081	588	318	277	139	1,541	587
Cooch Behar ..	2,841	3,588	1,240	1,122	607	203	5,295	3,129

STATE TABLE VII

Scheduled Tribes by Livelihood Classes* in 1951

Persons (including dependants) who derive their principal means of livelihood from

State, Division and District	Total			I Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependants		II Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependants		III Cultivating labourers and their dependants		IV Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent-receivers and their dependants	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
WEST BENGAL, CHANDERNAGORE AND SIKKIM	1,194,905	602,972	591,933	173,822	179,433	171,141	171,480	121,853	129,081	483	469
1·25 Himalayan West Bengal Division	235,876	127,107	108,769	14,815	16,153	30,514	29,610	1,344	827	272	265
2·11 West Bengal Plain Division	929,600	461,126	468,474	145,962	150,423	140,312	141,584	120,501	128,240	206	193
Chandernagore ..	139	77	62	..	.	..		..	.	..	..
Sikkim ..	29,429	14,739	14,690	13,045	12,857	315	286	8	14	5	11
West Bengal ..	1,165,337	588,156	577,181	160,777	166,576	170,826	171,194	121,845	129,067	478	458
Burdwan Division ..	628,341	305,705	322,636	101,912	108,396	73,882	76,944	92,700	104,046	110	109
Burdwan ..	134,545	71,652	62,893	5,993	5,020	23,420	20,885	20,017	19,679	22	16
Birbhum ..	79,417	39,046	40,371	10,068	10,011	12,336	13,000	13,785	13,699	8	14
Bankura ..	138,201	68,243	69,958	42,682	46,055	8,176	7,998	15,310	14,336	5	12
Midnapur ..	212,525	100,572	111,953	40,696	41,929	22,502	22,417	32,253	42,949	65	57
Hooghly ..	57,243	23,827	33,416	2,396	5,231	7,398	11,559	10,620	13,170	10	10
Howrah .	6,410	2,365	4,045	77	150	50	1,085	715	213	.	..
Presidency Division .	536,996	282,451	254,545	58,865	58,180	96,944	94,250	29,145	25,021	368	349
24-Parganas	61,701	32,942	28,759	11,229	11,327	8,010	7,750	7,852	5,189	47	12
Calcutta ..	333	233	100	1	.	.	..	.	.	3	..
Nadia ..	10,988	6,382	4,606	2,248	1,520	751	596	2,202	1,369	1	..
Murshidabad ..	23,441	11,491	11,950	997	1,747	3,848	3,844	4,032	4,076	.	..
Malda ..	80,463	40,724	39,739	12,036	11,742	21,634	20,721	3,309	3,676	13	21
West Dinajpur ..	124,194	63,572	60,622	17,539	15,691	32,187	31,729	10,406	9,884	32	51
Jalpaiguri ..	189,192	102,489	86,703	6,302	8,104	25,124	25,023	836	457	257	255
Darjeeling ..	44,051	23,107	20,944	8,160	7,614	4,451	4,114	453	316	15	10
Cooch Behar ..	2,633	1,511	1,122	353	435	939	473	55	54	..	..

Persons (including dependants) who derive their principal means of livelihood from

State, Division and District	V Production other than cultivation		VI Commerce		VII Transport		VIII Other services and miscellaneous sources	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
WEST BENGAL, CHANDERNAGORE AND SIKKIM	102,223	82,667	1,759	2,554	3,701	2,251	27,990	23,998
1·25 Himalayan West Bengal Division	73,122	58,421	503	509	1,581	549	4,956	2,435
2·11 West Bengal Plain Division	29,017	24,190	1,209	1,976	2,056	1,663	21,863	20,205
Chandernagore ..	70	62	..	.	.	..	7	.
Sikkim ..	84	56	47	69	64	39	1,171	1,358
West Bengal ..	102,069	82,549	1,712	2,485	3,637	2,212	26,812	22,640
Burdwan Division ..	23,843	20,647	596	1,430	1,557	817	11,105	10,247
Burdwan ..	18,539	13,960	172	222	559	248	2,930	2,863
Birbhum ..	758	1,255	11	19	34	28	2,046	2,345
Bankura ..	1,213	589	53	233	134	203	670	532
Midnapur ..	1,248	1,377	314	179	444	195	3,050	2,850
Hooghly ..	1,539	1,930	31	27	135	114	1,698	1,374
Howrah ..	546	1,536	15	750	251	29	711	282
Presidency Division ..	78,226	61,902	1,116	1,055	2,080	1,395	15,707	12,393
24-Parganas ..	3,487	1,847	196	48	220	675	1,901	1,911
Calcutta ..	3	6	10	16	15	4	201	74
Nadia	294	580	84	70	133	50	669	421
Murshidabad	774	635	124	244	66	34	1,650	1,370
Malda ..	177	162	50	132	15	44	3,490	3,241
West Dinajpur ..	369	251	149	36	50	39	2,840	2,941
Jalpaiguri ..	65,215	51,073	178	205	1,389	418	3,188	1,168
Darjeeling ..	7,771	7,190	316	304	192	131	1,749	1,265
Cooch Behar ..	136	158	9	..	..	..	19	2

*See note on page 94.

STATE TABLE VIII

Population of Scheduled Castes and Tribes by Census Tracts

[For the Population of 'Bhutias', see note on page 94]

Due to considerations of economy, tabulation in the late census was not performed by the administrative thana divisions of subdivisions and districts but by the arbitrary device of rural and urban census tracts. Each administrative district was first divided into two kinds of tracts: rural and urban. Urban areas of a district were first separated and combined into groups, due regard being paid to geographical proximity and the predominating characteristics of their populations. Thus industrial towns of a district were as far as possible grouped together, while residential towns formed another group and so on. The same principle applied to rural tracts. But nowhere was the district boundary transgressed. The rural areas were grouped by whole thanas, out of which the urban population was first abstracted, and as far as possible, geographical contiguity or, as an alternative homogeneity of livelihood characteristics, was the guiding principle. It was aimed to fix the extent of a rural tract to one containing an average population of about 200,000, and an urban tract of about 100,000. All cities were each made a city tract. The following is a statement of the number of tracts in each district :

Districts	No. of city tracts	No. of urban tracts	No. of rural tracts
WEST BENGAL	7	36	100
Burdwan	..	4	7
Birbhum	..	1	5
Bankura	..	2	7
Midnapur	1	2	16
Hooghly	..	4	6
Howrah	1	2	5
24-Parganas	4	11	18
Calcutta	1	..	..
Nadia	..	2	6
Murshidabad	..	2	8
Malda	..	1	4
West Dinajpur	..	1	4
Jalpaiguri	..	1	5
Darjeeling	..	2	4
Cooch Behar	..	1	5
CHANDERNAGORE	..	1	..

WEST BENGAL
District : Burdwan

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Total			Rural			Urban			Rural—1 Burdwan, Khandaghosh and Raina (excluding town)		Rural—2 Jamalpur and Memari (excluding town)		Rural—3 Galsi, Bhatar and Ausgram	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Scheduled Castes															
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	584,806	305,716	279,090	536,878	281,394	255,484	47,928	24,322	23,606	39,126	32,815	27,484	26,345	45,960	43,737
1 Bagdi	..	99,639	90,032	..	97,803	87,900	..	1,836	2,132	23,415	18,106	13,091	12,333	25,104	24,187
2 Bahelia	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	542	521	..	529	492	..	13	29	80	55	48	58	38	32
4 Bauri	..	59,937	64,225	..	54,181	57,252	..	5,756	6,973	1,792	1,584	4,170	4,126	5,278	5,412
5 Bediya	..	289	118	..	266	110	..	23	8	..	5	14	..	..	6
6 Beldar	..	168	51	..	118	26	..	50	25	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	40	70	..	33	68	..	7	2	..	5	..	1	..	..
8 Bhuiya	..	8,737	6,739	..	7,625	5,974	..	1,112	765	93	106	152	513	177	215
9 Bhumij	..	868	683	..	863	672	..	5	11	41	36	654	363	10	4
10 Bind	..	109	39	..	90	30	..	19	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
11 Chamar	..	8,657	3,960	..	6,449	2,232	..	2,208	1,728	428	78	216	241	380	287
12 Dhoba	..	2,600	1,989	..	1,853	1,279	..	747	710	164	132	160	71	115	81
13 Doai	..	2	185	..	1	74	..	1	111	..	74	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	..	16,373	15,576	..	15,205	14,514	..	1,168	1,062	1,622	1,229	619	587	4,210	3,988
15 Dosadh	..	3,861	2,339	..	2,728	1,476	..	1,133	863	37	..	39	61	6	8
16 Ghasi	..	6	71	..	..	57	..	6	14	..	..	..	2	..	55
17 Gonrhi	..	173	484	..	106	466	..	67	18	..	77	..	..	71	..
18 Hari	..	10,190	10,556	..	8,860	8,898	..	1,330	1,658	1,123	1,076	906	904	1,058	1,039
19 Jalia Kaibartta	..	5,655	5,388	..	5,189	4,881	..	466	507	376	669	872	748	501	288
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	645	564	..	618	497	..	27	67	1	4	25	1	..	55
21 Kadar	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	47	16	..	47	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	..	1,524	976	..	855	418	..	669	558	240	55	51	49	52	44
24 Karenga	..	6	3	..	6	..	..	..	3	6	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	6	2	..	..	..	..	6	2	..	..	..	..	..	..

26 Kaur . . .	..	46	5	..	40	3	..	6	2	..	3	4	..	..	..
27 Khaira . . .	..	2,627	2,288	..	2,492	2,098	..	135	190	77	86	914	982	116	80
28 Khatik . . .	..	126	80	..	8	1	..	118	79	..	..	..	..	..	..
29 Koch . . .	..	1	45	..	..	45	..	1	..	..	43	..	..	..	..
30 Konai . . .	..	61	59	..	57	59	..	4	..	20	23	..	..	..	..
31 Konwar . . .	..	104	127	..	29	36	..	75	91	23	5	2	19	..	10
32 Kora . . .	..	7,306	7,295	..	7,072	7,038	..	234	257	538	697	1,456	1,509	784	872
33 Kotal . . .	..	2,207	2,102	..	2,198	2,094	..	9	8	196	157	96	115	383	345
34 Lalbegi . . .	..	48	47	..	..	9	..	48	38	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha . . .	..	73	54	..	65	54	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar . . .	..	2,802	2,512	..	2,646	2,417	..	156	95	137	125	130	116	1,307	1,180
37 Mahar . . .	..	394	93	..	379	19	..	15	74	..	..	66	1	4	..
38 Mahli . . .	..	741	675	..	704	637	..	37	38	26	9	67	62	84	75
39 Mal . . .	..	2,086	1,536	..	2,036	1,465	..	50	71	262	264	430	190	223	192
40 Mallah . . .	.	958	818	..	802	770	..	156	48	143	14	78	356	63	79
41 Malpahariya . .	..	..	5	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
42 Methor . . .	..	1,949	1,643	..	1,346	1,055	..	603	588	17	36	14	23	19	47
43 Muchi . . .	..	35,137	30,405	..	32,812	29,099	..	2,325	1,306	5,646	5,565	1,850	1,622	4,957	4,188
44 Musahar . . .	..	376	76	..	330	54	..	46	22	..	..	5	..	1	8
45 Nagesia . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra . .	..	15,135	15,882	..	14,380	14,263	..	755	1,619	2,325	2,205	1,121	1,142	688	650
47 Nuniya . . .	..	2,628	1,693	..	2,146	1,282	..	482	411	91	34	4	2	12	7
48 Paliya . . .	..	5	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan . . .	..	1	4	..	..	1	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi . . .	..	2,171	764	..	1,760	491	..	411	273	3	..	24	3	4	1
51 Patni . . .	..	1,162	842	..	1,023	723	..	139	119	109	94	85	56	29	137
52 Pod . . .	..	119	95	..	17	15	..	102	80	1	2	..	..	2	..
53 Rabha . . .	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi . .	..	1,831	1,577	..	1,656	1,435	..	175	142	46	65	44	38	10	11
55 Rajwar . . .	..	1,123	755	..	698	466	..	425	289	7	57	6	4	9	14
56 Sunri . . .	..	1,509	1,340	..	1,236	1,170	..	273	170	17	20	34	12	105	36
57 Tiyar . . .	..	867	214	..	239	74	..	628	140	1	1	..	..	4	10
58 Turi . . .	..	2,043	1,468	..	1,793	1,274	..	250	194	19	16	37	35	156	147

Scheduled Tribes

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	134,545	71,652	62,893	129,856	69,387	60,469	4,689	2,265	2,424	4,652	4,045	13,002	13,008	12,098	11,680
1 Bhutia . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru . . .	..	14	88	..	6	88	..	8	..	..	..	..	44	..	..
5 Munda . . .	..	1,339	1,108	..	1,052	820	..	287	288	6	9	2	..	38	22
6 Oraon . . .	..	2,673	1,882	..	2,404	1,712	..	269	170	291	223	59	28	109	136
7 Santal . . .	..	67,626	59,815	..	65,925	57,849	..	1,701	1,966	4,355	3,813	12,941	12,936	11,951	11,522

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—4 Salanpur, Kulti, Hirapur, Asansol, Barabani and Jamuria (excluding towns)		Rural—5 Raniganj, Ondal, Faridpur and Kanksa (excluding towns)		Rural—6 Kalna, Purbasthali and Manteswar (excluding towns)		Rural—7 Katwa, Mangalkot and Ketugram (excluding towns)		Urban—1 Burdawn and Memari Towns		Urban—2 Chittaranjan, Kulti, Barakar, Disergarh and Neamatpur Towns		Urban—3 Burnpur, Asansol, Raniganj and Ondal Towns		Urban—4 Kalna, Katwa and Dainhat Towns	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Scheduled Castes—*concld.*																
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	57,306	46,912	35,673	36,954	34,473	30,280	41,372	38,441	2,804	4,188	10,184	9,185	8,212	7,029	3,122	3,204
1 Bagdi	2,022	1,978	3,091	4,447	13,764	9,661	17,316	17,188	833	1,138	143	249	452	154	408	591
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	25	..	10	15	96	75	232	257	..	10	1	..	2	1	10	18
4 Bauri	24,602	24,712	12,572	15,659	2,883	2,656	2,884	3,103	277	779	2,942	3,653	2,156	2,248	381	293
5 Bediya	100	20	..	12	138	22	14	45	..	..	..	..	8	8	15	..
6 Beldar	75	8	29	10	..	..	14	8	..	..	41	11	9	14	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	..	1	24	3	7	29	31	..	..	2	..	5	..	..	2
8 Bhuiya	4,410	3,186	2,549	1,799	202	124	42	31	83	58	586	458	321	205	122	44
9 Bhumij	14	55	37	42	105	138	2	34	5	7	..	1	..	..	..	3
10 Bind	31	..	37	9	22	20	..	1	..	..	9	3	10	6	..	..
11 Chamar	3,749	912	1,357	568	205	39	114	107	46	114	1,592	1,199	426	357	144	58
12 Dhoba	550	302	262	157	345	327	257	209	115	114	242	221	313	312	77	63
13 Doai	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	111	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	2,553	2,166	2,813	3,448	844	837	2,544	2,262	233	200	331	301	369	410	235	151
15 Dosadh	1,872	1,005	715	397	13	1	46	4	34	70	521	329	492	463	86	1
16 Ghasi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	14	1	..
17 Gonrhi	35	197	..	192	..	..	..	..	..	..	41	6	26	12	..	..
18 Hari	1,206	1,093	880	1,202	1,498	1,463	2,189	2,121	54	71	601	819	538	587	137	181
19 Jalia Kaibartta	1,155	986	648	780	872	931	765	479	68	97	172	161	121	110	105	139
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	124	123	318	158	72	146	78	60	1	..	2	13	1	6	23	48
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	47	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	194	222	290	30	21	18	7	..	81	91	174	43	354	420	60	4
24 Karenga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	5	1	..	3
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

26 Kaur	11	..	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	5	..
27 Khaira	369	204	787	530	223	210	6	6	85	133	3	5	47	52	..	..
28 Khatik	6	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	6	32	72	35	40	12	..	..
29 Kooh	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
30 Konai	14	..	..	8	2	2	21	26	1	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
31 Konwar	..	..	..	2	..	..	4	..	6	47	15	3	52	34	2	7
32 Kora	2,337	2,157	1,489	1,224	360	463	108	116	72	54	66	48	95	150	1	5
33 Kotal	52	25	4	10	228	227	1,239	1,215	8	5	1	..	..	..	..	3
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	48	36	..	..
35 Lodha	50	37	10	9	5	8	..	..	..	..	2	..	6	..	..	..
36 Lohar	299	189	590	663	102	44	81	100	10	17	76	31	43	36	27	11
37 Mahar	267	18	42	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	66	5	8	..	..
38 Mahli	404	382	89	78	25	26	9	5	6	21	20	4	11	12	..	1
39 Mal	77	15	89	130	845	489	110	185	27	48	2	9	7	8	14	6
40 Mallah	244	80	122	62	78	99	74	80	3	3	48	17	65	11	40	17
41 Malpahariya	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	556	564	273	302	37	45	430	38	118	103	151	163	268	263	66	59
43 Muchi	4,315	3,021	4,122	3,772	3,600	3,577	8,322	7,354	193	280	910	351	884	546	338	129
44 Musahar	267	7	5	20	4	19	48	..	1	2	44	9	..	1	1	10
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	197	34	55	64	7,071	7,585	2,923	2,583	123	290	82	51	94	56	456	1,222
47 Nuniya	1,259	887	598	264	27	84	155	4	4	38	349	301	128	67	1	5
48 Paliya	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	1,133	333	581	142	8	3	7	9	115	103	126	61	134	103	36	6
51 Patni	403	114	247	122	75	46	75	154	7	4	121	101	7	8	4	6
52 Pod	11	4	..	..	3	8	..	1	24	13	23	30	46	37	9	..
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	100	70	63	13	546	827	847	411	64	49	10	16	11	12	90	65
55 Rajwar	332	241	133	76	15	1	196	73	17	25	176	160	214	101	18	3
56 Sunri	616	643	267	307	28	24	169	128	17	23	121	58	88	52	47	37
57 Tiyar	55	38	119	2	48	12	12	11	38	12	158	40	270	77	162	11
58 Turi	1,214	878	354	196	13	..	..	2	24	21	193	156	32	17	1	..

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	17,721	17,000	11,070	6,245	8,532	6,548	2,312	1,943	503	757	910	988	432	182	420	497
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	1	..	4	..	1	44	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	281	276	424	283	285	199	16	31	1	52	156	179	102	57	28	..
6 Oraon	708	435	959	559	142	236	136	95	23	43	77	39	62	26	107	62
7 Santal	16,731	16,289	9,683	5,403	8,104	6,069	2,160	1,817	479	662	669	770	268	99	285	435

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Total			Rural			Urban			Rural—8 Suri, Sainthia and Rajnagar (excluding town)	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Scheduled Castes											
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	317,590	161,068	156,522	300,389	152,829	147,560	17,201	8,239	8,962	27,468	26,702
1 Bagdi	..	44,164	43,243	..	42,897	41,562	..	1,267	1,681	6,363	6,105
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	423	104	..	418	102	..	5	2	352	31
4 Bauri	..	18,114	17,792	..	16,639	16,368	..	1,475	1,424	3,265	3,472
5 Bediya	..	123	122	..	114	120	..	9	2	100	106
6 Beldar	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	1,799	1,635	..	1,796	1,627	..	3	8	..	..
8 Bhuiya	..	931	734	..	849	650	..	82	84	272	217
9 Bhumij	..	26	8	..	26	8	..	..	..	..	..
10 Bind	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
11 Chamar	..	1,403	1,422	..	1,353	1,370	..	50	52	291	143
12 Dhoba	..	615	670	..	527	521	..	88	149	211	189
13 Doai	..	..	5	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	..	15,423	15,260	..	14,557	14,364	..	866	896	3,924	4,120
15 Dosadh	..	102	40	..	70	14	..	32	26	44	..
16 Ghasi	..	1	5	..	1	5	..	..	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	..	7,816	7,720	..	6,930	6,703	..	886	1,017	1,680	1,827
19 Jalia Kaibartta	..	3,232	2,604	..	3,015	2,383	..	217	221	540	164
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	112	340	..	107	339	..	5	1	33	312
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
22 Kandra	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24 Karenga	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

26 Kaur	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
27 Khaira	..	267	243	..	264	242	..	3	1	137	152
28 Khatik	..	5	1	..	5	..	..	..	1	..	..
29 Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	7,627	7,045	..	7,122	6,576	..	505	469	179	152
31 Konwar	..	17	20	..	4	7	..	13	13	1	2
32 Kora	..	2,460	2,225	..	2,274	2,092	..	186	133	557	490
33 Kotal	..	137	126	..	135	116	..	2	10	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	8	3	..	8	..	..	..	3	..	..
36 Lohar	..	1,621	1,656	..	1,561	1,570	..	60	86	309	324
37 Mahar	..	386	454	..	294	353	..	92	101	153	126
38 Mahli	..	465	325	..	462	325	..	3	..	109	87
39 Mal	..	19,391	20,250	..	18,991	19,700	..	400	550	2,502	2,520
40 Mallah	..	484	424	..	465	423	..	19	1	174	5
41 Malpahariya	..	127	82	..	127	82	..	..	..	85	20
42 Methor	..	2,139	1,237	..	2,104	1,199	..	35	38	1,841	723
43 Muchi	..	22,244	22,140	..	20,749	20,579	..	1,495	1,561	3,585	4,829
44 Musahar	..	134	69	..	76	17	..	58	52	22	..
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	..	1,326	1,242	..	1,317	1,205	..	9	37	178	151
47 Nuniya	..	26	23	..	26	23	..	..	..	5	1
48 Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	..	19	70	..	19	70	..	..	..	1	4
50 Pasi	..	44	13	..	27	12	..	17	1	5	..
51 Patni	..	328	179	..	317	173	..	11	6	108	5
52 Pod	..	2,524	2,664	..	2,496	2,658	..	28	6	3	..
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	..	2,276	1,989	..	2,262	1,940	..	14	49	4	..
55 Rajwar	..	71	54	..	57	41	..	14	13	21	15
56 Sunri	..	2,434	2,059	..	2,179	1,823	..	255	236	412	397
57 Tiyar	..	124	138	..	124	138	..	..	..	..	1
58 Turi	..	97	81	..	63	50	..	34	31	2	10

Scheduled Tribes

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	79,417	39,046	40,371	77,291	38,327	38,964	2,126	719	1,407	9,197	9,276
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	..	76	99	..	75	79	..	1	20	10	2
6 Oraon	..	57	745	..	57	745	..	..	..	16	315
7 Santal	..	38,913	39,527	..	38,195	38,140	..	718	1,387	9,171	8,959

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—9 Dubrajpur, Mahammadbazar and Khoyrasol (excluding town)		Rural—10 Bolpur, Illambazar, Labpur and Nanoor (excluding town)		Rural—11 Rampurhat and Mayureswar (excluding town)		Rural—12 Nalhati and Murarai		Urban—30 Suri, Sainthia, Dubrajpur, Bolpur and Rampurhat	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Scheduled Castes—*concld.*										
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	29,614	26,919	35,782	34,761	30,032	28,193	29,933	30,985	8,239	8,962
1 Bagdi	7,113	6,473	12,331	11,921	12,222	11,697	4,868	5,366	1,267	1,681
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	13	21	18	13	30	12	5	25	5	2
4 Bauri	8,903	8,643	3,138	3,203	1,037	777	296	273	1,475	1,424
5 Bediya	3	1	7	3	4	4	..	6	9	2
6 Beldar	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	1	3	3	372	323	1,421	1,300	3	8
8 Bhuiya	288	176	102	80	93	103	94	74	82	84
9 Bhumij	..	..	11	8	15	..	..	..	..	..
10 Bind	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11 Chamar	296	291	8	21	213	313	545	602	50	52
12 Dhoba	44	42	90	102	78	69	104	119	88	149
13 Doai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..
14 Dom	4,972	4,432	4,116	4,111	1,080	1,011	465	690	866	896
15 Dosadh	7	..	..	..	14	2	5	12	32	26
16 Ghasi	..	5	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	696	526	3,223	3,122	611	467	720	761	886	1,017
19 Jalia Kaibartta	701	591	780	776	632	506	362	346	217	221
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	1	62	24	..	1	12	1	5	1
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24 Karenga	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

26	Kaur	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
27	Khaira	114	86	..	..	2	..	11	4	3	1
28	Khatik	1	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	1
29	Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30	Konai	201	139	210	156	2,560	2,423	3,972	3,706	505	469
31	Konwar	3	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	13	13
32	Kora	98	153	864	773	265	175	490	501	186	133
33	Kotal	..	..	135	116	..	..	..	..	2	10
34	Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Lodha	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	3
36	Lohar	98	173	1,065	1,016	35	17	54	40	60	86
37	Mahar	43	116	3	..	4	16	91	95	92	101
38	Mahli	144	119	73	58	9	11	127	50	3	..
39	Mal	1,167	1,212	673	744	5,134	5,019	9,515	10,205	400	550
40	Mallah	1	2	..	..	32	39	258	377	19	1
41	Malpahariya	..	1	1	7	1	..	40	54	..	..
42	Methor	..	250	85	127	125	16	53	83	35	38
43	Muchi	3,594	2,676	7,834	7,573	3,477	3,209	2,259	2,292	1,495	1,561
44	Musahar	20	5	23	12	10	..	1	..	58	52
45	Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46	Namosudra	115	105	284	236	138	138	602	575	9	37
47	Nuniya	1	..	..	2	13	..	7	20	..	..
48	Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49	Pan	..	..	9	33	..	..	9	33	..	..
50	Pasi	13	4	1	8	..	..	8	..	17	1
51	Patni	75	55	67	81	32	11	35	21	11	6
52	Pod	59	33	..	..	1,007	1,168	1,427	1,457	28	6
53	Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54	Rajbanshi	..	..	23	6	346	245	1,889	1,689	14	49
55	Rajwar	15	18	..	..	9	..	12	8	14	13
56	Sunri	801	565	542	420	333	349	91	92	255	236
57	Tiyar	..	..	..	..	45	39	79	98	..	..
58	Turi	13	2	1	..	41	33	6	5	34	31

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

	ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	7,359	8,103	10,827	10,828	6,857	6,558	4,087	4,199	719	1,407
1	Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Mru	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	Munda	16	13	..	..	12	14	37	50	1	20
6	Oraon	..	..	24	3	..	..	17	427	..	..
7	Santal	7,343	8,090	10,803	10,825	6,845	6,544	4,033	3,722	718	1,387

WEST BENGAL

District : Bankura

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Total			Rural			Urban			Rural—13 Bankura, Onda and Chhatna (excluding town)		Rural—14 Gangajalghati and Barjora	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Scheduled Castes													
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES . .	411,499	206,862	204,637	390,284	196,274	194,010	21,215	10,588	10,627	43,155	39,010	19,458	21,444
1 Bagdi	..	44,838	42,764	..	43,210	41,200	..	1,628	1,564	3,989	3,422	2,217	1,642
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	143	93	..	74	67	..	74	26	10	8	..	7
4 Bauri	..	65,743	67,138	..	62,443	63,536	..	3,300	3,602	18,695	18,000	11,266	11,471
5 Bediya	..	144	159	..	144	159	..	..	..	19	38	5	5
6 Beldar	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	48	665	..	47	664	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
8 Bhuiya	..	2,240	2,412	..	2,230	2,408	..	10	4	209	301	27	277
9 Bhumij	..	8,270	7,313	..	8,260	7,306	..	10	7	486	465	6	..
10 Bind	..	47	47	..	47	38	..	..	9	3	31	21	..
11 Chamar	..	170	186	..	170	184	..	..	2	8	20	10	24
12 Dhoba	..	1,599	1,449	..	1,261	1,118	..	338	331	270	170	100	90
13 Doai	..	280	109	..	280	109	..	..	..	..	..	110	109
14 Dom	..	6,762	5,894	..	6,506	5,648	..	256	246	1,430	881	582	804
15 Dosadh	..	2	5	..	1	5	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
16 Ghasi	..	8	13	..	2	4	..	6	9	..	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	..	4,066	3,643	..	3,166	2,618	..	900	1,025	583	269	130	138
19 Jalia Kaibartta . . .	..	2,164	2,898	..	1,767	2,434	..	397	464	378	283	56	212
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo . .	..	967	569	..	960	568	..	7	1	219	501	18	6
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	5	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..
23 Kaora	..	148	59	..	148	59	..	..	..	..	2	..	1
24 Karenga	..	286	161	..	213	158	..	73	3	68	46	2	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

26	Kaur	..	..	4	..	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
27	Khaira	..	12,322	13,335	..	12,244	13,205	..	78	130	4,370	4,301	1,381	1,606
28	Khatik	..	1	8	..	..	..	..	1	8	..	..	..	..
29	Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30	Konai	..	273	16	..	273	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
31	Konwar	..	21	23	..	19	23	..	2	..	..	21	..	..
32	Kora	..	2,367	2,963	..	2,350	2,952	..	17	11	312	391	3	54
33	Kotal	..	65	85	..	54	78	..	11	7	5	10	..	..
34	Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Lodha	..	23	..	..	23	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
36	Lohar	..	14,102	14,212	..	12,440	12,603	..	1,662	1,609	2,396	2,028	594	677
37	Mahar	..	1	140	..	1	139	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
38	Mahli	.	397	409	..	396	399	..	1	10	52	9	78	96
39	Mal	..	7,435	6,624	..	6,968	6,113	..	467	511	4,980	3,594	92	135
40	Mallah	..	266	264	..	256	254	..	10	10	106	104	41	12
41	Malpahariya	.	..	3	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42	Methor	..	162	144	..	67	36	..	95	108	37	..	..	..
43	Muchi	..	6,910	6,065	..	6,336	5,586	..	574	479	531	256	552	631
44	Musahar	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45	Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46	Namosudra	..	1,443	1,482	..	1,397	1,459	..	46	23	165	168	80	195
47	Nuniya	..	11	4	..	8	4	..	3	..	8	4	..	..
48	Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49	Pan	..	80	51	..	80	51	..	..	..	..	18	..	24
50	Pasi	..	14	20	..	13	20	..	1	..	6	14	..	..
51	Patni	..	9,152	7,472	..	8,735	7,122	..	417	350	1,490	816	172	570
52	Pod	..	16	19	..	16	19	..	..	..	8	..	..	..
53	Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54	Rajbanshi	..	..	6	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
55	Rajwar	..	301	172	..	288	170	..	13	2	5	..	1	..
56	Sunri	..	12,805	15,539	..	12,618	15,466	..	187	73	2,310	2,839	1,914	2,658
57	Tiyar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
58	Turi	..	757	..	..	755	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..

Scheduled Tribes

	ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	138,201	68,243	69,958	137,988	68,116	69,872	213	127	86	14,088	15,759	1,775	1,668
1	Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Mru	..	21	..	..	21	..	..	..	..	16	..	..	..
5	Munda	..	89	145	..	89	145	..	..	..	64	84	..	..
6	Oraon	..	126	161	..	126	161	..	..	..	70	93	11	31
7	Santal	..	68,007	69,652	..	67,880	69,566	..	127	86	13,938	15,582	1,764	1,637

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—15 Mejhia and Saltora		Rural—16 Khatra, Indpur and Ranibandh (excluding towns)		Rural—17 Raipur, Simlapal and Taldangra		Rural—18 Vishnupur, Jaypur and Kotulpur (excluding towns)		Rural—19 Sonamukhi, Patrasair and Indas (excluding towns)		Urban—5 Bankura and Khatra Towns		Urban—6 Vishnupur, Sonamukhi and Patrasair Towns	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Scheduled Castes—*concld.*														
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	16,594	15,354	33,181	35,487	21,866	22,984	31,189	24,687	30,831	35,044	5,566	5,903	5,022	4,724
1 Bagdi	1,191	710	2,464	1,803	1,595	1,893	15,137	12,477	16,617	19,253	754	732	874	832
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	34	19	18	1	..	73	26
4 Bauri	7,711	8,131	11,335	12,722	6,936	6,747	2,600	2,300	3,900	4,165	2,105	2,231	1,195	1,371
5 Bediya	19	33	60	25	..	..	32	53	9	5	..	..	..	..
6 Beldar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	8	..	652	17	..	30	..	..	4	..	1	1	..
8 Bhuiya	178	75	1,433	1,434	284	194	72	20	27	107	10	4	..	..
9 Bhumij	159	561	5,656	4,611	1,658	1,486	282	172	13	11	6	7	4	..
10 Bind	..	1	13	2	4	..	..	3	6	1	..	1	..	8
11 Chamar	13	7	34	35	25	40	46	34	34	24	..	2	..	..
12 Dhoba	50	26	252	291	419	369	101	105	69	67	156	186	182	145
13 Doai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	170	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	678	466	563	543	663	543	1,177	608	1,413	1,803	107	148	149	98
15 Dosadh	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	4	1	..	..	..
16 Ghasi	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	3	5	9	1	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	477	404	662	714	510	403	518	382	286	308	642	681	258	344
19 Jalia Kaibartta	181	447	235	339	297	439	292	384	328	330	95	198	302	266
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	345	..	164	14	55	20	146	..	13	27	4	..	3	1
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	5	4	46	7	74	18	15	21	8	6	..	..	..	..
24 Karenga	..	..	13	20	60	36	9	..	61	56	16	2	57	1
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

26 Kaur	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
27 Khaira	699	563	778	962	1,771	2,110	1,612	1,604	1,633	2,059	39	73	39	57
28 Khatik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	8
29 Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	1	..	..	..	2	272	13	1	..	..	..	..	..
31 Konwar	..	..	19	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
32 Kora	489	414	1,186	1,668	261	331	1	19	98	75	17	11	..	..
33 Kotal	..	..	2	16	7	6	9	6	31	40	1	..	10	7
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar	48	37	437	771	3,273	3,286	3,326	3,079	2,366	2,725	570	665	1,092	944
37 Mahar	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	138	..	..	..	1
38 Mahli	115	93	80	90	63	107	4	..	4	4	..	9	1	1
39 Mal	134	124	622	725	872	1,323	183	131	85	81	396	445	71	66
40 Mallah	..	..	24	..	51	111	26	19	8	8	1	3	9	7
41 Malpahariya	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	18	4	..	1	7	25	5	6	..	..	70	84	25	24
43 Muchi	253	296	194	188	289	259	1,662	1,043	2,855	2,913	332	319	242	160
44 Musahar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	138	76	141	201	35	34	435	359	403	426	29	11	17	12
47 Nuniya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
48 Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	16	..	5	..	..	..	31	9	28	..	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
51 Patni	1,626	690	1,069	1,238	1,316	1,856	2,881	1,737	181	215	45	13	372	337
52 Pod	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	19	..	..	..	..	..	..
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..
55 Rajwar	..	14	187	140	95	16	..	..	..	..	13	2	..	..
56 Sunri	2,045	2,163	4,752	6,274	1,227	1,320	232	50	138	162	144	65	43	8
57 Tiyar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
58 Turi	..	..	755	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	5,560	5,504	20,342	22,231	21,246	19,582	3,515	3,416	1,590	1,712	73	37	54	49
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	3	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	..	27	22	34	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6 Oraon	3	..	8	3	..	..	..	..	34	34	..	..	..	..
7 Santal	5,554	5,477	20,311	22,194	21,242	19,582	3,515	3,416	1,556	1,678	73	37	54	49

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Total			Rural			Urban			Midnapur, Salbani and Keshpur (excluding towns)	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Scheduled Castes											
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	482,793	242,317	240,476	462,371	231,472	230,899	20,422	10,845	9,577	20,035	19,177
1 Bagdi	..	65,466	62,832	..	63,721	60,982	..	1,745	1,850	7,554	8,201
2 Bahelia	..	11	2	..	11	2	..	..	..	2	..
3 Baiti	..	81	118	..	65	114	..	16	4	7	..
4 Bauri	..	5,814	6,581	..	5,583	6,251	..	231	330	1,490	1,449
5 Bediya	..	4,096	3,984	..	4,037	3,962	..	59	22	100	189
6 Beldar	..	8	14	..	6	14	..	2	..	6	..
7 Bhuimali	..	99	1,069	..	89	1,056	..	10	13	..	14
8 Bhuiya	..	10,912	9,841	..	10,357	9,503	..	555	338	1,191	779
9 Bhumij	..	22,018	25,651	..	21,300	25,326	..	718	325	1,991	2,410
10 Bind	..	16	61	..	4	54	..	12	7	..	..
11 Chamar	..	1,213	933	..	1,034	701	..	179	232	42	34
12 Dhoba	..	8,472	7,491	..	7,638	6,986	..	834	505	289	199
13 Doai	..	7	14	..	7	14	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	..	6,867	5,983	..	6,288	5,647	..	579	336	1,329	617
15 Dosadh	..	46	16	..	26	2	..	20	14	3	..
16 Ghasi	..	45	25	..	45	19	..	..	6	1	..
17 Gonrhi	..	89	31	..	3	..	..	86	31	..	..
18 Hari	..	7,659	6,989	..	7,156	6,544	..	503	445	748	600
19 Jalia Kaibartta	..	6,053	6,289	..	5,498	5,723	..	555	566	112	135
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	798	589	..	780	579	..	18	10	15	39
21 Kadar	..	22	133	..	22	133	..	..	..	2	2
22 Kandra	..	368	565	..	367	565	..	1	..	..	..
23 Kaora	..	4,872	4,820	..	4,417	4,194	..	455	626	378	105
24 Karenga	..	2,385	1,559	..	2,336	1,486	..	49	73	38	56
25 Kastha	..	36	3	..	27	3	..	9	..	..	..

	Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
26	Kaur	..	15	9	..	11	9	..	4	..	..	..
27	Khaira	..	1,583	2,716	..	1,525	2,658	..	58	58	125	179
28	Khatik	..	212	203	..	17	61	..	195	142	5	..
29	Koch	..	15	6	..	11	6	..	4	..	..	..
30	Konai	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
31	Konwar	..	86	89	..	47	59	..	39	30	..	..
32	Kora	..	4,451	4,490	..	4,394	4,441	..	57	49	156	95
33	Kotal	..	756	1,538	..	732	1,537	..	24	1	53	1
34	Lalbegi	..	..	15	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..
35	Lodha	..	2,771	3,269	..	2,610	3,129	..	161	140	229	410
36	Lohar	..	1,476	1,518	..	1,353	1,452	..	123	66	5	43
37	Mahar	..	709	780	..	167	171	..	542	609	2	1
38	Mahli	..	2,291	2,434	..	2,049	2,256	..	242	178	116	74
39	Mal	..	3,687	3,462	..	3,541	3,317	..	146	145	737	731
40	Mallah	..	303	89	..	238	56	..	65	33	5	..
41	Malpahariya	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
42	Methor	..	1,440	1,337	..	1,078	730	..	362	607	191	67
43	Muchi	..	4,451	4,046	..	3,546	3,415	..	905	631	679	584
44	Musahar	..	26	2	..	7	2	..	19	..	..	..
45	Nagesia	..	1	7	..	1	7	..	..	..	..	..
46	Namosudra	..	19,574	19,169	..	19,197	18,659	..	377	510	1,450	1,503
47	Nuniya	..	69	42	..	25	21	..	44	21	7	3
48	Paliya	..	125	107	..	110	104	..	15	3	..	..
49	Pan	..	510	253	..	437	246	..	73	7	44	1
50	Pasi	..	235	130	..	74	39	..	161	91	18	3
51	Patni	..	606	1,765	..	583	1,742	..	23	23	270	16
52	Pod	..	19,531	18,239	..	19,480	18,142	..	51	97	..	..
53	Rabha	..	160	171	..	..	..	..	160	171	..	..
54	Rajbanshi	..	26,087	25,597	..	26,077	25,592	..	10	5	25	36
55	Rajwar	..	2,325	2,065	..	2,230	2,020	..	95	45	565	520
56	Sunri	..	649	765	..	563	593	..	86	172	47	11
57	Tiyar	..	546	556	..	539	546	..	7	10	..	1
58	Turi	..	172	13	..	12	13	..	160	..	8	9

Scheduled Tribes

	Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	212,525	100,572	111,953	209,102	98,581	110,521	3,423	1,991	1,432	9,237	9,523
1	Bhutia	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Lepcha	..	3	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Mru	..	594	971	..	588	971	..	6	..	..	1
5	Munda	..	2,491	2,539	..	2,365	2,454	..	126	85	39	92
6	Oraon	..	1,357	1,686	..	982	1,548	..	375	138	521	347
7	Santal	..	96,125	106,757	..	94,641	105,548	..	1,484	1,209	8,677	9,083

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—21 Garhbeta (excluding town)		Rural—22 Debra, Sabang and Pingla (excluding towns)		Rural—23 Khargpur (local), Khargpur Town (excluding town) and Narayangarh		Rural—24 Dantan, Mohanpur and Keshiari		Rural—25 Contai (excluding town) and Khedgree		Rural—26 Bhagwanpur and Pataspur	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Scheduled Castes—*contd.*												
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	10,189	11,197	11,393	12,210	18,362	19,910	9,664	11,773	20,908	20,366	12,706	12,507
1 Bagdi	2,366	2,719	1,673	1,864	4,573	4,481	2,255	2,169	3,503	3,591	2,888	2,192
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	..	23	19	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
4 Bauri	2,152	2,393	221	59	108	139	7	..	1	11	..	..
5 Bediya	50	41	178	351	889	705	276	287	96	81	61	54
6 Beldar	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	24	42	..	2	3	7	1	2	..	..	..	..
8 Bhuiya	171	167	216	292	469	291	276	396	208	445	108	442
9 Bhumij	276	284	2,194	2,425	3,248	4,701	2,013	2,213	..	..	30	13
10 Bind	..	..	..	..	..	—	—	54	..	..	..	..
11 Chamar	39	38	80	48	23	4	1	..	56	63	136	106
12 Dhoba	67	82	466	409	373	306	299	470	870	1,048	657	670
13 Doai	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
14 Dom	309	300	348	390	281	333	136	147	159	161	208	190
15 Dosadh	..	..	..	..	2	1	—	..	..	..	..	..
16 Ghasi	1	..	..	..	10	5	..	..	..	..	1	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	281	234	729	810	871	780	531	502	605	574	613	516
19 Jalia Kaibartta	77	102	148	204	252	356	233	470	664	772	257	268
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	35	134	108	..	38	123	19	4	139	..	..	1
21 Kadar	5	..	..	..	..	118	7	4	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	54	12	45	106	57	50	31	290
23 Kaora	14	4	62	116	313	562	5	20	49	81	562	511
24 Karenga	8	13	121	144	65	84	83	71	179	146	80	64
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	5	..	22	3	..	..	..	..

26 Kaur	..	..	..	..	8	4	3	..	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira	807	790	58	176	58	19	74	28	4	..	14	59
28 Khatik	..	26	..	..	4	5	..	23	..	..	..	..
29 Koch	..	..	4	..	6	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
31 Konwar	..	..	..	6	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
32 Kora	28	34	77	54	2,163	2,199	1,084	1,181	..	3	1	3
33 Kotal	..	..	60	45	33	10	31	215	..	4	..	276
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	12	116	322	214	1,383	1,267	231	147	..	..	2	..
36 Lohar	1,117	1,213	28	13	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
37 Mahar	..	..	..	..	26	26	..	..	63	40	5	11
38 Mahli	60	65	109	118	382	408	276	335	1	12	1	1
39 Mal	1,152	1,051	85	69	125	32	3	8	37	111	4	55
40 Mallah	1	7	1	3	10	26	..	..	5	7	..	..
41 Malpahariya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	24	15	48	62	44	39	279	235	6	6	43	29
43 Muchi	784	692	128	135	92	72	54	36	40	32	55	56
44 Musahar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45 Nagesia	..	..	1	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	70	60	1,207	1,386	1,806	1,860	1,366	1,710	866	808	1,866	1,756
47 Nuniya	..	..	..	..	5	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
48 Paliya	..	..	2	3	2	1	7	9	1	3	..	..
49 Pan	27	2	6	4	11	15	2	..	..	..	..	1
50 Pasi	..	..	27	3	15	28	..	..	3	..	..	..
51 Patni	2	389	7	119	5	8	..	836	..	..	..	..
52 Pod	..	..	8	13	1	20	1	25	11,087	10,150	2	1
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	9	3	2,600	2,570	205	419	..	..	2,155	2,136	5,046	4,905
55 Rajwar	68	44	29	63	382	411	6	4	11	..	..	..
56 Sunri	152	137	14	13	11	7	37	59	24	8	35	24
57 Tiyar	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	17	23	..	..
58 Turi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..

Scheduled Tribes—*contd.*

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	9,694	10,792	7,968	7,628	9,143	10,014	8,048	8,998	14	31	210	200
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	..	145	108	18	13	..	..	..	..	..	2
5 Munda	2	..	329	422	323	254	91	..	3	3	8	43
6 Oraon	15	..	156	37	227	801	22	306	..	..	20	19
7 Santal	9,677	10,792	7,338	7,061	8,575	8,946	7,935	8,092	11	28	182	136

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—27 Ramnagar and Egra		Rural—28 Tamluk and Moyna (excluding town)		Rural—29 Panskura		Rural—30 Mahisadal		Rural—31 Nandigram		Rural—32 Sutahata	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
Scheduled Castes—*contd.*												
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	11,511	11,550	13,310	11,958	6,882	6,299	7,758	6,971	10,502	10,024	10,521	7,395
1 Bagdi	3,324	3,504	453	663	2,485	1,557	866	1,197	946	931	2,195	1,616
2 Bahelia	..	..	1	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	3	..
3 Baiti	4	4	..	3	5	70	12	7	12	6	..	..
4 Bauri	..	..	8	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Bediya	77	55	49	23	48	15	10	60	14	48	32	32
6 Beldar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..
7 Bhuimali	51	37	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8 Bhuiya	157	77	400	443	72	144	915	373	1,012	966	713	133
9 Bhumij	2	20	1	..	549	543	78	..	..	..	..	..
10 Bind	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11 Chamar	19	2	88	62	68	47	59	62	74	37	29	16
12 Dhoba	1,038	905	483	356	147	131	191	185	524	415	237	215
13 Doai	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	226	193	170	137	170	164	67	56	143	139	24	25
15 Dosadh	..	..	..	..	19	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
16 Ghasi	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	721	614	243	182	137	162	248	23	29	48	129	35
19 Jalia Kaibartta	1,058	861	106	69	378	341	183	123	144	193	62	2
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	5	15	..	..	..	..	6	..	9	18	..	..
21 Kadar	..	4	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	157	64	..	..	..	6	6	29	12	8	..	..
23 Kaora	1	20	624	580	527	480	585	412	360	369	348	194
24 Karenga	248	188	237	154	107	103	79	76	76	68	678	78
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira	25	58	8	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..
28 Khatik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..
29 Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	4	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

No.	Name												
31	Konwar	13	13	..	..	..	..	15	3	..	..	..	..
32	Kora	..	1	1	..	4	5	28	..	12	1	..	..
33	Kotal	..	707	..	44	3	82	5	3	3	2	185	..
34	Lalbegi	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Lodha	..	..	1	..	5	4	5	..	3	2	..	..
36	Lohar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
37	Mahar	..	..	14	21	6	7	1	14	9	30	20	..
38	Mahli	4	5	..	..	8	4	18	..	15	15	..	11
39	Mal	4	13	24	22	6	44	47	23	302	152	104	14
40	Mallah	.	..	..	..	..	..	83	..	..	..	95	..
41	Malpahariya	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	.	..	..
42	Methor	81	53	48	68	45	39	23	10	..	..	7	10
43	Muchi	13	17	107	72	197	166	30	25	72	48	24	40
44	Musahar	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	2
45	Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46	Namosudra	1,344	1,193	2,997	2,205	901	959	1,082	1,323	1,757	1,660	878	674
47	Nuniya	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
48	Paliya	5	1	6	11	..	4	..	..	1	..	..	..
49	Pan	27	71	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..
50	Pasi	3	..	1	..	4	4	1	..	..	..	..	..
51	Patni	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	16	..	..	186	..
52	Pod	..	2	47	..	2	1	129	134	4,032	3,898	4,162	3,884
53	Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54	Rajbanshi	2,864	2,652	7,192	6,841	917	1,153	2,958	2,804	932	962	402	414
55	Rajwar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
56	Sunri	40	186	..	..	6	5	8	4	4	..	..	..
57	Tiyar	..	1	1	..	52	48	1	..	..	..	1	..
58	Turi	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..

Scheduled Tribes—*contd.*

No.	Name												
	ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	386	435	126	68	1,835	1,669	427	33	20	48	11	..
1	Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Lepcha	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Mru	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	Munda	4	15	..	..	59	9	11	7	4	46	..	..
6	Oraon	..	..	..	..	1	35	20	3	..	..	..	..
7	Santal	382	420	124	68	1,775	1,625	396	23	16	2	11	..

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—33 Ghatal, Daspur and Chandrakona (excluding town)		Rural—34 Jhargram, Jambani and Binpur (excluding town)		Rural—35 Gopiballavpur, Sankrail and Nayagram		Urban—7 Midnapur and Garhbeta Towns		Urban—8 Khargpur Town		Urban—9 Contai, Tamluk, Jhargram, Ghatal, Kharar, Ramjibanpur, Chandrakona and Khirpai Towns	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
Scheduled Castes—*concld.*												
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	31,465	29,879	17,224	21,496	19,042	18,187	1,935	2,091	5,454	3,886	3,456	3,600
1 Bagdi	20,684	20,397	3,064	1,459	4,892	4,441	110	285	514	285	1,121	1,280
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	15	3
4 Bauri	24	20	1,526	2,021	46	156	159	134	12	13	60	183
5 Bediya	337	25	1,090	1,329	730	667	13	6	40	15	6	1
6 Beldar	..	6	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	1	6	22	4	929	2	..	8	11	..	2
8 Bhuiya	1,257	1,222	1,069	1,278	2,123	2,055	119	89	291	100	145	149
9 Bhumij	232	203	3,798	6,436	6,888	6,078	86	57	632	267	..	1
10 Bind	..	..	4	..	..	..	6	1	6	6	..	..
11 Chamar	254	129	41	33	25	20	35	24	111	167	33	41
12 Dhoba	411	336	867	726	719	533	70	116	564	254	200	135
13 Doai	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	853	807	875	1,002	990	986	65	106	343	80	171	150
15 Dosadh	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	20	14	..	..
16 Ghasi	4	..	..	..	26	13	..	2	..	4	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	3	..	85	31	1	..	..	..
18 Hari	747	652	373	676	151	136	53	66	83	33	367	346
19 Jalia Kaibartta	1,212	1,180	259	262	353	385	196	160	156	156	203	250
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	..	193	97	213	148	1	9	17	1	..	..
21 Kadar	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
23 Kaora	393	424	85	162	111	94	176	354	152	120	127	152
24 Karenga	123	118	194	123	20	..	25	36	19	1	5	36
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	2	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	1	..	..	..	3	..	..	4	..	..	..
27 Khaira	..	..	284	1,321	55	28	40	48	9	..	9	10

No.	Tribe												
28	Khatik	..	..	4	3	4	..	21	23	173	113	1	6
29	Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..
30	Konai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
31	Konwar	9	16	4	15	..	..	6	1	33	29	..	..
32	Kora	29	28	780	784	31	53	12	4	45	45	..	..
33	Kotal	114	112	71	36	174	..	11	..	5	..	8	1
34	Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Lodha	4	2	346	919	67	48	55	28	106	112	..	..
36	Lohar	121	122	80	33	..	27	19	2	103	64	1	..
37	Mahar	1	..	6	1	14	9	95	56	447	553	..	..
38	Mahli	21	7	726	648	312	564	72	38	170	137	..	3
39	Mal	567	399	256	510	88	83	47	58	39	34	60	53
40	Mallah	1	..	12	11	25	2	1	10	32	19	32	4
41	Malpahariya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42	Methor	177	21	30	36	32	40	18	118	308	452	36	37
43	Muchi	967	1,125	256	258	48	57	124	117	343	261	438	253
44	Musahar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	..
45	Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46	Namosudra	1,336	1,126	248	417	23	19	52	74	180	250	145	186
47	Nuniya	2	..	5	2	..	..	17	1	27	20	..	..
48	Paliya	18	59	..	2	68	11	1	..	14	3	..	..
49	Pan	290	110	8	18	22	20	27	..	17	5	29	2
50	Pasi	1	..	1	..	..	1	16	4	141	87	4	..
51	Patni	20	54	..	296	87	8	2	..	6	23	15	..
52	Pod	2	13	7	1	..	..	30	..	2	88	19	9
53	Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	160	171
54	Rajbanshi	772	678	..	..	..	19	2	..	8	5	..	..
55	Rajwar	1	1	470	436	698	541	18	..	77	45	..	..
56	Sunri	6	3	179	123	..	13	39	32	28	14	19	126
57	Tiyar	464	473	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	10
58	Turi	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	160	..	..	..

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

No.	Tribe												
	ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	2,532	3,455	28,473	35,844	20,457	21,783	600	514	1,042	477	340	441
1	Bhutia	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Lepcha	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Mru	..	1	371	718	54	128	3	..	3	..	..	..
5	Munda	103	103	458	461	931	999	50	..	76	85	..	..
6	Oraon	..	..	..	..	..	..	165	..	210	138	..	..
7	Santal	2,429	3,351	27,641	34,665	19,472	20,656	382	514	753	254	349	441

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Total			Rural			Urban			Rural—36 Chinsurah, Polba, Magra and Balagarh (excluding towns)		Rural—37 Pandua and Dhaniakhali		Rural—38 Serampur, Uttarpara, Bhadreswar, Haripal and Tarakeswar (excluding towns)	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Scheduled Castes															
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	320,124	161,825	158,299	284,654	139,473	145,181	35,470	22,352	13,118	25,298	27,449	23,774	22,628	21,639	26,160
1 Bagdi	..	74,678	74,870	..	69,364	72,077	..	5,314	2,793	9,568	9,824	7,738	7,489	9,839	11,316
2 Bahelia	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	67	83	..	61	81	..	6	2	..	3	22	18	4	14
4 Bauri	..	10,540	13,029	..	10,417	12,851	..	123	178	2,456	5,065	6,515	5,877	1,154	779
5 Bediya	..	43	62	..	40	49	..	3	13	10	33	2	8	..	..
6 Beldar	..	30	18	..	2	6	..	28	12	2	5	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	..	31	..	..	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	31
8 Bhuiya	..	913	395	..	568	265	..	345	130	111	94	260	146	59	5
9 Bhumij	..	2,351	2,465	..	2,308	2,424	..	43	41	771	1,119	861	911	365	167
10 Bind	..	1,027	573	..	923	528	..	104	45	823	473	..	..	98	55
11 Chamar	..	3,086	1,091	..	442	193	..	2,644	898	213	26	24	13	73	60
12 Dhoba	..	2,057	1,335	..	1,368	871	..	689	464	163	41	92	70	423	58
13 Doai	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	..	3,406	3,475	..	3,147	3,294	..	259	181	701	192	393	335	547	239
15 Dosadh	..	2,272	668	..	338	124	..	1,934	544	168	62	15	3	135	59
16 Ghasi	..	43	5	..	10	1	..	33	4	..	..	..	..	10	1
17 Gonrhi	..	14	155	..	6	117	..	8	38	..	117	..	..	6	..
18 Hari	..	8,928	7,330	..	8,315	6,773	..	613	557	748	408	1,242	1,524	1,720	1,692
19 Jalia Kaibartta	..	5,307	4,872	..	4,239	3,791	..	1,068	1,081	860	573	771	724	542	280
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	681	520	..	545	361	..	136	159	485	344	7	3	29	4
21 Kadar	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	2	26	..	..	..	..	2	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	..	6,174	5,372	..	5,637	4,926	..	537	446	944	1,179	689	670	1,065	672
24 Karenga	..	21	16	..	16	8	..	5	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	23	50	..	14	41	..	9	9	9	..	2	..	1	38

No.	Name															
27	Khaira	..	1,800	2,053	..	1,785	2,050	..	15	3	606	1,048	741	618	425	362
28	Khatik	..	80	48	..	30	7	..	50	41	2	..	..	..	..	3
29	Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30	Konai	..	6	12	..	6	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
31	Konwar	..	85	35	..	74	10	..	11	25	42	2	3	..	20	4
32	Kora	..	1,517	1,716	..	1,484	1,659	..	33	57	570	703	701	693	44	136
33	Kotal	..	9	7	..	8	7	..	1	..	..	..	8	..	..	..
34	Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Lodha	..	1,548	519	..	1,528	489	..	20	30	..	16	..	..	76	70
36	Lohar	..	873	906	..	779	853	..	94	53	382	438	285	280	81	110
37	Mahar	..	59	2	..	32	1	..	27	1	28	1	..	..	2	..
38	Mahli	..	284	212	..	277	188	..	7	24	100	82	151	100	24	2
39	Mal	..	2,153	1,807	..	1,760	1,727	..	393	80	331	369	799	701	333	317
40	Mallah	..	848	1,176	..	54	423	..	794	753	42	223	3	191	5	3
41	Malpahariya	..	52	..	..	..	..	..	52	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42	Methor	..	1,196	599	..	327	213	..	869	386	63	148	16	16	80	16
43	Muchi	..	8,381	7,577	..	6,982	6,759	..	1,399	818	934	757	974	807	797	550
44	Musahar	..	89	68	..	39	30	..	50	38	17	1	..	..	17	8
45	Nagesia	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
46	Namosudra	..	5,706	7,312	..	4,782	6,476	..	924	836	2,366	2,849	796	952	92	408
47	Nuniya	..	1,212	256	..	403	29	..	809	227	19	4	31	1	291	24
48	Paliya	..	41	2	..	2	2	..	39	..	..	1	2	..	..	1
49	Pan	..	76	24	..	73	24	..	3	..	5	11	47	11	..	2
50	Pasi	..	1,137	644	..	175	184	..	962	460	48	140	16	5	55	7
51	Patni	..	1,632	925	..	1,519	784	..	113	141	146	157	253	99	54	47
52	Pod	..	2,178	6,558	..	2,062	6,415	..	116	143	77	77	6	8	1,786	6,183
53	Rabha	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54	Rajbanshi	.	6,728	7,760	..	5,880	6,896	..	848	864	1,060	686	46	77	1,215	2,180
55	Rajwar	.	616	232	...	188	130	..	428	102	122	91	16	20	45	7
56	Sunri	..	527	542	..	246	267	..	281	275	12	52	52	46	72	147
57	Tiyar	..	908	517	..	821	431	..	87	86	121	6	..	1	53	103
58	Turi	..	414	347	..	394	315	..	20	32	173	29	195	211	..	..
	Scheduled Tribes															
	ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	57,243	23,827	33,416	54,329	22,601	31,728	2,914	1,226	1,688	5,312	9,963	8,681	11,522	3,895	5,624
1	Bhutia	..	142	..	..	142	..	..	..	..	142	..	..	..	..	..
2	Lepcha	..	31	..	..	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	31	..	..	..
3	Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Mru	..	14	1,124	..	14	1,124	..	..	..	10	1,078	4	41	..	..
5	Munda	..	787	506	..	740	348	..	47	158	126	121	119	60	62	131
6	Oraon	..	3,196	2,510	..	2,934	2,083	..	262	427	1,343	1,040	176	34	794	812
7	Santal	..	19,657	29,276	..	18,740	28,173	..	917	1,103	3,691	7,724	8,351	11,387	3,039	4,681

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—39 Singur, Chanditala and Jangipara		Rural—40 Arambag and Goghat (excluding town)		Rural—41 Pursura and Khanakul		Urban—10 Hooghly-Chinsurah and Bansberia Towns		Urban—11 Arambag Town		Urban—12 Serampur, Baidyabati, Rishra and Konnagar Towns		Urban—13 Uttarpara, Kotrung, Champdani and Bhadreswar Towns	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Scheduled Castes—*concld.*														
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	23,667	23,022	23,722	26,234	21,373	19,688	6,968	3,699	1,218	1,712	6,648	3,150	7,518	4,557
1 Bagdi	12,249	12,934	15,906	18,420	14,064	12,094	2,724	671	559	726	1,026	579	1,005	817
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
3 Baiti	7	17	26	27	2	2	1	..	..	..	2	2	3	..
4 Bauri	105	955	99	47	88	128	43	68	9	53	43	31	28	26
5 Bediya	11	2	15	6	2	..	3	12	..	..	..	1	..	..
6 Beldar	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	2	1	..	4	..	19	10
7 Bhuimali	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8 Bhuiya	19	10	..	..	119	10	42	39	..	1	268	81	35	9
9 Bhumij	48	34	212	193	51	..	23	30	5	3	7	5	8	3
10 Bind	..	..	2	..	..	..	14	..	..	1	9	2	81	42
11 Chamar	78	12	27	41	27	41	645	46	4	1	866	130	1,129	721
12 Dhoba	344	278	143	301	203	123	233	187	13	7	314	210	129	60
13 Doai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	419	797	810	1,198	277	533	78	28	22	30	118	83	41	40
15 Dosadh	17	..	2	..	1	..	785	83	14	2	515	105	620	354
16 Ghasi	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	4	..	..	..	..	3	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	1	2	7	6	25
18 Hari	1,647	1,320	2,068	1,418	890	411	152	148	50	234	202	42	209	133
19 Jalia Kaibartta	1,627	743	214	504	225	967	214	373	139	190	387	306	328	212
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	9	..	..	..	15	10	45	57	6	..	81	79	4	23
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	26
23 Kaora	1,775	1,747	265	181	899	477	63	187	38	38	256	138	180	83
24 Karenga	12	..	4	8	..	..	1	..	..	..	4	8	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
26 Kaur	2	3	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	1	..	5	8
27 Khaira	2	9	6	7	5	6	4	1	..	..	2	1	9	1
28 Khatik	..	..	..	..	28	4	21	26	..	..	12	..	17	15

No.	Name														
29	Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30	Konai	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..
31	Konwar	9	3	..	1	..	..	2	4	..	..	4	21	5	..
32	Kora	17	18	140	48	12	61	2	..	8	30	3	4	20	23
33	Kotal	..	..	..	1	..	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34	Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Lodha	1,451	403	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	4	..	14	30
36	Lohar	9	7	6	10	16	8	44	20	6	16	16	6	28	11
37	Mohar	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	26	1
38	Mahli	2	..	..	4	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	11	5	11
39	Mal	114	264	54	24	129	52	100	33	55	..	26	10	212	37
40	Mallah	2	2	1	4	1	..	186	51	10	..	87	40	511	662
41	Malpahariya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	52	..	..	..
42	Methor	158	29	4	3	6	1	76	142	29	22	216	132	548	90
43	Muchi	1,346	1,439	2,394	2,623	537	583	309	216	110	98	530	204	450	300
44	Musahar	4	1	1	20	..	..	7	1	..	..	34	19	9	18
45	Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46	Namosudra	899	1,200	389	640	240	427	314	516	56	82	214	132	340	106
47	Nuniya	62	..	..	..	..	..	154	60	..	..	302	89	353	78
48	Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	36	..
49	Pan	17	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
50	Pasi	56	28	..	4	..	..	100	17	9	2	579	212	274	229
51	Patni	23	6	890	471	153	4	9	97	26	12	52	16	26	16
52	Pod	186	132	..	10	7	5	17	46	9	30	67	60	23	7
53	Rabha	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54	Rajbanshi	461	461	24	10	3,074	3,482	246	356	19	71	224	197	359	240
55	Rajwar	5	12	..	..	..	..	97	7	..	..	29	84	302	11
56	Sunri	92	14	16	8	2	..	172	157	18	58	48	49	43	11
57	Tiyar	348	69	4	2	295	250	1	1	..	..	19	21	67	64
58	Turi	26	73	..	..	..	2	2	4	..	4	12	20	6	4

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

No.	Name														
	ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	2,203	2,398	2,166	1,663	344	558	448	227	125	379	276	746	377	336
1	Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Mru	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	Munda	357	33	10	..	66	3	4	..	17	16	12	119	14	23
6	Oraon	528	189	27	4	66	4	41	31	15	23	151	274		
7	Santal	1,318	2,171	2,129	1,659	212	551	403	196	93	340	113	353	55	99

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Total Persons	Total Males	Total Females	Rural Persons	Rural Males	Rural Females	Urban Persons	Urban Males	Urban Females	Rural—42 Sibpur, Domjur Jagacha (excluding town) Males	Rural—42 Bally, and Females	Rural—43 Sankrail, Jagatballavpur and Panchla Males	Rural—43 Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Scheduled Castes													
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	221,722	119,950	101,772	178,928	92,678	86,250	42,794	27,272	15,522	16,070	15,890	27,234	24,925
1 Bagdi	..	34,323	32,070	..	31,756	30,486	..	2,567	1,584	4,848	5,545	9,972	8,824
2 Bahelia	..	3	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	382	354	..	373	348	.	9	6	41	4	52	36
4 Bauri	..	69	25	..	37	1	..	32	24	5	1	4	..
5 Bediya	..	47	56	..	30	39	..	17	17	5	4	..	3
6 Beldar	..	80	12	..	26	9	..	54	3	25	9	1	..
7 Bhuimali	..	74	6	..	39	6	..	35	..	5	..	4	6
8 Bhuiya	..	890	124	..	302	73	..	588	51	195	35	103	22
9 Bhumij	..	47	34	..	31	18	..	16	16	20	16	3	2
10 Bind	..	46	..	..	3	..	..	43	..	3	..	..	..
11 Chamar	..	6,827	2,860	..	2,645	1,777	..	4,182	1,083	380	149	649	315
12 Dhoba	..	4,691	4,153	..	2,126	2,245	..	2,565	1,908	445	357	211	442
13 Doai	..	2	..	..	.	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	..	1,052	884	..	671	578	..	381	306	122	31	86	98
15 Dosadh	..	1,605	574	..	324	149	..	1,281	425	193	134	59	13
16 Ghasi	..	151	153	..	29	14	..	122	139	4	7	1	..
17 Gonrhi	..	63	17	..	4	5	..	59	12	2	4	..	..
18 Hari	..	466	481	..	386	418	..	80	63	80	96	110	153
19 Jalia Kaibartta	..	5,342	4,666	..	4,366	3,934	..	976	732	318	189	503	490
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	76	79	..	12	71	..	64	8	3	7	..	..
21 Kadar	..	39	64	..	38	64	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	13	16	..	10	16	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	..	8,560	7,144	..	6,801	6,467	..	1,759	677	1,071	869	2,193	2,389
24 Karenga	..	1,741	1,459	..	1,736	1,449	..	5	10	43	..	32	26
25 Kastha	..	16	3	..	2	..	..	14	3	..	..	1	..
26 Kaur	..	3	21	..	..	20	..	3	1	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira	..	33	29	..	30	..	..	3	29	6	..	..	..
28 Khatik	..	274	181	..	3	..	..	271	181	1	..	2	..

29 Koch	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	10	..	..	9	..	..	1	..	4	..	..
31 Konwar	..	330	82	..	55	6	..	275	76	26	..	15	6
32 Kora	..	232	17	..	38	2	..	194	15	28	..	1	..
33 Kotal	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	23	9	..	1	..	..	22	9	1	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	17	2	..	2	..	..	15	2	..	..	2	..
36 Lohar	..	354	30	..	36	12	..	318	18	29	11	4	1
37 Mahar	..	10	9	..	2	..	..	8	9	..	..	..	..
38 Mahli	..	127	102	..	30	4	..	97	98	23	3	..	..
39 Mal	..	117	127	..	62	82	..	55	45	22	6	21	25
40 Mallah	..	970	327	..	47	12	..	923	315	7	8	34	4
41 Malpahariya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	..	2,933	2,349	..	357	326	..	2,576	2,023	112	119	125	125
43 Muchi	..	5,137	4,311	..	1,894	1,368	..	3,243	2,943	361	200	604	348
44 Musahar	..	21	18	..	10	14	..	11	4	2	9	5	5
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	..	8,045	7,515	..	7,674	7,167	..	371	348	402	155	212	227
47 Nuniya	..	637	148	..	120	38	..	517	110	18	5	35	26
48 Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	..	4	17	..	..	4	..	4	13	..	4	..	..
50 Pasi	..	1,915	843	..	809	451	..	1,106	392	312	147	418	276
51 Patni	..	222	57	..	61	35	..	161	22	15	11	7	2
52 Pod	..	14,523	14,688	..	14,344	14,271	..	179	417	3,906	4,641	6,224	6,117
53 Rabha	..	1,103	2	..	1,097	2	..	6	..	4	..	1,093	2
54 Rajbanshi	..	11,748	12,523	..	10,835	11,821	..	913	702	2,322	2,586	3,331	3,905
55 Rajwar	..	1,291	616	..	325	202	..	966	414	62	19	44	54
56 Sunri	..	995	975	..	896	756	..	99	219	23	28	541	440
57 Tiyar	..	2,180	1,519	..	2,142	1,479	..	38	40	519	475	532	543
58 Turi	..	100	9	..	58	..	..	42	9	58	..	..	..

Scheduled Tribes

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	6,410	2,365	4,045	4,940	1,076	3,864	1,470	1,289	181	148	510	546	233
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	9	2	..	4	..	..	5	2	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	..	324	137	..	225	104	..	99	33	44	68	77	36
6 Oraon	..	1,059	514	..	466	472	..	593	42	47	144	272	54
7 Santal	..	972	3,392	..	380	3,288	..	592	104	57	298	197	143

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—44 Amta		Rural—45 Bagnan and Shyampur		Rural—46 Uluberia and Bauria (excluding towns)		City—2 Howrah City		Urban—15 Bally Town		Urban—16 Uluberia and Bauria (Non-municipal Towns)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Scheduled Castes—*concld.*												
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	14,727	13,731	15,802	15,628	18,845	16,076	20,718	12,132	3,698	1,520	2,856	1,870
1 Bagdi	8,292	8,160	2,918	3,341	5,726	4,616	1,670	1,047	388	221	509	316
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	239	245	..	2	41	61	2	6	7	..	..	..
4 Bauri	28	..	..	..	..	..	9	11	4	3	19	10
5 Bediya	25	22	..	10	..	..	17	11	..	6	..	..
6 Beldar	..	..	..	..	..	..	54	3	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	..	..	..	30	..	27	..	7	..	1	..
8 Bhuiya	1	..	3	..	..	16	480	16	84	19	24	16
9 Bhumij	..	..	..	..	8	..	11	14	..	..	5	2
10 Bind	..	..	..	..	..	..	43	..	..	..	..	..
11 Chamar	299	194	1,056	995	261	124	3,190	806	666	140	326	137
12 Dhoba	258	279	811	824	401	343	2,314	1,762	144	59	107	87
13 Doai	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	162	161	207	192	94	96	317	253	56	40	8	13
15 Dosadh	..	..	6	1	66	1	1,137	367	95	29	49	29
16 Ghasi	..	..	..	..	24	7	119	136	3	3	..	..
17 Gonrhi	2	..	..	..	..	1	47	12	7	..	5	..
18 Hari	147	97	30	42	19	30	46	49	..	1	34	13
19 Jalia Kaibartta	1,230	962	1,589	1,512	726	781	543	426	24	15	409	291
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	64	..	..	9	..	9	6	54	2	1	..
21 Kadar	..	6	38	58	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	10	16	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	937	715	1,360	1,363	1,240	1,131	1,543	515	81	27	135	135
24 Karenga	9	7	1,354	1,170	298	246	4	8	1	..	..	2
25 Kastha	..	..	1	..	..	..	13	3	..	..	1	..
26 Kaur	..	..	..	20	..	..	2	1	..	..	1	..
27 Khaira	..	..	24	..	..	..	2	28	..	1	1	..
28 Khatik	..	..	..	..	..	..	262	160	9	21	..	..

29 Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	1	..	..	..	..
31 Konwar	6	..	..	..	8	..	258	76	17	..	..	..
32 Kora	5	1	..	1	4	..	191	13	3	2	..	..
33 Kotal	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	14	6	6	2
35 Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	1	..	1	..	..
36 Lohar	2	..	..	..	1	..	304	14	14	4	..	..
37 Mahar	..	..	2	..	..	..	8	9	..	..	..	..
38 Mahli	6	..	..	..	1	1	93	97	2	1	2	..
39 Mal	12	23	..	..	7	28	18	45	37	..	..	..
40 Mallah	1	..	1	..	4	..	616	239	305	75	2	1
41 Malpahariya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	37	29	21	23	62	30	1,927	1,680	497	265	152	78
43 Muchi	346	277	350	315	233	228	2,630	2,516	469	300	144	127
44 Musahar	..	..	2	..	1	..	11	4	..	..	..	..
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	657	711	1,950	2,258	4,453	3,816	179	205	47	17	145	126
47 Nuniya	4	..	27	..	36	7	393	103	88	6	36	1
48 Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	13	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	9	..	17	..	53	28	878	251	120	50	108	91
51 Patni	9	6	19	8	11	8	117	13	41	9	3	..
52 Pod	11	19	1,987	1,765	2,216	1,729	78	361	79	33	22	23
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	1,226	1,590	1,719	1,469	2,237	2,271	474	413	166	116	273	173
55 Rajwar	2	1	62	5	155	123	548	197	99	29	319	188
56 Sunri	3	3	4	30	325	255	36	200	57	14	6	5
57 Tiyar	762	159	234	208	95	94	35	35	..	1	3	4
58 Turi	..	..	..	..	..	..	35	5	7	4	..	..

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	221	41	15	3,003	146	77	1,226	167	62	11	1	3
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	..	1	..	3	..	3	..	2	2	..	..
5 Munda	88	..	9	..	7	..	96	29	3	4	..	..
6 Oraon	31	..	..	246	116	28	547	37	46	4	..	1
7 Santal	102	41	4	2,757	20	49	580	101	11	1	1	2

WEST BENGAL
District : 24-Parganas

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Total			Rural			Urban			Rural—47 Bishnupur and Budge-Budge (excluding Budge-Budge and Batanagar towns)		Rural—48 Behala, Metiabruz and Maheshtala (excluding towns)	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Scheduled Castes													
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	1,052,602	563,635	488,967	910,229	475,352	434,877	142,373	88,283	54,090	35,166	27,961	18,650	15,148
1 Bagdi	..	56,417	53,303	..	52,684	48,407	..	3,733	4,896	5,297	4,340	2,192	1,649
2 Bahelia	..	18	2	..	..	..	..	18	2	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	62	71	..	39	46	..	23	25	..	3	17	16
4 Bauri	..	252	173	..	138	125	..	114	48	8	2	4	2
5 Bediya	..	158	126	..	119	123	..	39	3	34	56	3	..
6 Beldar	..	51	24	..	12	10	..	39	14	..	1	10	5
7 Bhuimali	..	999	1,008	..	941	994	..	58	14	..	..	1	..
8 Bhuiya	..	2,659	1,960	..	2,387	1,865	..	272	95	32	1	20	10
9 Bhumij	..	7,968	7,027	..	7,947	7,025	..	21	2	..	..	..	..
10 Bind	..	554	213	..	22	7	..	532	206	3	..	5	2
11 Chamar	..	15,800	9,524	..	3,423	3,777	..	12,377	5,747	129	94	144	80
12 Dhoba	..	8,460	6,205	..	5,067	3,531	..	3,393	2,674	603	478	179	114
13 Doai	..	34	248	..	23	63	..	11	185	..	2	..	..
14 Dom	..	1,329	799	..	360	337	..	969	462	103	87	19	15
15 Dosadh	..	3,710	1,607	..	452	203	..	3,258	1,404	39	26	36	20
16 Ghasi	..	637	543	..	612	525	..	25	18	..	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	291	93	..	37	55	..	254	38	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	..	2,297	2,078	..	1,681	1,606	..	616	472	2	1	5	..
19 Jalia Kaibartta	..	5,218	4,237	..	3,368	3,275	..	1,850	962	565	640	165	128
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	2,766	2,313	..	1,685	1,721	..	1,081	592	..	9	7	4
21 Kadar	..	40	10	..	40	9	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	29	20	..	28	20	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	..	36,914	35,319	..	31,889	32,400	..	5,025	2,919	1,355	957	460	407
24 Karenga	..	473	557	..	460	544	..	13	13	5	20	51	67
25 Kastha	..	166	134	..	16	..	..	150	134	..	..	16	..
26 Kaur	..	359	123	..	..	81	..	359	42	..	63	..	..
27 Khaira	..	242	38	..	12	25	..	230	13	..	..	1	..
28 Khatik	..	326	125	..	18	7	..	308	118	..	..	4	4

29 Koch	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	7	6	..	..	..	..	7	6	..	..	..	..
31 Konwar	..	810	264	..	218	39	..	592	225	1	2	..	10
32 Kora	..	1,813	342	..	1,384	192	..	429	150	..	1	9	..
33 Kotal	..	13	..	..	7	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	16	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	22	8	..	8	8	..	14	..	2	..	1	..
36 Lohar	..	744	682	..	274	351	..	470	331	1	1	11	4
37 Mahar	..	90	18	..	80	16	..	10	2	..	..	..	..
38 Mahli	..	605	653	..	478	600	..	127	53	1	..	3	6
39 Mal	..	1,125	476	..	429	289	..	696	187	1	3	..	..
40 Mallah	..	2,918	1,975	..	526	238	..	2,392	1,737	10	..	25	8
41 Malpahariya	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	..	3,295	1,704	..	359	262	..	2,936	1,442	33	14	4	6
43 Muchi	..	24,298	15,451	..	12,742	11,173	..	11,556	4,278	370	154	207	84
44 Musahar	..	153	60	..	28	25	..	125	35	2	..	9	16
45 Nagesia	..	23	8	..	23	8	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
46 Namosudra	..	52,390	50,607	..	42,352	41,634	..	10,038	8,973	4,277	3,572	177	178
47 Nuniya	..	3,267	1,047	..	635	309	..	2,632	738	138	44	202	160
48 Paliya	..	6	..	..	5	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	..	41	17	..	15	16	..	26	1	..	5	5	..
50 Pasi	..	6,912	4,049	..	571	276	..	6,341	3,773	23	32	220	60
51 Patni	..	749	385	..	271	198	..	478	187	2	..	16	7
52 Pod	..	259,045	235,486	..	254,546	230,981	..	5,399	4,505	15,643	12,517	11,099	9,223
53 Rabha	..	41	63	..	..	..	..	41	63	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	..	43,536	39,420	..	39,589	34,984	..	3,947	4,436	6,181	4,592	3,193	2,734
55 Rajwar	..	4,495	1,900	..	1,066	926	..	3,429	974	31	29	18	4
56 Sunri	..	827	452	..	146	103	..	681	349	72	57	3	6
57 Tiyar	..	6,474	5,421	..	5,521	4,899	..	953	522	203	157	108	119
58 Turi	..	784	591	..	619	569	..	165	22	..	1	..	..

Scheduled Tribes

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	61,701	32,942	28,759	58,515	30,722	27,793	3,186	2,220	966	5,039	4,037	4,168	1,215
1 Bhutia	..	14	4	..	..	..	..	14	4	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	21	2	..	4	..	..	17	2	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	356	247	..	345	247	..	11	..	2	1	1	..
5 Munda	..	8,006	9,621	..	7,934	9,534	..	72	87	1	2	7	8
6 Oraon	..	11,188	9,240	..	10,225	8,785	..	963	455	2,007	2,001	2,029	404
7 Santal	..	13,357	9,645	..	12,214	9,227	..	1,143	418	3,029	2,033	2,131	803

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—49 Tollyganj, Sonarpur and Baruipur (excluding towns)		Rural—50 Jaynagar (excluding town)		Rural—51 Canning (excluding town)		Rural—52 Bhangar		Rural—53 Basirhat, Baduria and Swarupnagar (excluding towns)		Rural—54 Haroa and Hasnabad (excluding Taki town)		Rural—55 Sandeshkhali		Rural—56 Barasat, Amdanga and Rajarhat (excluding towns)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Scheduled Castes—*contd.*																
All Scheduled Castes	48,674	43,637	32,440	36,458	27,458	30,710	11,215	11,279	20,340	18,970	41,842	39,453	46,793	37,208	17,704	17,127
1 Bagdi	4,755	4,992	2,553	3,445	3,053	4,379	2,030	1,621	944	1,070	2,959	2,985	2,837	2,010	1,851	1,448
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	2	..	..	..	..
4 Bauri	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	7	38	5	3	3	2
5 Bediya	..	..	..	..	4	..	7	..	6	7	31	7	15	9	4	..
6 Beldar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	27	3	..	..	92	1	..	..	..	..	104	213	58	85	2	6
8 Bhuiya	64	12	14	10	1,222	927	5	3	..	..	353	275	452	502	13	3
9 Bhumij	..	4	48	44	2,072	1,356	206	187	..	..	1,401	1,372	4,045	3,828	16	16
10 Bind	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
11 Chamar	328	151	40	57	282	152	235	194	397	732	257	258	84	50	400	275
12 Dhoba	381	319	137	102	35	24	58	64	350	66	177	145	32	25	192	146
13 Doai	5	1	..	8	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	30	13	6	6	..	..	1	3	1	1	14	1	..	..	38	27
15 Dosadh	76	46	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	4	4	..	..	92	51
16 Ghasi	1	..	..	..	121	10	..	..	..	..	102	43	387	472	..	..
17 Gonrhi	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	44	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	21	4	26	27	2	3	2	..	26	11	31	33	4	3	212	247
19 Jalia Kaibartta	100	95	90	50	85	81	25	26	471	439	409	620	53	62	47	6
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	9	..	2	..	31	6	..	..	434	398	5	67	122	27	12	7
21 Kadar	1	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	3,994	4,016	2,518	3,408	1,974	2,157	959	833	1,098	1,188	1,238	941	1,150	2,015	1,891	2,096
24 Karenga	..	..	..	..	49	..	20	27	..	..	94	82	39	94	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	3	..	..
27 Khaira	..	..	..	..	2	6	..	..	..	..	9	15	..	..	..	..
28 Khatik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	14	2

29	Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30	Konai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
31	Konwar	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	3
32	Kora	264	12	131	41	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	37	..	..	2	..
33	Kotal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..
34	Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36	Lohar	4	1	..	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	206	26	21	1	..
37	Mahar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	70	..
38	Mahli	38	2	3	..	9	48	5	4	5	2	166	340	163	171	..	..
39	Mal	24	..	2	5	21	25	..	1	..	15	3	113	1	1	39	..
40	Mallah	146	71	..	..	14	..	..	..	31	..	46	45	42	73	159	1
41	Malpahariya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42	Methor	25	22	12	6	3	..	..	..	2	87	6	2	2	4	48	37
43	Muchi	808	703	210	154	105	82	374	434	3,105	2,704	1,275	1,575	93	84	1,497	1,341
44	Musahar	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
45	Nagesia	..	..	..	..	21	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	1	..	..	..
46	Namosudra	1,081	1,033	575	587	1,977	1,559	117	86	4,654	3,584	856	1,633	3,032	2,777	803	1,040
47	Nuniya	52	6	8	..	..	..	3	1	4	..	3	..	..	..	28	31
48	Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
49	Pan	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
50	Pasi	170	72	2	..	1	3	1	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	31	20
51	Patni	29	34	..	2	5	4	..	..	13	12	43	28	25	10	3	7
52	Pod	30,555	26,302	24,409	27,073	13,897	17,874	6,102	6,686	5,676	5,734	29,510	25,692	31,555	23,334	7,008	6,940
53	Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54	Rajbanshi	3,725	3,982	1,215	1,093	1,178	817	748	731	2,950	2,729	2,128	2,199	1,946	1,003	3,056	3,241
55	Rajwar	15	5	..	2	722	766	..	..	6	..	..	9	157	70	7	3
56	Sunri	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	12	1
57	Tiyar	1,930	1,726	439	338	423	423	315	373	160	168	305	173	199	151	142	127
58	Turi	3	.	..	..	43	..	..	..	7	2	299	232	260	319	..	3

Scheduled Tribes—*contd.*

All Scheduled Tribes		381	458	591	533	2,273	2,594	258	303	478	317	2,521	2,764	9,306	10,534	924	333
1	Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Mru	1	..	..	..	178	46	28	27	..	..	7	..	128	173	..	..
5	Munda	119	111	313	240	571	1,201	78	100	19	47	628	677	4,930	5,693	16	15
6	Oraon	173	168	242	209	665	698	49	41	120	30	467	611	2,452	3,300	492	99
7	Santal	88	179	36	84	859	649	103	135	330	240	1,419	1,476	1,796	1,368	416	219

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—57 Habra and Deganga (excluding Gobardanga town)		Rural—58 Bangaon and Gaighata (excluding town)		Rural—59 Barrackpur, Dum Dum, Titagarh, Jagaddal, Naihati, Bijpur, Khardah, Noapara and Baranagar (excluding towns)		Rural—60 Diamond Harbour and Falta (excluding town)		Rural—61 Mathurapur		Rural—62 Kakdwip and Sagar		Rural—63 Kulpi		Rural—64 Magrahat	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46
Scheduled Castes—*contd.*																
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	14,982	12,979	25,686	28,061	8,199	5,787	22,487	18,730	29,792	28,578	19,528	17,827	23,719	18,199	30,677	26,765
1 Bagdi	1,626	2,639	2,686	2,495	1,467	1,086	3,994	3,410	4,654	4,159	4,666	3,427	2,463	2,319	2,657	933
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	4	8	8	11	..	..	3	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	6	..
4 Bauri	1	3	46	17	36	38	10	9	12	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
5 Bediya	..	..	5	25	1	2	..	..	5	4	4	13	..	..	..	..
6 Beldar	2	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	34	20	4	5	18	24	..	..	536	564	65	73	..	..	..	..
8 Bhuiya	3	3	139	73	14	5	39	24	16	10	1	2	..	3	..	2
9 Bhumij	59	173	2	..	..	..	50	..	48	38	..	..	..	7	..	..
10 Bind	..	..	5	2	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11 Chamar	141	795	235	287	434	315	24	50	75	77	51	35	87	121	80	54
12 Dhoba	1,184	235	138	130	76	55	482	492	269	240	243	206	323	316	208	374
13 Doai	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	24	..	8	..	..	5	17
14 Dom	15	24	37	20	52	48	17	12	9	8	7	15	..	..	11	57
15 Dosadh	12	..	13	10	158	43	8	3	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..
16 Ghasi	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	35	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	37	53	74	31	124	77	161	131	478	433	233	375	227	151	16	26
19 Jalia Kaibartta	94	102	342	276	253	35	369	475	131	113	168	116	..	11	1	..
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	1	..	901	966	..	109	77	64	..	..	62	28	..	..	22	36
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	16	..	..	4	..	..	13	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	13	1	2	..	13	..
23 Kaora	1,575	892	506	310	193	182	2,495	2,868	4,402	4,189	1,131	902	2,643	2,481	2,307	2,558
24 Karenga	..	..	..	..	..	..	61	80	10	11	26	16	10	17	95	130
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

26 Kaur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
28 Khatik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
29 Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
31 Konwar	6	6	..	..	201	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
32 Kora	..	..	..	..	49	27	900	..	..	..	..	73	29	..	..	..
33 Kotal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	..	..	..	4	8	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar	1	..	188	95	27	23	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
37 Mahar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	9	16	..	..	..	..
38 Mahli	3	3	35	15	29	..	..	..	17	8	1	..	..	1	..	..
39 Mal	4	..	90	117	219	1	3	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	7	8
40 Mallah	1	3	10	3	32	34	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..
41 Malpahariya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	2	12	7	1	48	26	5	3	128	..	6	12	20	11	8	19
43 Muchi	1,375	1,229	2,082	1,748	288	137	442	133	..	185	66	4	301	259	144	163
44 Musahar	2	9	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	1,874	2,418	13,371	16,371	2,446	1,367	1,441	1,345	1,829	951	2,251	2,330	469	545	1,122	258
47 Nuniya	22	..	11	3	131	57	19	..	..	..	14	1	..	..	..	6
48 Paliya	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	4	4	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	13	11	15	17	94	57	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
51 Patni	8	6	55	48	43	7	3	3	11	24	..	2	1	..	14	4
52 Pod	6,103	4,086	3,316	3,246	618	1,449	8,928	6,602	15,245	15,632	9,104	8,950	16,084	11,005	19,664	18,636
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	718	204	1,179	1,654	817	485	2,678	2,762	1,670	1,644	1,181	1,012	980	898	4,046	3,214
55 Rajwar	2	..	..	..	100	38	..	..	3	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
56 Sunri	1	..	..	1	27	..	2	6	1	..	13	25	3	..	10	5
57 Tiyar	51	40	151	72	149	29	263	258	196	244	183	177	77	64	227	260
58 Turi	..	..	5	12	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Scheduled Tribes—*contd.*

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	204	205	1,402	1,650	1,139	970	301	..	858	854	790	877	..	71	89	78
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	..	..	586	633	14	2	1	..	469	471	182	263	..	71	..	..
6 Oraon	74	81	508	589	674	452	160	..	24	25	..	..	..	..	89	77
7 Santal	130	124	308	428	447	516	140	..	365	358	608	614	..	..	..	1

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	City—3 Tollyganj City		City—4 Bhatpara City		City—5 Garden Reach City		City—6 South Suburbs City		Urban—17 Budge-Budge and Batanagar Towns		Urban—18 Rajpur, Barui-pur, Jaynagar-Majilpur, Canning and Diamond Harbour Towns		Urban—19 Basirhat, Baduria and Taki Towns		Urban—20 Barasat and Gobardanga Towns	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62
Scheduled Castes—*contd.*																
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	6,685	2,921	12,451	8,413	7,313	2,670	2,517	1,756	3,293	2,233	4,040	5,297	3,034	2,648	789	585
1 Bagdi	29	88	93	101	181	155	199	295	318	380	318	1,127	66	90	114	122
2 Bahelia	..	..	4	..	..	..	.	..	.	..	1	.	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	1	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Bauri	..	..	9	1	7	3	2	..	2	..	23	..	11	1	..	..
5 Bediya	21	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	1	..
6 Beldar	..	.	8	5	..	..	..	.	.	.	1	..	..	..	3	..
7 Bhuimali	13	.	3	..	..	..	1	..	.	..	.	..	..	..	..	..
8 Bhuiya	9	6	52	30	..	1	11	6	6	..	8	8	..	..	10	.
9 Bhumij	..	..	4	..	..	..	3	.	..	.	1	..	..	..	.	..
10 Bind	9	1	135	55	..	4	3	1	..	.	18	..	..	..	.	..
11 Chamar	618	55	3,193	1,882	960	255	46	30	65	120	315	18	197	121	10	2
12 Dhoba	530	962	335	305	23	25	193	81	153	96	211	307	151	148	31	12
13 Doai	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	.	.	.	4	..	2	..	.	..
14 Dom	22	14	321	123	14	11	20	..	27	19	35	11	23	28	3	2
15 Dosadh	30	5	766	737	126	31	30	10	46	10	156	4	..	..	6	4
16 Ghasi	..	..	8	..	..	..	.	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	1	1	97	22	18	..	34	.	2	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
18 Hari	25	25	16	17	1	3	31	31	14	13	25	8	1	9	18	15
19 Jalia Kaibartta	72	25	383	32	158	133	74	66	68	48	61	7	242	231	29	5
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	80	22	195	30	71	79	..	.	4	.	109	69	49	71	1	2
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	.	1	..	..	..	.	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	721	104	765	431	323	67	347	277	122	47	307	226	289	355	126	116
24 Karenga	.	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	13	13	..	.	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	1	..	145	134	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	17	..	93	21	..	..	12	14	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..
27 Khaira	..	..	100	..	..	1	3	6	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..

28 Khatik	..	..	12	1	1	23	5	..	116	5	18	..	1	.	..	.
29 Koch	..	..	.	.		..	..	..	..	..	5	.	.	..	..	
30 Konai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	
31 Konwar	2	..	218	39	1		12	.	34	7	3	.	4	3	.	
32 Kora	.	2	48	42	81	17	25	2	4	19	1	..	.		.	
33 Kotal	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	.	1	
34 Lalbegi	..	..	.	.	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	.	.	..	..	
35 Lodha	.	..	1	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	.	.	.	.
36 Lohar	12	1	74	289	1	..	95	2	..	.	34	.	..	.		..
37 Mahar	.	..	1	..	.	.	7	..	.	1	..	..	..	..		
38 Mahli	13	1	2	.	1	..	4	..	4	..	7	.	10	..	..	10
39 Mal	1	.	53	41	1	..	..	1	7	1	.	..	5	2	6	.
40 Mallah	..	1	654	403	94	13	3	35	21	3	137	..	19	4	.	4
41 Malpahariya	..	..	..	.	..	..	.	..	.	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	55	15	665	24	28	28	92	51	270	147	132	35	23	20	26	31
43 Muchi	99	22	1,777	1,627	742	134	217	168	490	150	355	14	316	279	160	104
44 Musahar	1	..	7	4		1	..	4	..	..	9	.	.	..	..	
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	.	..		..	..	..	..	.	..		.
46 Namosudra	1,524	991	230	142	1,703	321	194	148	50	57	508	1,615	329	328	155	108
47 Nuniya	65	3	432	145	33	23	22	1	142	84	78	2	1	4	3	.
48 Paliya	.	..	.		1		..	..	..	..	.	..	.	..	..	.
49 Pan	1	..	1		.	1	.	..	1	..	..	..	.	.	..	.
50 Pasi	1,223	154	919	1,499	546	108	41	21	90	23	168	14	..	7	4	3
51 Patni	22	3	60	26	10	64	14	12	17	2	10	1	28	24	..	.
52 Pod	1,294	293	6	7	1,247	768	497	427	848	594	513	1,651	184	124	36	4
53 Rabha	2	.	32	5	..	.	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	29	21	35	18	711	254	113	14	225	307	184	50	840	617	40	40
55 Rajwar	1	1	564	284	73	4	16	12	122	77	106	2	..	.	4	..
56 Sunri	3	1	35	21	..	5	95	4	7	1	11	..	114	105	..	..
57 Tiyar	118	99	14	1	1	1	51	36	11	20	148	113	67	68	..	1
58 Turi	23	4	24	3	1	3	3	1	..	..	1	.	17	..	..	..

Scheduled Tribes—*contd.*

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	446	56	43	13	569	60	234	36	15	3	72	31	4	26	203	80
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	.	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	..	.	.	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	3	11	..	.	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	10	..	1
6 Oraon	342	43	43	11	101	.	98	26	1	..	3	..	1	..	42	20
7 Santal	101	2		2	465	59	135	10	14	3	67	31	3	16	161	59

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Urban—21 Bangaon Town		Urban—22 Barrackpur Cantonment, South Dum Dum, North Dum Dum and Dum Dum Towns		Urban—23 Titagarh, Naihati and Halisahar Towns		Urban—24 Kanchrapara, Panihati and Khardah Towns		Urban—25 Barrackpur, Garulia, North Barrackpur and Ichhapur Defence Estate Towns		Urban—26 Baranagar Town		Urban—27 Kamarhati Town	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76
Scheduled Castes—*concld.*														
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	1,499	1,242	5,195	3,943	17,303	9,716	7,806	3,989	11,211	5,915	2,903	1,490	2,244	1,272
1 Bagdi	78	87	415	466	283	239	1,069	695	410	883	103	120	57	48
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	.	1	.	.	..	3	.	6		3	2
3 Baiti	.	1	.	..	7	8	..	1	10	11	2	3	.	
4 Bauri	..	1	2	1	24	16	31	20	3	..	.	5	.	
5 Bediya	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	.	.	3	.	..	.	
6 Beldar	..	.	..	.	21	7	2	..	4	2	.	.		..
7 Bhuimali	..	..	10	..	10	..	21	..	..	14	..	..		
8 Bhuiya	..	.	38	27	59	9	18	2	43	6		.	18	.
9 Bhumij	..	..	1	.	..	.	.	..	12	1	.	1	.	.
10 Bind	.	..	1	.	291	133	43	12	17	.		..	15	..
11 Chamar	33	12	432	97	3,617	1,721	275	69	1,777	908	487	224	352	233
12 Dhoba	103	98	300	34	570	129	304	148	204	118	207	155	78	56
13 Doai	.			157	..	26	.	2	..	..	1			
14 Dom	..	1	13	5	237	65	52	52	109	48	74	65	19	18
15 Dosadh	7	3	142	43	774	172	366	101	569	207	136	65	104	12
16 Ghasi	..	..	..	..	.	..	1	..	..	..	.	3	16	15
17 Gonrhi	.		3	..	36	..	27	8	29	7		.	5	.
18 Hari	5	12	12	2	68	2	55	41	193	169	143	120	9	5
19 Jalia Kaibartta	35	1	39	12	204	103	253	141	146	70	31	49	55	39
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	236	252	5	6	68	8	238	8	4	32	9		12	13
21 Kadar	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	.	.	..	.	..	..	..
22 Kandra	1	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..		.	.	.
23 Kaora	..	8	256	210	384	745	840	139	388	114	113	49	44	31
24 Karenga	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	1	.	..	.
26 Kaur	..	..	..	1	229	..	..	..	..	4	3	1	3	.
27 Khaira	..	..	47	1	16	..	52	3	9	2	.	..	.	..

28	Khatik	.	..	2	..	119	86	27	3	5	..	1	.	1	..
29	Koch	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	.	1	..	.	..	..	
30	Konai	.	..	..	..	3	..	.	.	4	6		..		..
31	Konwar	..	.	35	1	88	74	168	57	8	37	11	7	5	
32	Kora	.	..	.	8	123	19	6	7	140	32	1	2	.	
33	Kotal	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	.	..	.	..	.	..
34	Lalbegi	..		5		9	..	..	.	2	.		.	.	.
35	Lodha	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..		..	.	.		.
36	Lohar	..	..	22	1	106	16	53	9	38	3	21	9	14	1
37	Mahar	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
38	Mahli	3	..	7	..	15	10	26	6	4	18	23	..	8	8
39	Mal	2	1	32	7	140	28	36	..	406	92	4	14	3	..
40	Mallah	7	5	29	2	929	1,048	53	32	419	181	13	6	14	.
41	Malpahariya	..		..	..	..	..	..	..		.	.	..	..	..
42	Methor	29	22	267	286	401	36	420	170	243	363	225	170	60	35
43	Muchi	183	142	981	414	2,800	553	830	180	1,739	399	415	56	422	36
44	Musahar	..	..	3	..	90	19	11	5	3	2	.	..	1	..
45	Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.
46	Namosudra	712	553	597	726	329	1,574	1,495	1,395	1,573	520	409	257	230	229
47	Nuniya	5	4	71	4	506	103	157	50	1,005	268	58	34	54	13
48	Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..
49	Pan	..	..	2	..	19	.	..	..	2	.	..	.	..	..
50	Pasi	21	19	117	62	1,920	1,030	214	55	842	577	18	20	218	181
51	Patni	3	4	41	1	144	27	42	6	67	5	13	5	7	7
52	Pod	3	2	68	127	4	96	57	..	39	137	337	27	266	248
53	Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	.	53	..	..	..	..
54	Rajbanshi	20	10	926	1,003	241	1,181	273	523	282	387	5	2	23	9
55	Rajwar	12	3	172	112	1,950	393	95	18	200	21	24	14	90	33
56	Sunri	..	1	38	..	106	4	107	..	153	200	2	7	10	..
57	Tiyar	..	..	51	126	335	31	33	25	97	1	2	..	25	.
58	Turi	.	..	12	..	22	..	53	6	6	5	.	..	3	..

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

All Scheduled Tribes		13	11	120	63	40	30	276	270	168	227	4	47	13	13
1	Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	12	4	..	..	..	..
2	Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	15	2	..	..	..	..
3	Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Mru	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
5	Munda	..	..	3	4	..	3	27	10	35	31	1	16	..	..
6	Oraon	8	5	88	39	1	11	164	129	63	146	1	25	7	..
7	Santal	5	6	29	20	39	16	81	131	35	44	2	6	6	13

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes		Total		Ward—I Shampukur		Ward—II Kumartuli		Ward—III Burtolla		Ward—IV Sukea Street	
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Scheduled Castes											
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	123,691	89,962	33,729	2,778	626	843	340	3,831	1,566	4,233	1,337
1 Bagdi	..	2,042	1,710	45	29	7	6	57	28	33	28
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	15	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Bauri	..	37	9		..	..	..	4	..	3	..
5 Bediya	..	120	9	..	..	..	.	..	1	2	3
6 Beldar	..	70	9	1	..	14	..	2	.	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	123	21	1	..	15	..	3	..	4	..
8 Bhuiya	..	1,813	442	46	10	14	.	47	9	17	8
9 Bhumij	.	40	21			..	..	6	.	..	.
10 Bind	..	400	187	19	..	2	.	..	.	3	3
11 Chamar	..	12,076	3,830	250	21	51	15	593	213	125	99
12 Dhoba	.	6.156	2,917	109	47	35	.	208	63	285	92
13 Doai	..	10	53	.	..	.	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	..	3,501	2,612	72	49	64	6	108	86	52	43
15 Dosadh	..	4,145	1,490	113	6	55	24	237	39	19	4
16 Ghasi	.	13	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	.
17 Gonrhi	..	14	5	..	..	.	.		..	2	..
18 Hari	..	811	579	8	11	..	.	37	36	158	140
19 Jalia Kaibartta	..	1,674	1,154	39	14	32	16	17	15	4	5
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	409	100	37	..	16	2	43	5	1	..
21 Kadar	..	3	1	..	..	.	..	.	.	..	.
22 Kandra	..	119	4	..	..	59	..	.	..	.	1
23 Kaora	.	7,108	2,288	281	109	..	11	331	106	117	72
24 Karenga	..	9	2	.	..	..	.	.	..	.	..
25 Kastha	..	56	5	.	..	..	.	..	..	1	3
26 Kaur	..	51	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira	..	83	3	..	..	..	..	4	..	37	..
28 Khatik	..	1,056	812	27	6	55	49	161	115	21	21
29 Koch	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.
30 Konai	..	41	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..

31 Konwar	..	416	97	14	11	19	29	125	20	82	..
32 Kora	..	198	11	..	..	..	..	41	..	3	..
33 Kotal	..	21	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	138	116	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	17	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar	..	488	30	14	..	4	1	33	1	4	..
37 Mahar	..	160	17	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38 Mahli	..	205	111	2	..	1	4	15	..	4	..
39 Mal	..	30	18	4	..	..	4	6	..	..	1
40 Mallah	..	2,064	127	112	3	..	1	140	3	10	7
41 Malpahariya	..	128	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	..	5,806	2,992	57	124	9	1	179	187	159	158
43 Muchi	..	22,943	5,020	994	59	78	14	995	382	2,690	428
44 Musahar	..	85	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	..	5,296	3,203	102	71	122	35	194	121	153	60
47 Nuniya	..	2,197	318	66	..	43	..	64	6	54	1
48 Paliya	..	10	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	..	37	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	..	1,914	716	109	5	121	98	100	95	80	7
51 Patni	..	51	11	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
52 Pod	..	954	540	27	23	..	1	6	8	18	23
53 Rabha	..	61	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	..	1,492	865	32	20	..	1	15	3	2	2
55 Rajwar	..	2,255	442	113	8	10	2	38	5	5	5
56 Sunri	..	648	575	33	..	16	20	19	18	78	123
57 Tiyar	..	72	29	..	..	1	..	2	..	5	..
58 Turi	..	278	155	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..

Scheduled Tribes

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	333	233	100	2	..	..	..	1	2	6	..
1 Bhutia	..	2	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	4	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	6	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	..	46	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
6 Oraon	..	34	18	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Santal	..	141	25	1	..	..	..	1	2	5	..

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Ward—V Jorabagan Males	Ward—V Jorabagan Females	Ward—VI Jorasanko Males	Ward—VI Jorasanko Females	Ward—VII Bara Bazar Males	Ward—VII Bara Bazar Females	Ward—VIII Colootola Males	Ward—VIII Colootola Females	Ward—IX Muchipara Males	Ward—IX Muchipara Females	Ward—X Bowbazar Males	Ward—X Bowbazar Females
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Scheduled Castes—*contd.*												
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	3,561	655	2,922	884	1,342	267	3,280	873	4,243	1,118	1,914	88
1 Bagdi	9	6	23	25	11	..	42	9	33	59	3	..
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	2	2	..	..	1	.	.	..	1	..	..	..
4 Bauri	6	..	1	1	..	.	2	..	..	2	..	..
5 Bediya	..	1	..	..		..	.	..	..	..	2	..
6 Beldar	12	1	.	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	21	7	4	..	..	.	1	..	..	..	..	..
8 Bhuiya	191	12	4	1	66	1	..	..	94	5	77	..
9 Bhumij	2	..	.	..	4	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
10 Bind	..	..	3	..	1	..	..	.	1	..	..	..
11 Chamar	133	16	190	32	25	17	500	4	296	79	355	6
12 Dhoba	115	11	154	52	25	..	207	91	308	100	168	12
13 Doai	..	.	.	..	..	..	..	42	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	19	23	365	246	13	..	266	177	99	89	5	..
15 Dosadh	71	14	256	6	38	20	324	137	167	28	52	5
16 Ghasi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	..	..	18	4	27	15	38	33	37	36	18	4
19 Jalia Kaibartta	25	28	11	3	2	..	3	1	268	163	5	..
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	3	..	..	..	8	..	7	6	47	48	..	..
21 Kadar	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	.	1	..	..	.	2	..	..	..	.	..
23 Kaora	1,342	144	310	93	606	25	200	27	256	56	87	1
24 Karenga	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira	..	3	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
28 Khatik	337	221	13	5	85	123	..	..	71	51	..	2
29 Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

31 Konwar	40	..	3	..	5	..	..	..	20	1	12	..
32 Kora	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..
33 Kotal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	50	8	2	..	..
35 Lodha	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
36 Lohar	128	5	8	1	13	4	6	1	10	..	7	..
37 Mahar	16	9	1	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38 Mahli	34	13	42	21	3	1	9	15	3	2	4	..
39 Mal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
40 Mallah	17	..	9	3	10	1	1	..	28	18	7	..
41 Malpahariya . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..
42 Methor	80	54	124	72	209	31	160	101	158	125	253	34
43 Muchi	477	23	1,143	226	108	3	1,218	59	1,662	54	809	12
44 Musahar . . .	2	..	..	..	1	..	51	1	..	..	..	..
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra . . .	28	14	40	18	20	13	128	107	194	89	13	3
47 Nuniya	112	3	67	5	13	5	6	1	126	4	16	8
48 Paliya	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	153	8	14	..	4	2	8	..	27	14	6	..
51 Patni	10	3	8	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	1
52 Pod	1	..	12	..	..	..	1	1	26	8	..	..
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi . . .	10	1	85	46	4	5	56	1	92	36	6	..
55 Rajwar	15	3	..	21	10	1	10	..	146	16	5	..
56 Sunri	138	29	5	2	13	..	16	8	49	28	3	..
57 Tiyar	5	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..
58 Turi	..	1	1	..	6	..	1	1	2	..	..	..

Scheduled Tribes—*contd.*

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES . .	7	16	2	1	1	1	1	4	13	6	..	..
1 Bhutia	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6 Oraon	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..
7 Santal	2	3	2	1	1	1	1	..	13	6	..	..

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Ward—XI Puddapukur		Ward—XII Waterloo Street		Ward—XIII Fenwick Bazar		Ward—XIV Taltola		Ward—XV Kalinga		Ward—XVI Park Street	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
Scheduled Castes—*contd.*												
All Scheduled Castes	1,022	195	322	5	2,534	360	1,479	512	679	188	370	5
1 Bagdi	13	10	3	..	10	5	8	6	1	6	..	..
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
4 Bauri	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Bediya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6 Beldar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	2	1	..	..
8 Bhuiya	15	..	18	..	9	..	23	1	6	1	12	..
9 Bhumij	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 Bind	3	..	..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..
11 Chamar	45	..	3	..	672	5	146	19	9	..	7	..
12 Dhoba	58	9	16	..	130	19	210	90	215	62	7	..
13 Doai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	15	1	..	..	267	217	172	141	46	43	..	..
15 Dosadh	17	1	11	..	54	1	91	5	61	5	19	..
16 Ghasi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	7	3	..	..	1	..	11	66	2	..	1	..
19 Jalia Kaibartta	387	78	..	..	1	3	9	10	..	2	..	..
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	1	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	9	..	..	..
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	84	9	19	2	41	6	90	8	12	6	25	2
24 Karenga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
28 Khatik	..	..	..	..	55	23	..	..	..	..	..	..
29 Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
31 Konwar	..	..	..	..	7	8	15	..	2	..	..	..
32 Kora	27	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
33 Kotal	1	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	5	2	..	..
35 Lodha	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar	..	..	..	..	..	..	57	..	..	..	..	..
37 Mahar	..	..	3	..	29	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
38 Mahli	..	..	2	..	2	..	9	..	4	..	1	..
39 Mal	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
40 Mallah	3	..	..	..	44	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
41 Malpahariya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	94	56	185	2	284	41	122	64	189	31	235	..
43 Muchi	110	..	40	..	786	11	160	24	58	22	44	3
44 Musahar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	79	16	..	..	17	5	34	14	14	6	4	..
47 Nuniya	19	..	9	1	33	2	98	2	40	..	3	..
48 Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
49 Pan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	16	4	2	..	12	1	25	6	1	1	6	..
51 Patni	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
52 Pod	16	4	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	7	4	..	..	4	1	10	1	..	..	..	..
55 Rajwar	2	..	..	..	6	..	4	3	1	..	..	..
56 Sunri	1	..	1	..	8	9	110	50	..	..	..	..
57 Tiyar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..
58 Turi	..	..	..	..	49	..	23	..	..	..	..	..

Scheduled Tribes—*contd.*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	..	..	..	..	5	1	1	2	..	..	..	..
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6 Oraon	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Santal	..	..	..	..	3	1	1	2	..	..	..	..

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Ward—XVII Baman Bustee		Ward—XVIII Tangra		Ward—XIX Entally		Ward—XX Beniapukur		Ward—XXI Ballyganj		Ward—XXII Bhowanipur		Ward—XXIII Kalighat		Ward—XXIV Alipur	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52
Scheduled Castes—*contd.*																
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	272	16	6,612	3,281	5,148	2,158	1,952	860	2,705	941	2,921	1,108	931	497	2,430	786
1 Bagdi	..	..	316	282	65	90	56	22	1	3	22	20	40	50	201	141
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
4 Bauri	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
5 Bediya	..	..	8	4	2	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6 Beldar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
7 Bhuimali	..	..	1	..	1	3	3	..	5	..	1	1	1	..	1	..
8 Bhuiya	10	..	192	129	261	87	4	3	5	..	60	3	..	..	62	10
9 Bhumij	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 Bind	..	..	3	..	2	..	3	..	4	7	136	3	..	..	7	..
11 Chamar	..	..	2,492	785	627	445	113	112	335	258	439	86	47	7	325	77
12 Dhoba	9	5	197	95	211	117	250	149	406	279	519	306	32	23	124	48
13 Doai	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	..	..	120	105	244	208	180	154	52	87	146	93	20	12	38	21
15 Dosadh	..	..	493	385	422	224	4	11	78	10	161	65	27	..	183	19
16 Ghasi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	2	2	4	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	..	..	111	39	17	22	8	7	8	2	12	3	..	..	7	..
19 Jalia Kaibartta	..	..	14	1	139	56	4	6	11	10	16	15	17	28	36	14
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	..	..	..	10	2	..	..	..	..	9	9	2	..	9	6
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	9	2	460	382	211	95	20	22	118	74	261	169	141	90	153	58
24 Karenga	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
28 Khatik	..	..	85	92	..	9	..	5	..	..	2	4	10	7	2	..
29 Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
31 Konwar	..	..	3	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	15	2	..	..	..	8
32 Kora	..	..	..	1	10	2	..	..	4	..	23	7	..	..	..	..
33 Kotal	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	..	1	4	5	1	11	7	16	9	9	9	2	..	4	7
35 Lodha	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

36 Lohar	..	..	8	1	10	3	3	..	3	2	40	1	5	1	2	..
37 Mahar	..	..	4	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38 Mahli	..	..	4	8	5	3	1	..	..	..	11	1	3	..	2	1
39 Mal	..	..	4	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
40 Mallah	1	..	39	10	20	9	..	..	2	..	18	4	3	..	6	..
41 Malpahariya	..	..	114	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	240	4	95	52	263	194	204	164	113	50	93	53	36	41	218	52
43 Muchi	2	1	719	192	1,821	360	925	84	1,382	61	479	82	408	74	399	100
44 Musahar	1	..	1	..	9	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	..	4	515	391	120	96	108	82	38	21	69	56	50	54	91	37
47 Nuniya	..	..	24	6	100	14	23	..	46	3	215	22	11	2	..	24
48 Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	1	..	..	..	1
49 Pan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	..	..	50	33	27	19	1	1	43	32	44	17	1	2	6	4
51 Patni	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
52 Pod	..	..	226	94	23	9	3	5	5	..	12	13	34	39	124	51
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	..	..	182	98	95	35	2	..	13	10	60	43	15	8	134	49
55 Rajwar	..	..	89	47	363	7	6	..	..	..	4	2	1	..	271	45
56 Sunri	..	..	15	18	19	2	16	21	5	2	10	2	10	59	..	2
57 Tiyar	..	..	19	8	4	..	..	..	1	..	1	5	..	..	11	3
58 Turi	..	..	1	1	35	38	..	2	..	1	18	8	5	..	11	8

Scheduled Tribes—*contd.*

All Scheduled Tribes	..	1	55	46	5	7	..	..	5	3	5	4	1	..	3	1
1 Bhutia	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	..	..	38	34	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6 Oraon	..	..	14	12	4	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
7 Santal	..	..	1	..	1	2	..	..	5	3	2	..	1	..	..	1

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Ward—XXV Ekbalpur		Ward—XXVI Watganj and Hastings		Ward—XXVII Tollyganj		Ward—XXVIII Belliaghata		Ward—XXIX Manicktola		Ward—XXX Belgachia		Ward—XXXI Satpukur		Ward—XXXII Cossipur	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68
Scheduled Castes—*concld.*																
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	5,822	2,883	3,684	1,566	4,068	1,794	4,222	2,686	4,338	1,860	1,217	651	1,707	1,032	5,708	2,591
1 Bagdi	29	39	17	11	213	111	374	369	259	225	30	10	55	63	66	57
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Bauri	6	..	2	..	2	3	6	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
5 Bediya	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	98	..	..	..
6 Beldar	26	6	5	1	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	5	..
7 Bhuimali	3	1	..	1	42	..	2	2	6	3	2	..	1	..	..	2
8 Bhuiya	145	16	136	58	37	4	8	18	59	11	75	20	36	10	84	25
9 Bhumij	1	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
10 Bind	159	162	6	2	5	1	7	..	8	1	1	..	2	4	7	4
11 Chamar	811	356	778	205	415	150	719	289	661	224	239	118	148	89	374	103
12 Dhoba	361	184	117	63	567	224	334	247	423	289	32	..	132	155	148	85
13 Doai	..	8	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	281	219	302	236	178	173	106	9	37	26	93	95	5	3	134	50
15 Dosadh	236	94	207	60	146	19	283	152	117	72	59	29	21	2	117	53
16 Ghasi	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	4	39	53	23	20	3	32	17	93	46	13	14	4	4	65	12
19 Jalia Kaibartta	8	9	20	10	142	124	153	251	52	27	1	4	10	23	248	238
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	5	1	..	..	18	4	13	8	144	..	..	..	4	7	15	2
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	48	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
23 Kaora	509	132	246	52	417	258	137	71	107	51	67	32	90	37	360	86
24 Karenga	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha	4	..	18	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	6	..	17	..	1	..
26 Kaur	..	..	34	..	..	6	4	..	1	..	6	..	..	1	3	..
27 Khaira	..	..	..	..	10	..	15	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
28 Khatik	8	4	22	1	5	6	3	..	1	..	8	7	..	..	85	61
29 Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	2	3
31 Konwar	6	..	17	..	8	7	4	..	14	5	..	5	..	..	1	1
32 Kora	38	..	..	..	27	..	4	..	4	1	..	..	..	..	3	..
33 Kotal	..	..	..	..	15	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	56	16	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	2	2	1	3	4
35 Lodha	5	2	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	..

36 Lohar	16	1	15	1	20	1	18	..	32	4	5	..	1	..	26	2
37 Mahar	87	4	2	1	1	..	3	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
38 Mahli	7	13	1	3	20	17	7	4	4	4	3	..	1	1	..	..
39 Mal	..	..	2	1	6	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
40 Mallah	99	19	98	7	23	4	103	2	585	1	17	14	1	..	45	21
41 Malpahariya	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	508	465	360	245	333	91	198	133	204	102	40	13	226	132	163	120
43 Muchi	822	513	625	339	371	136	926	541	443	214	290	176	296	135	1,652	692
44 Musahar	10	7	3	1	..	..	..	..	4	5	..	..	1	1	..	1
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	146	21	31	5	236	156	358	356	351	307	57	25	254	197	1,730	823
47 Nuniya	367	119	88	16	247	28	46	6	76	18	37	22	61	4	87	26
48 Paliya	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	..	..	22	..	..	..	2	..	6	1	..	..	..	..	4	..
50 Pasi	246	104	150	43	45	10	47	16	332	126	57	4	31	3	147	61
51 Patni	1	..	1	1	21	..	1	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
52 Pod	4	3	5	1	237	118	55	40	23	16	28	31	43	31	21	20
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	72	45	66	35	132	110	148	131	86	48	22	15	132	111	8	6
55 Rajwar	679	143	103	51	49	3	59	4	124	28	20	14	25	8	93	26
56 Sunri	6	126	26	13	34	17	12	12	2	1	..	..	..	8	3	5
57 Tiyar	..	..	7	..	..	3	7	2	2	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
58 Turi	16	9	94	79	3	3	1	1	6	2	1	1	4	..	..	..

In Fort William and Maidan including Ballyganj and Alipur Military areas the total number of scheduled castes is 243, 153 being Chamars, 44 Dhobas, 2 Doms, 6 Dosadhs, 1 Hari, 1 Mahli, 1 Mallah, 13 Methors, 11 Muchis, 2 Pans, 3 Pasis, 2 Rajbanshis and 4 Rajwars. All are males. In the Port the total number of scheduled castes is 439, 5 being Binds, 1 Kaora, 432 Mallahs and 1 Methor; all being males. In the canal area the total number of scheduled castes is 190, 188 being Mallahs and 2 Pods; all being males. There is no member of the Scheduled Tribes in the Fort Areas or the Port or the Canal.

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

All Scheduled Tribes	5	2	98	..	9	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	1
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
5 Munda	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6 Oraon	5	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Santal	..	..	96	..	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Total			Rural			Urban			Rural—65 Krishnagar and Nabadwip (excluding towns)		Rural—66 Chapra and Krishnaganj	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Scheduled Castes													
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	191,402	106,193	85,209	170,685	95,380	75,305	20,717	10,813	9,904	12,084	8,228	13,774	12,047
1 Bagdi	..	19,773	16,763	..	17,907	14,337	..	1,866	2,426	3,019	2,445	2,497	2,111
2 Bahelia	..	51	33	..	50	33	..	1	..	..	..	49	33
3 Baiti	..	392	320	..	360	299	..	32	21	70	51	46	43
4 Bauri	..	797	726	..	707	620	..	90	106	4	..	151	108
5 Bediya	..	136	85	..	132	81	..	4	4	10	..	..	..
6 Beldar	..	5	2	..	4	1	..	1	1	1	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	408	360	..	379	354	..	29	6	89	52	42	51
8 Bhuiya	..	559	584	..	549	568	..	10	16	29	56	76	79
9 Bhumij	..	408	331	..	408	331	..	..	..	40	..	9	9
10 Bind	..	496	460	..	488	458	..	8	2	10	8	7	4
11 Chamar	..	2,374	2,016	..	1,707	1,485	..	667	531	348	197	550	457
12 Dhoba	..	1,214	1,163	..	666	610	..	548	553	79	66	111	83
13 Doai	..	35	2	..	35	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	..	400	406	..	294	283	..	106	123	47	32	35	45
15 Dosadh	..	268	87	..	155	44	..	113	43	3	2	5	..
16 Ghasi	..	54	38	..	..	18	..	54	20	..	..	..	..
17 Genrhi	..	55	40	..	36	16	..	19	24	21	10	..	..
18 Hari	..	897	952	..	720	725	..	177	227	83	76	23	23
19 Jalia Kaibartta	..	2,823	2,962	..	1,882	2,197	..	941	765	396	338	296	332
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	9,826	8,808	..	8,752	7,786	..	1,074	1,022	1,080	808	2,934	2,973
21 Kadar	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	6	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	..	1,572	814	..	1,480	720	..	92	94	92	60	91	108
24 Karenga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira	..	110	76	..	94	63	..	16	13	2	7	..	..
28 Khatik	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
29 Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

31 Konwar	..	12	8	..	12	8	..	..	..	..	7	11	
32 Kora	..	1	10	..	1	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	
33 Kotal	..	26	17	..	12	6	..	14	11	3	..	4	4
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
35 Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
36 Lohar	..	431	420	..	431	420	..	..	..	4	..	3	..
37 Mahar	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38 Mahli	..	207	210	..	152	192	..	55	18	47	41	4	5
39 Mal	..	593	317	..	555	286	..	38	31	163	110	224	24
40 Mallah	..	248	180	..	218	167	..	30	13	96	75	13	1
41 Malpahariya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	..	742	451	..	490	250	..	252	201	196	70	11	9
43 Muchi	..	10,038	8,931	..	8,819	7,687	..	1,219	1,244	555	533	1,964	1,655
44 Musahar	..	107	100	..	49	61	..	58	39	2	..	..	..
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	..	41,206	30,973	..	39,210	29,325	..	1,996	1,648	5,037	2,836	3,715	3,159
47 Nuniya	..	222	219	..	153	174	..	69	45	5	5	20	15
48 Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	..	31	5	..	29	5	..	2	..	..	5	..	..
50 Pasi	..	187	70	..	151	43	..	36	27	12	2	34	1
51 Patni	..	1,558	667	..	1,071	604	..	487	63	30	27	351	281
52 Pod	..	1,780	920	..	1,745	892	..	35	28	101	9	24	14
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	..	3,817	2,589	..	3,348	2,139	..	469	450	320	232	459	406
55 Rajwar	..	1,975	1,832	..	1,924	1,804	..	51	28	72	50	3	..
56 Sunri	..	34	33	..	16	11	..	18	22	4	11	11	..
57 Tiyar	..	310	84	..	178	81	..	132	3	14	..	1	..
58 Turi	..	13	134	..	9	103	..	4	31	..	7	..	14

Scheduled Tribes

All Scheduled Tribes	10,988	6,382	4,606	10,210	5,985	4,225	778	397	381	922	624	397	440
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	..	761	610	..	761	609	..	..	1	39	2	49	27
6 Oraon	..	1,934	1,447	..	1,919	1,421	..	15	26	543	312	..	..
7 Santal	..	3,687	2,547	..	3,305	2,193	..	382	354	340	310	348	413

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—67 Nakasipara and Kaliganj		Rural—68 Tehatta and Karimpur		Rural—69 Ranaghat, Hanskhali and Santipur (excluding towns)		Rural—70 Chakdah and Haringhata (excluding towns)		Urban—28 Krishnagar and Nabadwip Towns		Urban—29 Ranaghat, Birnagar, Chakdah, Santipur and Kanchrapara Development Area Rural Colony Towns	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Schedueld Castes—*concld.*												
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	12,776	11,115	14,778	12,755	25,812	22,119	16,156	9,041	5,726	3,043	5,087	6,861
1 Bagdi	1,924	1,681	1,401	1,770	4,744	3,876	4,322	2,454	1,210	637	656	1,789
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
3 Baiti	139	134	90	60	14	10	1	1	9	6	23	15
4 Bauri	196	174	7	15	206	183	143	140	20	31	70	75
5 Bediya	..	11	4	5	..	12	118	53	4	4	..	..
6 Beldar	..	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..
7 Bhuimali	3	2	149	125	88	108	8	16	8	3	21	3
8 Bhuiya	27	12	24	32	70	89	323	300	4	6	6	10
9 Bhumij	..	..	..	..	328	312	31	10	..	..	..	..
10 Bind	..	..	2	1	439	445	30	..	7	1	1	1
11 Chamar	214	205	116	84	267	383	212	159	349	350	318	181
12 Dhoba	122	105	119	68	127	140	108	148	263	99	285	454
13 Doai	..	..	34	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	60	79	17	..	26	35	109	92	53	70	53	53
15 Dosadh	26	..	39	21	18	6	64	15	25	10	88	33
16 Ghasi	..	..	..	17	..	1	..	..	..	..	54	20
17 Gonrhi	1	..	5	..	9	1	..	5	..	1	19	23
18 Hari	309	284	115	105	150	189	40	48	156	171	21	56
19 Jalia Kaibartta	73	73	93	77	403	747	621	630	587	252	354	513
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	305	339	1,222	1,235	2,720	1,783	491	648	406	287	668	735
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	22	6	28	35	108	115	1,139	396	52	53	40	41
24 Karenga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira	..	..	4	..	65	55	23	1	..	..	16	13
28 Khatik	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
29 Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

No.	Name												
31	Konwar	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
32	Kora	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
33	Kotal	5	..	..	..	1	10	..	2	12	11	2	..
34	Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36	Lohar	3	..	..	..	310	308	111	112	..	..	..	..
37	Mahar	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38	Mahli	5	7	16	1	50	93	30	45	5	4	50	14
39	Mal	35	24	4	..	103	112	26	16	18	7	20	24
40	Mallah	83	72	..	..	5	9	21	10	10	11	20	2
41	Malpahariya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42	Methor	8	5	22	3	122	77	131	86	68	71	184	130
43	Muchi	2,060	1,947	2,527	2,181	851	911	862	460	846	514	373	730
44	Musahar	13	1	17	34	17	24	..	2	16	30	42	9
45	Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46	Namosudra	5,593	4,612	7,159	5,896	11,938	10,602	5,768	2,220	898	241	1,098	1,407
47	Nuniya	9	..	4	..	53	53	62	101	17	20	52	25
48	Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49	Pan	..	..	..	..	..	..	29	..	..	..	2	..
50	Pasi	4	3	2	1	99	..	..	36	7	4	29	23
51	Patni	152	76	265	117	226	70	47	33	464	34	23	29
52	Pod	6	7	277	123	255	225	1,082	514	6	..	29	28
53	Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54	Rajbanshi	612	558	555	431	1,239	338	163	174	75	87	394	363
55	Rajwar	697	666	396	233	739	788	17	67	6	9	45	19
56	Sunri	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	16	20
57	Tiyar	70	..	56	72	19	..	18	9	121	..	11	3
58	Turi	..	32	6	10	..	9	3	31	..	11	4	20

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

No.	Name												
	ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	1,601	503	239	236	582	916	2,244	1,506	145	126	252	255
1	Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Mru	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
5	Munda	..	..	68	36	247	247	358	297	..	1	..	..
6	Oraon	247	147	15	19	128	373	986	570	2	2	13	24
7	Santal	1,354	356	156	181	207	296	900	637	143	123	239	231

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Total			Rural			Urban			Rural—71 Berhampur Town, Domkal and Jalangi		Rural—72 Beldanga, Nawada and Hariharpara		Rural—73 Murshidabad, Jiaganj, Nabagram and Lalgola	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Scheduled Castes															
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	199,732	102,615	97,117	185,351	95,332	90,019	14,381	7,283	7,098	11,045	10,116	10,531	10,080	13,277	14,119
1 Bagdi	..	20,290	20,121	..	18,795	18,553	..	1,495	1,568	1,456	1,408	2,186	2,141	1,053	1,198
2 Bahelia	..	84	117	..	59	78	..	25	39	18	13	..	..	1	..
3 Baiti	..	264	286	..	251	268	..	13	18	8	1	69	71	13	67
4 Bauri	..	1,221	1,130	..	1,043	938	..	178	192	130	134	167	194	94	23
5 Bediya	..	161	145	..	161	145	..	..	..	26	20	89	87	..	1
6 Beldar	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	1,079	1,079	..	985	996	..	94	83	152	137	53	81	18	39
8 Bhuiya	..	850	452	..	819	446	..	31	6	..	..	18	2	318	299
9 Bhumij	..	140	19	..	136	18	..	4	1	..	..	..	..	136	..
10 Bind	..	1,003	869	..	956	838	..	47	31	354	324	146	153	255	160
11 Chamar	..	1,010	1,145	..	793	1,068	..	217	77	60	88	34	15	57	319
12 Dhoba	..	1,138	1,000	..	676	644	..	462	356	171	160	53	58	11	38
13 Doai	..	860	..	..	860	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	..	1,109	1,122	..	980	990	..	129	132	114	74	204	200	103	202
15 Dosadh	..	510	1,107	..	436	1,052	..	74	55	26	19	5	3	20	12
16 Ghasi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	240	432	..	221	193	..	19	239	208	192	..	..	13	..
18 Hari	..	2,473	2,595	..	2,305	2,410	..	168	185	55	99	465	479	36	183
19 Jalia Kaibartta	..	1,880	1,613	..	1,660	1,407	..	220	206	68	103	231	144	82	129
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	5,739	6,036	.	5,726	5,223	..	13	813	1,874	1,470	713	568	1,656	1,489
21 Kadar	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	23	16	..	22	2	..	1	14	..	..	..	..	22	2
23 Kaora	..	418	239	..	300	213	..	118	26	85	172	155	1	..	9
24 Karenga	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	77	27	..	68	27	..	9	..	52	10	1	4	15	13
27 Khaira	..	26	50	..	7	4	..	19	46	..	..	..	..	..	1
28 Khatik	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
29 Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	8,716	8,493	..	8,583	8,300	..	133	193	138	151	317	311	2,756	2,951

31 Konwar	..	41	30	..	1	10	..	40	20	..	..	1	..	..	2
32 Kora	..	283	465	..	216	321	..	67	144	5	2	21	..	25	129
33 Kotal	..	380	306	..	373	300	..	7	6	..	..	..	20	1	83
34 Lalbegi	..	10	..	..	9	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	4	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar	..	6	13	..	6	13	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
37 Mahar	..	30	51	..	30	51	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
38 Mahli	..	483	121	..	458	119	..	25	2	..	62	..	..	71	37
39 Mal	..	8,691	7,980	..	7,719	7,571	..	972	409	357	279	396	360	925	1,072
40 Mallah	..	663	443	..	521	429	..	142	14	7	8	..	4	103	114
41 Malpahariya	..	355	528	..	339	527	..	16	1	57	46	62	67	216	258
42 Mothor	..	713	799	.	475	559	..	238	240	163	120	28	31	106	157
43 Muchi	..	11,913	11,735	..	11,373	11,168	..	540	567	613	554	1,999	2,078	499	510
44 Musahar	..	407	320	..	402	299	..	5	21	320	244	15	1	20	7
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	..	8,218	7,427	..	7,468	7,016	..	750	411	3,264	3,081	1,938	1,904	705	706
47 Nuniya	..	776	736	..	763	730	..	13	6	1	..	..	..	328	346
48 Paliya	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	..	3	3	..	2	3	..	1	..	2	3	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	..	33	16	..	18	6	..	15	10	2	3	14	3	2	..
51 Patni	..	690	694	..	681	683	..	9	11	120	105	238	225	213	199
52 Pod	..	4,849	4,644	..	4,690	4,456		159	188	428	353	240	218	1,367	1,331
53 Rabha	..	1	14	..	1	11	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	..	13,196	11,126	..	12,627	10,535	..	569	591	421	374	328	347	1,827	1,670
55 Rajwar	..	698	751	..	665	743	..	33	8	240	275	293	283	81	105
56 Sunri	..	490	411	..	341	356	..	149	55	..	3	46	7	80	198
57 Tiyar	..	263	212	..	262	198	..	1	14	46	25	6	20	31	24
58 Turi	..	102	191	..	47	101	..	55	90	3	3	..	..	18	31

Scheduled Tribes

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	23,441	11,491	11,950	21,612	10,522	11,090	1,829	969	860	791	690	297	275	4,033	4,068
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	7	106	..	6	102	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	6	102
5 Munda	..	82	154	..	82	154	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	58	138
6 Oraon	..	535	704	..	484	598	..	51	106	210	195	.	..	108	147
7 Santal	..	10,867	10,986	..	9,950	10,236	..	917	750	579	495	297	275	3,861	3,681

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—74 Bhagwangola and Raninagar		Rural—75 Farakka, Samserganj and Suti		Rural—76 Raghunathganj and Sagardighi		Rural—77 Kandi and Bharatpur		Rural—78 Khargram and Burwan		Urban—31 Berhampur Town		Urban—32 Murshidabad, Jiaganj-Azimganj, Dhulian, Jangipur and Kandi Towns	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Scheduled Castes—*concld.*														
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	3,086	2,098	9,499	7,821	14,357	14,573	13,080	12,232	20,457	18,980	2,388	1,939	4,895	5,159
1 Bagdi	188	202	70	85	689	661	4,876	4,788	8,277	8,070	813	944	682	624
2 Bahelia	40	62	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	24	39
3 Baiti	113	87	11	7	2	23	32	10	3	2	..	..	13	18
4 Bauri	..	..	1	..	31	3	433	409	187	175	41	4	137	188
5 Bediya	1	..	..	1	4	..	..	8	41	28	..	..	..	..
6 Beldar	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	28	15	..	7	454	491	2	3	278	223	24	13	70	70
8 Bhuiya	304	7	45	41	119	96	9	1	6	..	14	1	17	5
9 Bhumij	..	..	..	..	..	18	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	1
10 Bind	..	..	118	94	83	106	..	1	..	..	..	4	47	27
11 Chamar	71	80	299	272	157	252	..	..	115	42	68	51	149	26
12 Dhoba	40	40	185	141	29	11	121	125	66	71	195	182	267	174
13 Doai	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	859	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	29	34	67	66	131	128	330	266	2	20	21	23	108	109
15 Dosadh	4	..	281	276	96	33	4	10	..	699	15	12	59	43
16 Ghasi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	4	19	235
18 Hari	27	22	13	14	33	37	1,057	973	619	603	87	99	81	86
19 Jalia Kaibartta	18	10	432	397	250	243	112	64	467	317	38	7	182	199
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	293	226	919	990	258	462	4	5	9	13	1	70	12	743
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	1	..
23 Kaora	4	..	46	20	2	..	8	11	..	..	41	..	77	26
24 Karenga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..
27 Khaira	..	2	..	1	7	..	..	..	..	..	7	15	12	31
28 Khatik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
29 Koch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	3	8	199	178	2,328	2,376	669	664	2,173	1,661	4	28	129	165

31	Konwar	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	30	9	10	11
32	Kora	..	..	..	4	83	126	6	..	76	60	11	20	56	124
33	Kotal	..	..	..	..	135	38	227	154	10	5	1	..	6	6
34	Lalbegi	2	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
35	Lodha	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
36	Lohar	5	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
37	Mahar	..	..	10	16	16	30	..	..	3	5	..	..	..	..
38	Mahli	296	2	19	..	72	18	..	..	..	..	3	..	22	2
39	Mal	168	103	305	247	4,474	4,410	113	114	981	986	86	28	886	381
40	Mallah	100	37	55	25	249	241	2	..	5	..	40	1	102	13
41	Malpahariya	..	..	2	154	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	16	1
42	Methor	12	11	20	14	15	104	30	26	101	96	92	30	146	210
43	Muchi	244	220	578	610	679	755	3,567	3,347	3,194	3,094	159	65	381	502
44	Musahar	..	..	40	46	6	1	1	..	..	..	4	21	1	..
45	Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46	Namosudra	528	468	10	12	365	267	426	382	232	196	407	171	343	240
47	Nuniya	57	48	80	65	261	246	7	3	29	22	..	..	13	6
48	Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
49	Pan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
50	Pasi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	7	10	3
51	Patni	36	36	7	30	64	67	1	..	2	21	7	1	2	10
52	Pod	382	339	36	27	1,618	1,592	..	..	619	596	2	..	157	188
53	Rabha	..	..	..	..	1	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
54	Rajbanshi	12	17	5,497	3,781	1,577	1,679	948	820	2,017	1,847	132	95	437	496
55	Rajwar	2	..	35	48	14	32	..	..	..	..	29	8	4	..
56	Sunri	64	1	..	4	36	..	31	17	84	126	2	..	147	55
57	Tiyar	13	13	102	86	1	..	62	30	1	..	1	11	..	3
58	Turi	..	..	17	62	8	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	55	90

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

	ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	147	806	509	490	3,767	3,815	623	590	355	356	396	525	573	335
1	Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Mru	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	4
5	Munda	..	..	..	..	22	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6	Oraon	..	100	80	60	31	30	55	57	..	9	36	106	15	..
7	Santal	147	706	429	430	3,714	3,769	568	533	355	347	359	419	558	331

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Scheduled Castes									
All Scheduled Castes	136,379	65,177	71,202	133,534	63,708	69,826	2,845	1,469	1,376
1 Bagdi	..	1,547	1,334	..	1,547	1,334	..	..	..
2 Bahelia	..	14	24	..	14	24	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	29	22	..	29	22	..	..	..
4 Bauri	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Bediya	..	80	62	..	80	62	..	..	..
6 Beldar	..	141	104	..	141	104	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	923	1,043	..	921	1,041	..	2	2
8 Bhuiya	..	1,664	3,276	..	1,662	3,276	..	2	..
9 Bhumij	..	147	14	..	147	14	..	..	..
10 Bind	..	5,872	5,757	..	5,838	5,753	..	34	4
11 Chamar	..	2,177	3,272	..	2,136	3,255	..	41	17
12 Dhoba	..	1,058	2,086	..	883	1,839	..	175	247
13 Doai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	..	349	418	..	239	236	..	110	182
15 Dosadh	..	829	1,741	..	815	1,727	..	14	14
16 Ghasi	..	50	95	..	50	95	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	1	10	..	1	10	..	..	..
18 Hari	..	2,849	2,663	..	2,849	2,663	..	..	..
19 Jalia Kaibartta	..	2,245	2,034	..	2,191	2,027	..	54	7
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	1,618	1,363	..	1,571	1,309	..	47	54
21 Kadar	..	29	37	..	29	37	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	..	2,884	3,785	..	2,746	3,613	..	138	172
24 Karenga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	2	35	..	2	35	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	13	2	..	13	2	..	..	..
27 Khaira	..	472	274	..	472	274	..	..	..
28 Khatik	..	1	5	..	1	5	..	..	..
29 Koch	..	227	91	..	227	91	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.

31 Konwar	..	46	124	..	46	124	..	..	..
32 Kora	..	645	1,013	..	643	1,013	..	2	..
33 Kotal	..	7	3	..	7	3	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar	..	254	207	..	254	207	..	..	..
37 Mahar	..	147	155	..	146	155	..	1	..
38 Mahli	..	582	665	..	580	665	..	2	..
39 Mal	..	540	603	..	529	603	..	11	..
40 Mallah	..	2,054	2,031	..	1,926	2,012	..	128	19
41 Malpahariya	..	56	77	..	56	77	..	..	..
42 Methor	..	193	216	..	124	162	..	69	54
43 Muchi	..	2,610	3,682	..	2,425	3,449	..	185	233
44 Musahar	..	3,187	2,255	..	3,187	2,255	..	..	..
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	..	2,057	2,440	..	1,937	2,439	..	120	1
47 Nuniya	..	2,039	1,960	..	2,027	1,856	..	12	104
48 Paliya	..	556	1,223	..	556	1,223	..	..	..
49 Pan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	..	113	165	..	86	128	..	27	37
51 Patni	..	461	724	..	459	724	..	2	..
52 Pod	..	1,436	1,325	..	1,431	1,322	..	5	3
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	..	9,773	10,521	..	9,548	10,314	..	225	207
55 Rajwar	..	233	236	..	230	236	..	3	..
56 Sunri	..	516	391	..	494	382	..	22	9
57 Tiyar	..	10,506	9,557	..	10,469	9,549	..	37	8
58 Turi	..	1,945	2,082	..	1,944	2,080	..	1	2

Scheduled Tribes

All Scheduled Tribes	80,463	40,724	39,739	80,418	40,688	39,730	45	36	9
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	20	8	..	20	8	..	..	..
5 Munda	..	65	67	..	65	67	..	..	..
6 Oraon	..	3,934	3,569	..	3,925	3,566	..	9	3
7 Santal	..	36,705	36,095	..	36,678	36,089	..	27	6

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—79 Englishbazar and Manikchak (excluding town) Males	Rural—79 Females	Rural—80 Kaliachak Males	Rural—80 Females	Rural—81 Ratua, Kharba and Harishchandrapur Males	Rural—81 Females	Rural—82 Malda, Habibpur, Bamangola and Gajol (excluding town) Males	Rural—82 Females	Urban—33 Englishbazar and Old Malda Towns Males	Urban—33 Females
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Scheduled Castes—*concld.*										
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	7,978	7,906	8,401	10,991	31,974	31,668	15,355	19,261	1,469	1,376
1 Bagdi	89	59	219	32	1,234	1,231	5	12	..	..
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	24	..	..
3 Baiti	..	..	..	..	29	16	..	6	..	..
4 Bauri	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Bediya	4	..	..	..	63	48	13	14	..	..
6 Beldar	33	34	..	..	82	62	26	8	..	..
7 Bhuimali	41	..	..	2	255	358	625	681	2	2
8 Bhuiya	81	83	..	3	901	2,500	680	690	2	..
9 Bhumij	..	..	..	..	..	..	147	14	..	..
10 Bind	1,552	1,642	1,425	2,454	2,039	938	822	719	34	4
11 Chamar	373	347	532	1,369	972	1,325	259	214	41	17
12 Dhoba	329	400	358	1,219	135	148	61	72	175	247
13 Doai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	79	82	22	25	120	109	18	20	110	182
15 Dosadh	219	183	122	117	436	1,409	38	18	14	14
16 Ghasi	..	1	..	..	..	..	50	94	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	1	10	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	2	18	23	13	2,680	2,487	144	145	..	..
19 Jalia Kaibartta	209	252	208	90	1,590	1,549	184	136	54	7
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	146	181	146	179	326	291	953	658	47	54
21 Kadar	..	16	..	..	..	..	29	21	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	607	734	588	1,620	1,289	1,233	262	26	138	172
24 Karenga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	35	2	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	..	..	2	13	..	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira	2	..	..	..	126	120	344	154	..	..
28 Khatik	..	..	..	..	..	5	1	..	..	..
29 Koch	..	..	..	..	105	37	122	54	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

31 Konwar	2	..	..	..	18	14	26	110	..	..
32 Kora	..	..	..	..	40	..	603	1,013	2	..
33 Kotal	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	3	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar		2	..	..	59	39	194	166	..	..
37 Mahar	26	51	112	104	1	..	7	..	1	..
38 Mahli	..	..	5	2	15	25	560	638	2	..
39 Mal	16	15	1	66	2	..	510	522	11	..
40 Mallah	185	181	..	..	1,336	1,394	405	437	128	10
41 Malpahariya	..	..	..	..	..	..	56	77	..	..
42 Methor	2	1	14	7	46	30	62	124	69	54
43 Muchi	393	387	369	1,219	1,387	1,527	276	316	185	233
44 Musahar	91	95	66	57	2,933	1,968	97	135	..	..
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	12	20	2	4	39	27	1,884	2,388	120	1
47 Nuniya	27	23	71	101	1,423	1,373	506	359	12	104
48 Paliya	..	..	12	7	..	..	544	1,216	..	..
49 Pan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	1	19	..	..	60	88	25	21	27	37
51 Patni	9	16	84	..	345	708	21	..	2	..
52 Pod	930	849	191	174	93	68	217	231	5	3
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	104	183	2,125	1,837	4,146	2,059	3,173	6,235	225	207
55 Rajwar	33	41	2	16	66	54	129	125	3	..
56 Sunri	16	83	3	2	325	126	150	171	22	9
57 Tiyar	2,166	1,138	1,209	217	6,699	7,846	395	348	37	8
58 Turi	198	770	492	53	545	411	709	846	1	2

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES .	125	412	241	5	838	1,506	39,484	37,807	36	9
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	..	..	..	11	..	9	8	..	..
5 Munda	..	..	..	2	7	7	58	58	..	..
6 Oraon	90	383	108	1	619	1,016	3,108	2,166	9	3
7 Santal	35	29	133	2	201	483	36,309	35,575	27	6

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Scheduled Castes									
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	123,118	66,997	56,121	118,388	63,801	54,587	4,730	3,196	1,534
1 Bagdi	..	917	655	..	205	409	..	712	246
2 Bahelia	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	4	..	..	4	..	..	..	..
4 Bauri	..	69	46	..	65	46	..	4	..
5 Bediya	..	94	38	..	94	31	..	..	7
6 Beldar	..	166	120	..	166	120	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	3,071	2,526	..	2,990	2,446	..	81	80
8 Bhuiya	..	1,460	1,512	..	1,455	1,511	..	5	1
9 Bhumij	..	10	14	..	10	14	..	..	..
10 Bind	..	337	448	..	329	446	..	8	2
11 Chamar	..	889	626	..	818	570	..	71	56
12 Dhoba	..	220	156	..	128	130	..	92	26
13 Doai	..	43	46	..	43	46	..	..	..
14 Dom	..	44	69	..	44	51	..	..	18
15 Dosadh	..	236	57	..	193	54	..	43	3
16 Ghasi	..	134	115	..	134	115	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	8	..	..	8	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	..	983	719	..	923	700	..	60	19
19 Jalia Kaibartta	..	669	630	..	642	604	..	27	26
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	553	736	..	487	559	..	66	177
21 Kadar	..	139	71	..	139	71	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	2	44	..	2	44	..	..	..
23 Kaora	..	139	120	..	119	105	..	20	15
24 Karenga	..	22	..	..	22	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	19	..	..	19	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira	..	256	260	..	256	260	..	..	..
28 Khatik	..	30	49	..	30	49	..	..	..
29 Koch	..	204	127	..	204	127	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	8	10	..	8	10	..	..	..

31 Konwar	..	37	32	..	31	14	..	6	18
32 Kora	..	738	573	..	737	573	..	1	..
33 Kotal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar	..	275	236	..	265	236	..	10	..
37 Mahar	..	93	150	..	93	150	..	..	..
38 Mahli	..	1,711	1,254	..	1,667	1,191	..	44	63
39 Mal	..	699	682	..	618	675	..	81	7
40 Mallah	..	534	366	..	521	362	..	13	4
41 Malpahariya	..	64	110	..	64	100	..	..	10
42 Methor	..	169	127	..	96	124	..	73	3
43 Muchi	..	1,629	889	..	1,328	860	..	301	29
44 Musahar	..	644	582	..	639	573	..	5	9
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	..	3,751	1,992	..	3,678	1,824	..	73	168
47 Nuniya	..	1,448	1,047	..	1,294	1,001	..	154	46
48 Paliya	..	5,713	4,331	..	5,712	4,331	..	1	..
49 Pan	..	45	..	..	45	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	..	86	36	..	72	35	..	14	1
51 Patni	..	235	187	..	226	173	..	9	14
52 Pod	..	30	10	..	30	10	..	..	..
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	..	35,997	31,492	..	35,597	31,311	..	400	181
55 Rajwar	..	247	124	..	227	118	..	20	6
56 Sunri	..	15	13	..	15	13	..	..	..
57 Tiyar	..	301	1,120	..	299	1,115	..	2	5
58 Turi	..	1,810	1,573	..	1,010	1,279	..	800	294

Scheduled Tribes

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	124,194	63,572	60,622	123,073	62,857	60,216	1,121	715	406
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	154	82	..	154	82	..	..	..
5 Munda	..	4,562	3,812	..	4,531	3,792	..	31	20
6 Oraon	..	10,274	10,400	..	10,218	10,349	..	56	51
7 Santal	..	48,582	46,328	..	47,954	45,993	..	628	335

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—83		Rural—84		Rural—85		Rural—86		Urban—34	
	Hili, Balurghat and Kumarganj (excluding town)		Tapan and Gangarampur		Bansihari, Kushmandi and Kaliaganj		Hemtabad, Raiganj and Itahar (excluding town)		Hili, Balurghat and Raiganj Towns	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Scheduled Castes—*concld.*										
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	13,178	9,279	10,210	9,830	19,175	18,556	21,238	16,922	3,196	1,534
1 Bagdi	100	269	30	38	7	4	68	98	712	246
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
3 Baiti	..	..	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	..
4 Bauri	..	..	..	..	4	..	61	46	4	..
5 Bediya	63	27	27	4	..	..	4	..	..	7
6 Beldar	14	20	6	..	12	8	134	92	..	..
7 Bhuimali	1,142	661	822	771	984	958	42	56	81	80
8 Bhuiya	378	412	305	301	509	530	263	268	5	1
9 Bhumij	10	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 Bind	68	60	..	2	92	128	169	256	8	2
11 Chamar	335	211	89	112	311	142	83	105	71	56
12 Dhoba	18	39	14	9	50	16	46	66	92	26
13 Doai	..	..	20	5	21	38	2	3	..	..
14 Dom	..	12	9	11	4	2	31	26	..	18
15 Dosadh	21	11	8	1	100	13	64	29	43	3
16 Ghasi	41	39	34	24	55	48	4	4	..	..
17 Gonrhi	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	39	62	46	48	235	182	603	408	60	19
19 Jalia Kaibartta	224	217	101	106	92	83	225	198	27	26
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	266	317	138	174	17	4	66	64	66	177
21 Kadar	3	..	68	31	68	40	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	39	2	5	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	13	20	17	3	46	22	43	60	20	15
24 Karenga	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	..	5	..	..	..	14	..	..	..
27 Khaira	..	..	27	30	1	1	228	229	..	..
28 Khatik	30	49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
29 Koch	..	..	..	..	52	41	152	86	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	8	10	..	..	..	..	..	..

31 Konwar	11	..	5	3	5	8	10	3	6	18
32 Kora	2	..	..	..	336	305	399	268	1	..
33 Kotal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar	166	176	64	33	13	4	22	23	10	..
37 Mahar	..	75	44	74	8	..	41	1	..	..
38 Mahli	1,061	579	370	393	81	93	155	126	44	63
39 Mal	176	282	347	292	94	99	1	2	81	7
40 Mallah	79	66	86	65	157	86	199	145	13	4
41 Malpahariya	..	..	35	65	2	..	27	35	..	10
42 Methor	14	27	31	25	31	23	20	49	73	3
43 Muchi	220	291	334	183	373	161	401	225	301	29
44 Musahar	2	25	80	67	237	201	320	280	5	9
45 Nagesia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	2,068	632	742	644	72	49	796	499	73	168
47 Nuniya	354	376	96	55	460	261	384	309	154	46
48 Paliya	10	8	277	193	2,096	2,978	2,420	1,152	1	..
49 Pan	12	.	..	..	..	..	33	..	..	..
50 Pasi	16	16	23	..	24	11	9	8	14	1
51 Patni	120	83	57	36	30	27	19	27	9	14
52 Pod	..	1	..	..	28	4	2	5	..	..
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	5,936	3,936	5,436	5,527	11,204	10,802	13,021	11,046	400	181
55 Rajwar	9	10	19	19	74	41	125	48	20	6
56 Sunri	1	2	8	..	..	8	6	3	..	..
57 Tiyar	4	..	..	..	113	971	182	144	2	5
58 Turi	144	254	381	437	173	159	312	429	800	294

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	25,046	25,942	17,314	16,741	10,452	10,512	10,045	7,021	715	406
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Mru	132	24	20	35	..	21	2	2	..	..
5 Munda	4,052	3,367	436	372	9	7	34	46	31	20
6 Oraon	4,875	4,123	3,910	5,512	595	481	838	233	56	51
7 Santal	15,987	18,428	12,948	10,822	9,848	10,003	9,171	6,740	628	335

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Total			Rural			Urban			Rural—87 Jalpaiguri and Rajganj (excluding town)	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Scheduled Castes											
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	235,203	127,566	107,637	229,385	124,053	105,332	5,818	3,513	2,305	20,136	17,234
1 Bagdi	..	367	60	..	367	52	..	..	8	11	5
2 Bahelia	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Bauri	..	4	1	..	2	1	..	2	..	..	..
5 Bediya	..	185	197	..	185	197	..	..	..	37	66
6 Beldar	..	7	..	..	2	..	..	5	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	147	136	..	97	107	..	50	29	19	10
8 Bhuiya	..	1,010	734	..	1,005	725	..	5	9	69	57
9 Bhumij	..	246	311	..	246	310	..	..	1	67	77
10 Bind	..	128	9	..	128	9	..	..	..	20	..
11 Chamar	..	438	129	..	430	126	..	8	3	75	3
12 Dhoba	..	627	246	..	408	214	..	219	32	51	20
13 Doai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	..	511	207	..	195	117	..	316	90	69	63
15 Dosadh	..	1,278	999	..	356	136	..	922	863	19	1
16 Ghasi	..	689	253	..	689	253	..	..	..	2	..
17 Gonrhi	..	10	28	..	10	28	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	..	194	175	..	190	168	..	4	7	167	139
19 Jalia Kaibartta	..	289	220	..	233	199	..	56	21	126	128
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	169	45	..	164	45	..	5	..	28	23
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	..	148	109	..	148	109	..	..	..	8	53
24 Karenga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	110	26	..	110	26	..	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira	..	1,200	1,421	..	1,196	1,421	..	4	..	15	..
28 Khatik	..	3	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
29 Koch	..	90	104	..	87	104	..	3	..	2	..
30 Konai	..	3	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..

31 Konwar	..	153	35	..	141	34	..	12	1	9	..
32 Kora	..	69	205	..	68	204	..	1	1	7	21
33 Kotal	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	4	1	..	4	1	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar	..	8,040	8,131	..	8,023	8,131	..	17	..	191	36
37 Mahar	..	54	167	..	53	167	..	1	..	10	146
38 Mahli	..	4,872	5,466	..	4,851	5,453	..	21	13	38	32
39 Mal	..	167	58	..	159	50	..	8	8	13	9
40 Mallah	..	460	268	..	400	264	..	60	4	13	4
41 Malpahariya	..	1,131	722	..	1,130	722	..	1	..	81	35
42 Methor	..	252	198	..	214	149	..	38	49	30	12
43 Muchi	..	1,697	674	..	1,166	349	..	531	325	157	62
44 Musahar	..	145	651	..	134	643	..	11	8	21	16
45 Nagesia	..	1,157	671	..	1,156	670	..	1	1	5	54
46 Namosudra	..	2,732	1,984	..	2,235	1,549	..	497	435	451	409
47 Nuniya	..	828	206	..	741	151	..	87	55	144	6
48 Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	..	1	4	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	..	88	367	..	63	366	..	25	1	15	3
51 Patni	..	876	563	..	872	562	..	4	1	99	83
52 Pod	..	4	1	..	3	1	..	1	..	..	..
53 Rabha	..	1,582	1,287	..	1,582	1,287	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	..	93,465	79,245	..	92,924	78,935	..	541	310	18,014	15,631
55 Rajwar	..	159	91	..	117	67	..	42	24	29	27
56 Sunri	..	159	232	..	149	229	..	10	3	3	..
57 Tiyar	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..
58 Turi	..	1,613	997	..	1,610	994	..	3	3	21	3

Scheduled Tribes

All Scheduled Tribes	189,192	102,489	86,703	188,921	102,270	86,651	271	219	52	3,993	3,670
1 Bhutia	..	350	266	..	350	266	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	36	165	..	33	164	..	3	1	3	2
3 Mech	..	5,833	4,674	..	5,825	4,668	..	8	6	13	13
4 Mru	..	302	372	..	302	372	..	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	..	20,806	18,684	..	20,714	18,679	..	92	5	816	726
6 Oraon	..	62,299	53,477	..	62,196	53,444	..	103	33	2,725	2,600
7 Santal	..	12,863	9,065	..	12,850	9,058	..	13	7	436	329

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—88 Mainaguri and Dhupguri		Rural—89 Nagrakata, Mal and Matiali		Rural—90 Alipur Duars and Kumargram (excluding town)		Rural—91 Madarihat, Falakata and Kalchini		Urban—35 Jalpaiguri and Alipur Duars with Rly. Colony	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Scheduled Castes—*concld.*										
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	47,797	39,656	15,279	14,419	22,244	17,368	18,597	16,655	3,513	2,305
1 Bagdi	130	7	36	26	4	4	186	10	..	8
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
3 Baiti	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4 Bauri	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	2	..
5 Bediya	32	35	80	66	3	..	33	30	..	..
6 Beldar	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..
7 Bhuimali	42	35	11	13	18	21	7	28	50	29
8 Bhuiya	87	77	353	350	115	118	381	123	5	9
9 Bhumij	4	1	142	196	6	1	27	35	..	1
10 Bind	87	9	2	..	..	..	19	..	..	..
11 Chamar	97	44	84	16	42	10	132	53	8	3
12 Dhoba	42	20	100	43	61	50	154	81	219	32
13 Doai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	68	20	35	10	10	7	13	17	316	90
15 Dosadh	113	29	47	34	52	28	125	44	922	863
16 Ghasi	185	..	279	99	13	30	210	124	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	28	..	..
18 Hari	9	14	6	13	4	..	4	2	4	7
19 Jalia Kaibartta	54	49	22	18	15	1	16	3	56	21
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	40	11	37	6	41	2	18	3	5	..
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	23	10	12	26	33	4	72	16	..	..
24 Karenga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	28	..	1	17	18	8	63	1	..	..
27 Khaira	1	..	1,046	782	100	86	34	553	4	..
28 Khatik	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
29 Koch	7	1	..	..	76	100	2	3	3	..
30 Konai	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..

31 Konwar	1	6	9	8	22	1	100	19	12	1
32 Kora	6	119	21	..	2	..	32	64	1	1
33 Kotal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	2	1	2	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
36 Lohar	847	752	1,269	1,795	609	577	5,107	4,971	17	..
37 Mahar	13	..	4	12	2	4	24	5	1	..
38 Mahli	1,188	1,099	1,546	1,938	576	531	1,503	1,853	21	13
39 Mal	33	19	47	7	41	9	25	6	8	8
40 Mallah	125	21	20	11	78	23	164	205	60	4
41 Malpahariya	308	247	414	369	37	19	290	52	1	..
42 Methor	38	28	12	4	25	14	109	91	38	49
43 Muchi	401	195	144	47	211	36	253	9	531	325
44 Musahar	72	28	14	2	14	14	13	583	11	8
45 Nagesia	142	61	329	325	157	56	523	174	1	1
46 Namosudra	794	590	110	55	589	478	291	17	497	435
47 Nuniya	190	38	95	4	179	103	133	..	87	55
48 Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	..	..	..	..	..	4	1	..	..	..
50 Pasi	14	..	3	357	12	6	19	..	25	1
51 Patni	117	192	279	..	165	109	212	178	4	1
52 Pod	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
53 Rabha	140	65	3	1	1,085	565	354	656	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	42,053	35,630	8,291	7,313	17,647	14,175	6,919	6,186	541	310
55 Rajwar	15	8	30	15	25	10	18	7	42	24
56 Sunri	2	6	32	138	4	1	108	84	10	3
57 Tiyar	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..
58 Turi	242	190	312	302	150	162	885	337	3	3

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	14,208	12,088	35,229	28,290	23,134	20,468	25,706	22,135	219	52
1 Bhutia	..	..	29	3	104	172	217	91	..	..
2 Lepcha	2	151	15	4	..	1	13	6	3	1
3 Mech	58	..	54	145	3,449	2,573	2,251	1,937	8	6
4 Mru	1	2	123	94	71	44	107	232	..	..
5 Munda	3,369	3,528	6,786	6,357	2,382	2,348	7,361	5,720	92	5
6 Oraon	10,271	7,517	23,315	18,774	12,449	12,299	13,436	12,254	103	33
7 Santal	507	890	4,907	2,913	4,679	3,031	2,321	1,895	13	7

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

For the Population of 'Bhutias' see note on page 94 ante

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Total			Rural			Urban			Rural—92 Darjeeling, Jore Bungalow, Pulbazar, Sukhiapokri and Rangli Rangliot	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Scheduled Castes											
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES .	26,080	14,881	11,199	22,913	12,686	10,227	3,167	2,195	972	251	112
1 Bagdi . . .	..	4	7	..	3	1	..	1	6	..	..
2 Bahelia . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti . . .	..	5	3	..	3	3	..	2	..	..	..
4 Bauri . . .	..	12	..	..	3	..	..	9	..	1	..
5 Bediya . .	..	17	13	..	10	10	..	7	3	1	4
6 Beldar . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali . .	..	81	102	..	1	..	..	80	102	..	..
8 Bhuiya . .	..	109	48	..	94	42	..	15	6	..	..
9 Bhumij . .	..	5	4	..	5	4	..	..	..	..	..
10 Bind . . .	..	10	..	..	7	..	..	3	..	..	..
11 Chamar . .	..	155	19	..	67	6	..	88	13	..	..
12 Dhoba . . .	..	397	94	..	216	41	..	181	53	104	25
13 Doai . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom . . .	..	118	82	..	62	36	..	56	46	.	2
15 Dosadh . .	..	161	29	..	42	6	..	119	23	..	.
16 Ghasi . . .	..	203	184	..	201	184	..	2	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari . . .	..	37	33	..	36	33	..	1	..	..	..
19 Jalia Kaibartta .	..	50	19	..	31	16	..	19	3	..	..
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	21	..	..	4	..	..	17	..	..	..
21 Kadar . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.
23 Kaora . . .	..	49	13	..	7	2	..	42	11	..	..
24 Karenga . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha . .	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	.
26 Kaur . . .	..	57	54	..	57	54	..	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira . .	..	61	49	..	59	48	..	2	1	..	..
28 Khatik . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

29 Kooh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
31 Konwar	..	204	74	..	69	22	..	135	52	28	4
32 Kora	..	24	8	..	8	5	..	16	3	..	..
33 Kotal	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	7	1	..	7	1	..	..	..	2	..
35 Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar	..	874	750	..	821	725	..	53	25	23	24
37 Mahar	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
38 Mahli	..	358	294	..	340	285	..	18	9	..	2
39 Mal	..	157	83	..	118	80	..	39	3	..	..
40 Mallah	..	99	15	..	31	3	..	68	12	..	..
41 Malpahariya	..	744	623	..	741	621	..	3	2	..	..
42 Methor	..	227	118	..	138	45	..	89	73	29	4
43 Muchi	..	647	209	..	215	86	..	432	123	57	46
44 Musahar	..	50	49	..	46	45	..	4	4	..	..
45 Nagesia	..	240	188	..	240	188	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	..	399	268	..	70	39	..	329	229	5	..
47 Nuniya	..	149	34	..	59	6	..	90	28	..	..
48 Paliya	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
49 Pan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	..	44	1	..	2	..	..	42	1	1	..
51 Patni	..	223	208	..	220	207	..	3	1	..	1
52 Pod	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	..	8,550	7,344	..	8,408	7,249	..	142	95	..	..
55 Rajwar	..	82	26	..	59	17	..	23	9	..	..
56 Sunri	..	65	32	..	13	6	..	52	26	..	..
57 Tiyar	..	51	..	..	48	..	..	3	..	..	..
58 Turi	..	131	118	..	124	110	..	7	8	..	..

Scheduled Tribes

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	44,051	23,107	20,944	41,054	21,480	19,574	2,997	1,627	1,370	1,584	1,516
1 Bhutia	..	2,084	1,934	..	1,303	1,232	..	781	702	126	94
2 Lepcha	..	6,831	6,333	..	6,157	5,736	..	674	597	1,457	1,422
3 Mech	..	120	104	..	119	104	..	1	..	..	..
4 Mru	..	73	122	..	73	121	..	..	1	..	..
5 Munda	..	3,124	2,628	..	3,066	2,615	..	58	13	..	..
6 Oraon	..	9,032	8,185	..	8,962	8,144	..	70	41	1	..
7 Santal	..	1,843	1,638	..	1,800	1,622	..	43	16	...	..

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—93 Kurseong and Mirik		Rural—94 Siliguri, Kharibari and Phansidewa		Rural—95 Kalimpong and Garubathan		Urban—37 Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong Towns		Urban—38 Siliguri Town	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Scheduled Castes—*concld.*										
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	263	146	11,982	9,852	190	117	465	118	1,730	854
1 Bagdi	..	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	1	6
2 Bahelia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	..	3	3	..	..	2	..	..	..
4 Bauri	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	9	..
5 Bediya	..	..	9	6	..	..	..	1	7	2
6 Beldar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7 Bhuimali	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	80	102
8 Bhuiya	6	2	83	38	5	2	2	..	13	6
9 Bhumij	..	..	5	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 Bind	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
11 Chamar	2	..	65	6	..	..	50	1	38	12
12 Dhoba	37	1	39	10	36	5	124	42	57	11
13 Doai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	1	..	61	33	..	1	10	3	46	43
15 Dosadh	5	1	37	5	..	..	19	2	100	21
16 Ghasi	..	1	183	163	18	20	2	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	..	..	36	33	..	..	..	..	1	..
19 Jalia Kaibartta	..	..	31	16	..	..	..	..	19	3
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	17	..
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	..	..	7	2	..	..	1	..	41	11
24 Karenga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26 Kaur	2	2	..	..	55	52	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira	..	..	59	48	..	..	..	..	2	1
28 Khatik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

29 Kooh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
31 Konwar	1	1	40	17	..	..	3	3	132	49
32 Kora	4	1	4	4	..	..	..	..	16	3
33 Kotal	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	5	1	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar	7	16	776	672	15	13	26	20	27	5
37 Mahar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
38 Mahli	..	..	340	283	..	..	..	..	18	9
39 Mal	..	..	115	78	3	2	4	1	35	2
40 Mallah	..	..	31	3	..	..	1	..	67	12
41 Malpahariya	48	31	692	589	1	1	..	..	3	2
42 Methor	64	19	35	19	10	3	21	15	68	58
43 Muchi	17	20	127	20	14	..	194	24	238	99
44 Musahar	..	..	46	45	..	..	..	..	4	4
45 Nagesia	63	51	163	124	14	13	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	..	..	62	39	3	..	1	3	328	226
47 Nuniya	2	..	55	6	2	..	2	1	88	27
48 Paliya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
49 Pan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50 Pasi	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	42	1
51 Patni	..	..	220	206	..	..	..	..	3	1
52 Pod	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
53 Rabha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54 Rajbanshi	1	..	8,405	7,247	2	2	2	..	140	95
55 Rajwar	..	..	59	17	..	..	..	..	23	9
56 Sunri	3	..	10	6	..	..	1	..	51	26
57 Tiyar	..	..	48	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
58 Turi	..	..	120	108	4	2	..	..	7	8

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

ALL SCHEDULED TRIBES	790	703	13,353	12,027	5,753	5,328	1,466	1,298	161	72
1 Bhutia	1	..	5	..	1,171	1,138	779	701	2	1
2 Lepcha	609	543	20	12	4,071	3,759	672	597	2	..
3 Mech	6	8	112	95	1	1	..	..	1	..
4 Mru	..	..	73	121	..	..	..	..	..	1
5 Munda	48	47	2,796	2,412	222	156	8	..	50	13
6 Oraon	107	86	8,577	7,815	277	243	3	..	67	41
7 Santal	19	19	1,770	1,572	11	31	4	..	39	16

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Total			Rural			Urban			Tufanganj (excluding town)	
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Scheduled Castes											
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	269,464	144,431	125,033	265,199	142,841	122,358	4,265	1,590	2,675	15,141	21,032
1 Bagdi . .	..	81	51	..	80	46	..	1	5	26	6
2 Bahelia . .	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti . .	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
4 Bauri . .	..	4	43	..	4	43	..	..	..	..	..
5 Bediya . .	..	111	63	..	110	53	..	1	10	3	..
6 Beldar . .	..	4	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	2	..
7 Bhuimali . .	..	369	388	..	361	379	..	8	9	45	51
8 Bhuiya . .	..	57	6	..	57	6	..	..	..	..	..
9 Bhumij . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 Bind . .	..	152	20	..	138	7	..	14	13	21	..
11 Chamar . .	..	330	74	..	319	70	..	11	4	26	5
12 Dhoba . .	..	199	113	..	124	49	..	75	64	8	8
13 Dosai . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom . .	..	163	154	..	159	146	..	4	8	7	22
15 Dosadh . .	..	289	60	..	211	27	..	78	33	34	..
16 Ghasi . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari . .	..	8	2	..	5	2	..	3	..	1	..
19 Jalia Kaibartta .	..	914	868	..	790	809	..	124	59	3	4
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	..	82	71	..	82	71	..	..	..	46	33
21 Kadar . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora . .	..	3	17	..	1	17	..	2	..	..	..
24 Karenga . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha . .	..	7	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	1	..
26 Kaur . .	..	44	14	..	44	14	..	..	..	..	..
27 Khaira . .	..	46	24	..	41	19	..	5	5	5	5
28 Khatik . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

29 Koch	..	9	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	2	..
30 Konai	..	10	13	..	10	13	..	..	..	..	..
31 Konwar	..	40	20	..	33	4	..	7	16	5	..
32 Kora	..	13	4	..	13	3	..	..	1	..	..
33 Kotal	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar	..	37	..	..	23	..	..	14	..	..	..
37 Mahar	..	29	4	..	21	4	..	8	..	6	..
38 Mahli	..	42	30	..	40	30	..	2	..	8	..
39 Mal	..	121	82	..	119	82	..	2	..	7	17
40 Mallah	..	135	22	..	101	4	..	34	18	40	..
41 Malpahariya	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	..	355	318	..	142	130	..	213	188	11	16
43 Muchi	..	1,949	550	..	1,803	433	..	146	117	120	45
44 Musahar	..	40	..	..	4	.	..	36	..	4	..
45 Nagesia	..	43	66	..	43	66	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	..	3,191	2,758	..	2,925	2,516	..	266	242	440	438
47 Nuniya	..	566	310	..	384	121	..	182	189	84	35
48 Paliya	..	..	..	..		.	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	..	27	13	..	22	13	..	5	..	10	12
50 Pasi	..	24	10	..	17	8	..	7	2	8	..
51 Patni	..	249	158	..	243	152	..	6	6	51	42
52 Pod	..	11	4	..	11	4	..	..	..	..	..
53 Rabha	..	354	270	..	353	270	..	1	..	319	270
54 Rajbanshi	..	133,933	118,136	..	133,658	116,477	..	275	1,659	13,769	20,013
55 Rajwar	..	301	233	..	264	226	..	37	7	20	10
56 Sunri	..	62	59	..	41	41	..	21	18	3	..
57 Tiyar	..	6	.	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
58 Turi	..	20	2	..	20	1	..	..	1	6	..

Scheduled Tribes

All Scheduled Tribes	2,633	1,511	1,122	2,612	1,502	1,110	21	9	12	85	86
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	..	38	18	.	38	14	..	..	4	11	12
4 Mru	..	..	.	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	..	110	105	..	110	105	..	..	..	..	..
6 Oraon	..	530	530	..	529	526	..	1	4	67	66
7 Santal	..	833	469	..	825	465	..	8	4	7	8

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Name of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	Rural—97 Dinhata (excluding town)		Rural—98 Cooch Behar (excluding town)		Rural—99 Sitai, Sitalkuchi, Mekliganj and Haldibari (excluding town)		Rural—100 Mathabhanga (excluding town)		Urban—36 Tufanganj, Dinhata, Cooch Behar, Mekliganj, Haldibari and Mathabhanga Towns	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Scheduled Castes—*concld.*										
ALL SCHEDULED CASTES	29,206	24,023	25,984	18,153	37,277	28,606	35,233	30,544	1,590	2,675
1 Bagdi	8	30	10	7	2	3	34	..	1	5
2 Bahelia	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Baiti	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
4 Bauri	..	..	1	43	..	..	3	..	..	..
5 Bediya	1	..	26	..	41	38	39	15	1	10
6 Beldar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
7 Bhuimali	92	83	70	107	59	59	95	79	8	9
8 Bhuiya	1	..	54	6	..	..	2	..	..	..
9 Bhumij	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 Bind	32	..	65	7	..	..	20	..	14	13
11 Chamar	87	15	70	23	68	8	68	19	11	4
12 Dhoba	72	25	19	16	4	..	21	..	75	64
13 Doai	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14 Dom	89	49	8	21	12	32	43	22	4	8
15 Dosadh	12	2	133	25	28	..	4	..	78	33
16 Ghasi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17 Gonrhi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18 Hari	..	..	1	..	3	2	..	..	3	..
19 Jalia Kaibartta	129	116	144	106	36	46	478	537	124	59
20 Jhalo Malo or Malo	13	5	13	19	10	14	..	..	..	..
21 Kadar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22 Kandra	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23 Kaora	..	..	..	16	..	1	1	..	2	..
24 Karenga	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25 Kastha	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..
26 Kaur	..	..	44	8	..	..	..	6	..	..
27 Khaira	..	..	17	11	1	3	18	..	5	5
28 Khatik	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

29 Koch	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30 Konai	..	13	1	..	..	..	9	..	..	..
31 Konwar	19	4	7	..	2	..	..	..	7	16
32 Kora	1	..	12	3	..	..	..	..	..	1
33 Kotal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
34 Lalbegi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35 Lodha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36 Lohar	2	..	9	..	1	..	11	..	14	..
37 Mahar	4	..	..	..	..	4	11	..	8	..
38 Mahli	20	10	3	12	2	8	7	..	2	..
39 Mal	80	54	14	9	7	2	11	..	2	..
40 Mallah	3	..	13	..	20	..	25	4	34	18
41 Malpahariya	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
42 Methor	41	36	8	12	33	56	49	10	213	188
43 Muchi	572	115	469	105	294	100	348	68	146	117
44 Musahar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	36	..
45 Nagesia	..	..	43	66	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 Namosudra	1,086	808	293	289	725	694	381	287	266	242
47 Nuniya	57	24	84	34	35	9	124	19	182	189
48 Palıya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 Pan	3	..	1	..	1	1	7	..	5	..
50 Pasi	7	1	1	1	1	6	..	..	7	2
51 Patni	27	11	129	86	13	4	23	9	6	6
52 Pod	11	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
53 Rabha	8	..	1	..	25	..	..	..	1	..
54 Rajbanshi	26,596	22,522	24,074	17,005	35,832	27,507	33,387	29,430	275	1,659
55 Rajwar	122	83	113	104	3	..	6	29	37	7
56 Sunri	..	12	25	12	11	7	2	10	21	18
57 Tıyar	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
58 Turi	6	1	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	1

Scheduled Tribes—*concld.*

All Scheduled Tribes	311	280	391	446	159	113	556	185	9	12
1 Bhutia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2 Lepcha	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mech	6	..	1	2	..	..	20	..	..	4
4 Mru	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5 Munda	..	..	26	27	12	7	72	71	..	..
6 Oraon	202	192	100	144	33	28	127	96	1	4
7 Santal	103	88	264	273	114	78	337	18	8	4

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

URBAN—14—CHANDERNAGORE

Scheduled Castes

Serial No.	Name of Scheduled Castes	Males	Females
1	Bagdi	881	249
2	Bahelia	2	..
3	Bauti	1	..
4	Bauri	26	7
5	Bediya	3	..
6	Beldar	26	1
7	Bhuimali	4	..
8	Bhuiya	119	1
9	Bhumij	37	..
10	Bind	42	..
11	Chamar	89	53
12	Dhoba	51	33
13	Doai	1	..
14	Dom	26	27
15	Dosadh	209	68
16	Ghasi	6	.
17	Gonrhi	29	2
18	Hari	44	40
19	Jalia Kaibartta	106	143
	Carried over	1,702	624

Serial No.	Name of Scheduled Castes	Males	Females
	Brought forward	1,702	624
20	Jhalo Malo or Malo	123	30
21	Kadar	1	
22	Kandra	9	.
23	Kaora	381	176
24	Karenga	..	..
25	Kastha	..	..
26	Kaur	..	..
27	Khaira	2	1
28	Khatik	..	33
29	Koch	..	..
30	Konai	..	.
31	Konwar	..	.
32	Kora	.	6
33	Kotal		.
34	Lalbegi	.	
35	Lodha	1	1
36	Lohar	9	3
37	Mahar	..	..
38	Mahli	3	4
	Carried over	2,231	878

Serial No.	Name of Scheduled Castes	Males	Females
	Brought forward	2,231	878
39	Mal	26	43
40	Mallah	177	136
41	Malpahariya	..	
42	Mehtor	44	37
43	Muchi	877	312
44	Musahar	..	4
45	Nagesia	..	..
46	Namosudra	61	6
47	Nuniya	72	24
48	Paliya	..	..
49	Pan	1	.
50	Pasi	184	65
51	Patni	15	15
52	Pod	..	.
53	Rabha	..	..
54	Rajbanshi	97	17
55	Rajwar	42	13
56	Sunri	56	17
57	Tiyar	..	..
58	Turi	6	1
	All Scheduled Castes	3,889	1,568

Scheduled Tribes

Serial No.	Name of Scheduled Tribes	Males	Females
1	Bhutia	.	.
2	Lepcha	..	..
3	Mech	..	..
4	Mru	..	..
5	Munda	30	52
6	Oraon	21	9
7	Santal	26	1
	All Scheduled Tribes	77	62

SELECTIONS FROM AUTHORITIES ON CASTES AND TRIBES

CONTENTS

VIII

SELECTIONS FROM THE CENSUS REPORT OF BENGAL BY E. A. GAIT, F.S.S., I.C.S., 1902

IX

SELECTIONS FROM THE CENSUS REPORT OF BENGAL BY L. S. S. O'MALLEY, I.C.S., 1911

NOTE

The Deputy Prime Minister's speech to the Census Superintendents in February 1950, reproduced in part in one of the opening pages of this book, was a noble step forward in the secular life of our ancient land. How important this enunciation of policy has been *vis-a-vis* census tabulation has been discussed in the Preface. Yet many sociologists, while deploring the social and political turmoil that attended each census, must pore over the investigations recorded by a brilliant succession of Census Superintendents. The following selection but gives only a sample of the meticulous research and scholarship that each Superintendent undertook to explore the manners and customs of the land in which he worked. I have opened with two brilliant passages from Sherring hoping that there will be a fresh run on his three volumes which are rapidly disappearing, but which are still the most penetrating and sympathetic treatise on the Hindu social order in Northern and Eastern India. It is to be hoped that just as the Abbe Dubois has been recently reprinted, the original publishers or another publisher will be persuaded to reprint Sherring. Colonel Dalton's book is also rapidly getting scarce and Risley's *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* awaits a scholarly revision and reprint. Some of his contributions in the domain of physical anthropology are reprinted later in this book. Some of the most meticulous writings of Gait and O'Malley are here reprinted if only to remind the reader that they too are great where all is great.

Modern Anthropology has improved vastly in method and resources since their time but during the last forty years the store in India has been but meagrely enriched by fresh research in social or physical anthropology. As stated before, this selection has been made not only to illustrate some of the official sources of the study of social and physical anthropology in Bengal but also to show how much scholarly industry, objectivity, patience and disciplined inquiry could achieve where the investigator himself could not have commenced with any natural sympathy for a social order so foreign to the genius of his own land.

A. MITRA

I

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF HINDU CASTE

Extract from 'Hindu Tribes and Castes' by the Rev. M. A. Sherring, M.A., LL.B., London (Vol. III, published in 1881, *pp.* 227-31)

I can imagine the curling of the Brahman's lip and the elevation of his fine expressive eyebrows as he contemplated with supreme disdain the reception of one of his fictitious manuscripts, dashed with a flavour of truth, by the masses of the people. Having finished a Purana, for example, containing here and there a few historical allusions, intermingled with elaborate dissertations on the habits and ways, and the domestic lives, of gods and goddesses, in writing which his inventive brain was taxed to its utmost in devising the most grotesque, and occasionally the most shamelessly immoral, situations for his favourite divinities, then with imperturbable *sangfroid* producing it to the open-mouthed multitude, as a revelation, a divine thesis, and watching the pleasure with which they received it, and the absence of all incredulity and distrust, on their countenances, what wonder that he intensely despised a people of such gross blindness, and so miserably feeble in intellectual discernment! Yet he was withal exquisitely conscious that they had been trained by him, that he had been their *guru* or religious teacher, that he had fascinated them by the charm of his manner and by his oracular and authoritative words, and that they stood to him in the relation of a bird spellbound by the eye of a serpent. It is only in this way that we can possibly account for the universal and absolute belief of the abominable stories of Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, Krishna and other deities, found in the Puranas and elsewhere, which the Brahman has palmed upon the victims of his mental tyranny and despotism.

Doubtless this peculiar influence was not gained all at once. There were marked stages in its development. Yet we can trace it with singular clearness from the first allusion to the Brahman in the earliest Sanskrit records on through the subsequent ages down to modern times. He is ever the clever and talented dogmatist, laying down the law on every subject for the guidance of his benighted fellow-countrymen. He tells them what to worship, and when to worship, and how to worship. He points out the nature of sacrifices and ceremonies. He regulates home life. He interferes in politics and state-craft. Moreover, he is very mysterious in everything, and surrounds himself with an impenetrable religious sanctity. He is at once philosopher, poet, and priest, and to his credit it must be confessed, performs each part with matchless ability and wonderful success. He can talk and write on abstruse metaphysics, he can compose odes replete with sublime thoughts addressed to the elemental deities, love-songs for women, epics and ballads for men; he can produce historical romances, full of the deeds of heroes and gods, all creations of his overwrought brain. Indeed, it is hard to say what, in the judgment of all other Hindus, he cannot do? From the first his claims have been very high, and he has come to believe himself to be what he has compelled the rest to acknowledge that he is, namely, a divinity.

We can now understand not merely the nature of that superiority which the Brahman has exercised over his brother Aryans in India, which has always been a potent fact in the history of the country, but also the effect which it has produced on his own mind and habits. Conscious of his high intellectual gifts, he has cultivated them with immense diligence, and has devoted a large amount of his time to meditation and discussion, and to reading the books, which the genius of his order has produced. Having separated himself at an early period from other Hindus, the separation has continually widened. He has become more estranged from them, from year to year, until the difference between them has become the greatest possible. Moreover, it is worthy of very special note, that the author of this estrangement and separation is the Brahman himself. It was he who made the difference between himself and his brethren.

This feud among the Hindu race, which has split it up into a thousand clans, is the most unnatural of all feuds ever known; and is none the less so because for many ages it has been accepted by them as a social necessity, having lost in their estimation its offensiveness, and having come to be regarded as a happy condition instead of a bright social calamity. Its monstrous unnaturalness and its consummate violation of the principles of humanity, will be more vividly seen by an analysis of some of the moral characteristics of the Brahman, to which it has given birth.

One of these characteristics is arrogance and pride. It may be said that all men of every nation, who are raised above their fellows are proud. And there is truth in the statement. Wealth, knowledge, rank and many other causes foster pride in the human heart, not merely in India, but in all other countries likewise. But the pride of the Brahman is *sui generis*, is a quality, thank Heaven, peculiar to him, and not to be found except in his family. Being so purely idiosyncratic, it is difficult to describe and needs to be seen in order to be rightly known. Strange to say, the Brahman is so accustomed to it as to be, for the most part, unconscious of its existence and of its habitual display in his life and conduct. With him it is a second nature. He has received it from his forefathers. He will transmit it to his posterity. It is the air he breathes. It is a part of himself from which he can now no more be dissociated than he can from his own intelligence. Possessed with a sense of unlikeness to, and exaltation above, other people, he disdains their companionship. Were the question put to him, why he did this, he would be unable to reply further than by asserting that this habit had been transmitted to him by his remote ancestors, who cherished the same repugnance to castes beneath him, which he does. He feels that his tastes, his sympathies, and his very nature, raise him above all other persons. He is a being the like of whom is not to be found on this great globe. He was born to greatness and nobility, nay, he is a divine being, and how can he then associate on common terms with mere human clods destitute of the divine ray?

A second characteristic is intense selfishness. Of this too he seems to be unconscious. He lives for himself, and for himself alone. Perhaps the same may be said of most people. Nevertheless, it certainly may be said of the Brahman in a special and emphatic manner. 'Everything, everybody was made for me, for my behoof and enjoyment' is his first and last thought every-day of his life. He should have the best of nature's products. He should receive peculiar honour and respect. Consideration not shown to others should be shown to him. He is properly above law, yet, if at any time amenable to it, he should not, by any means, be governed by laws regulating other people, but favourable laws should be made for him, a favoured and distinguished personage. The common people must not swear against his life, though he may swear against theirs. His life is too precious to be sacrificed even for the commission of the highest crimes. He not only enjoys liberty, or rather liberties, but is entitled to special privileges. His smile must be propitiated by other Hindus on occasion of every event of a social or domestic character affecting them. He expects the costliest presents, the most luxurious dinners, the finest muslins and silks. At births, at marriages, in times of sickness and death, in seasons of great trouble and adversity, at all festivities, his presence and blessing are sought, and paid for. He takes what he gets, partly as a sacrificial and family priest, and partly as the superior creature styled

Brahman. That he is an incarnation, as he imagines himself to be, is no doubt correct, but it is an incarnation of selfishness.

A third characteristic of the Brahman is the tyrannical spirit which he cherishes and exercises. He has ever been the fountain of authority and law. His word is law, from which there is no appeal. In former times, until in fact the Brahman had attained the supreme and sovereign position he now occupies, he had to encounter the fierce opposition of other Hindus, especially of the Rajpoots, who were at first little inclined to surrender their independence, and moreover, as warriors and princes, thought themselves as good as the subtle, self-seeking Brahman. They resisted, therefore, most strenuously the claims and assumptions of what they doubtless regarded as the upstart Brahmans, and fought for their freedom, which was dear to them. But they reckoned ignorantly; I say ignorantly, for they knew not the mental resources of their oppressors, whose fertility and strength of intellect gave them immense advantages, and ultimately complete victory. In the world's history all great struggles have eventually been decided in favour of the side, which has possessed the most powerful understanding. And in India no non-Brahmanical tribe has ever been a match for the clear, penetrating mind of the Brahman. At first the physical contest went on hand-in-hand with the moral and intellectual; and the latter, we may suppose, continued long after the former had ceased. All resistance, however, has for many ages been abandoned, and at length Hindus of every grade have willingly and cheerfully succumbed to the Brahman. 'What does the Brahman say?' is the question of questions among a people of prostrate intellect, with no opinion of their own, and with an entire and abject confidence in the superior gifts of their national leaders. His curse is considered to be the most appalling calamity, his blessing the highest possible good. Hindus are a nation of slaves, who obey his will in all things, humble themselves in the dust before him, live on his smiles, and die beneath his frowns.

A fourth characteristic of the Brahman, which has been already presupposed, is his intractability. He yields to no one, has never done so. He never swerves from his own sentiments, from the codes which his predecessors have laid down as laws and principles of Hindu life and action. He is a conservative of the purest water. In his estimation, it is sufficient that the minutest rules for the government of his order and of other great castes, are given in detail in the Laws of Manu, a book on caste and other matters, dating much prior to the Christian era. He is determined to adhere rigidly to them, and not to deviate from them by a hair's breadth. No one has been a greater enemy of progress and development than the Brahman, and India is advancing in civilization in spite of him. Indeed he too is yielding himself to the exciting and transforming influences around him, and is changing. But I am speaking of him in relation to his own principles, and to their natural consequences, principles which, as we shall presently see, have moulded the tribes of India into the forms they have assumed for thousands of years. Had the Brahman been other than he is, had he possessed the smallest flexibility and leniency in his nature, had he been in any degree less pertinacious in the maintenance of his own ideas, had he at any time throughout his career been willing to accept a compromise with other castes, had he been less rigid, less dogmatic, had he ever been inclined to listen to other people, and to regard their interests as equal in importance to his own, had he, in short, behaved more like a neighbour and a brother, and been more genial and less exacting, India would have assumed a different character, and the growth of caste would have been checked.

Perhaps I ought to add a fifth characteristic, that of ambition, which in truth has been the hidden secret in the breast of the Brahman, prompting and regulating all his movements. His ambition has been, not only to be the first and foremost of Indian tribes, but to stamp his will on the institutions of his country, so that they should all appear, directly or indirectly, to have sprung from him. This ambition therefore, has not been one of vile and sordid conquest, like that of the soldier, who seeks to subdue his enemies by their destruction; or of the mere party politician, who gains glory as much by thwarting his adversaries as by the propagation of his own ideas. But the Brahman's ambition has been to subjugate the intellects of all other Hindus, to dominate them by his will, to bring them to look to him as their example to follow, and to be passive in his hands, as the inspirer of their thoughts and the guide of their actions. He has cared little for wealth or for what the world calls honour. He has been, for the most part, poor, certainly much poorer than many Hindus of a lower grade. He has rarely arrived at political rule and kingly government. He has been content to see Rajpoot and even Sudra potentates exercising sway, from generation to generation, over great provinces. His own thoughts have been from the first in a different direction. His ambition has been of another order, of a more refined and elevated character. He has sought to govern human intellect, and to regulate the social relations of men on a prodigious scale. This has been the sublime object of his ambition; and he has succeeded, wonderfully succeeded. The triumph of reason, will, genius was never more complete. The Brahman's achievement in directing the thoughts of the vast population of India throughout a period of not less than three thousand years, of first inventing, and then controlling, its intricate social machinery, of being the motor power whence have sprung the thousand-fold ramifications of the inner life of this great social fabric, is the most gigantic and astounding feat of ambition recorded in the history of mankind.

Caste, therefore, owes its origin to the Brahman. It is his invention. It is a necessary condition incident to his assumptions and to the extraordinary success of his projects. The subject, however, has its gradations and divisions. The first aspect of it is that which applies to the Brahman himself. A second has relation to the castes below him. As to the former, namely, its origin, so far as the Brahman is concerned, the only sufficient explanation of his motives and objects, is caste. In the exercise of those peculiar characteristics of which I have now been speaking, and in withdrawing himself from association with other Hindus, it was impossible for him to stop short of caste. These same qualities have been found in certain shades in other nations, but never to the extent in which they have combined together in the Brahman. Yet it is singular to observe, that to the degree in which any nation has exhibited them, to that degree has it found it necessary to ordain and recognize a kind of caste distinction among its inhabitants.

As the Brahman is an ethnological phenomenon and paradox, so is caste. The two are inseparable The Brahman could not now exist, and could not have existed at all, bearing the distinctive characteristics which he has exhibited during the time in which he has displayed them, without having caste as the objective form in which his ideas were realized. Caste was not handed down to him. It was begotten by him, was necessity of the situation to which he had brought himself, was conceived in his own fruitful brain, was as much a result of his imaginings as Brahmanism itself. He did not become a complete Brahman all at once, nor did he give, so to speak, bodily shape to caste by an instantaneous volition. There were, doubtless, historical gradations in the development of Brahmanism and caste; but nevertheless, the growth of both was comparatively rapid, and they attained maturity together.

II

BRAHMANISM TODAY

Extract from 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal' by H. H. Risley, I.C.S. (Vol. I. Official Edition, published in 1891, pp. xv-xix)

The advance of Brahmanism at the present time

During several years of district work in Chota Nagpore, and again while organizing the recent inquiry, some special opportunities have come in my way of observing the progress of the great religious and social movement described by Sir Alfred Lyall as 'the gradual Brahmanising of the aboriginal, non-Aryan or casteless tribes'.* That this movement is progressing on a large scale is beyond doubt; but it, by no means, maintains a uniform character throughout its sphere of action, and it includes in Bengal at least four distinct processes, which may be analysed as follows:

1. The leading men of an aboriginal tribe, having somehow got on in the world and become independent landed proprietors, manage to enrol themselves in one of the leading castes. They usually set up as Rajputs, their first step being to start a Brahman priest, who invents for them a mythical ancestor, supplies them with a family miracle connected with the locality where their tribe are settled, and discovers that they belong to some hitherto unheard-of clan of the great Rajput community. In the earlier stages of their advancement they generally find great difficulty in getting their daughters married, as they will not marry within their own tribe, and Rajputs of their adopted caste will, of course, not intermarry with them. But after a generation or two their persistency obtains its reward, and they inter-marry, if not with pure Rajputs, at least with a superior order of manufactured Rajput, whose promotion into the Brahmanical system dates far enough back for the steps by which it was gained to have been forgotten. Thus a real change of blood may take place; while in any caste the tribal name is completely lost, and with it all possibility of accurately separating this class of people from the Hindus of purer blood, and of assigning them to any particular non-Aryan tribe. They have been absorbed in the fullest sense of the word, and henceforth pose, and are locally accepted, as high-caste Hindus. All stages of the process, family miracle and all, can be illustrated by actual instances taken from the leading families in Chota Nagpore.

2. A number of aborigines embraces the tenets of a Hindu religious sect, losing thereby their tribal name and becoming Vaishnabs, Ramayats and the like. Whether there is any mixture of blood or not will depend upon local circumstances and the rules of the sect regarding inter-marriage. Anyhow the identity of the converts as aborigines is usually, though not invariably, lost, and this also may, therefore, be regarded as a case of true absorption.

3. A whole tribe of aborigines, or a large section of a tribe, enrol themselves in the ranks of Hinduism under the style of a new caste, which, though claiming an origin of remote antiquity, is readily distinguishable by its name from any of the standard and recognized castes. Thus the great majority of the Kochh inhabitants of Rungpore now invariably describe themselves as Rajbansis or Bhanga Kshatriyas—a designation which enables them to represent themselves as an outlying branch of the Kshatriyas, who fled to North-Eastern Bengal in order to escape from the wrath of Parasurama. They claim descent from Raja Dasarath, father of Rama, they keep Brahmans, imitate the Brahmanical ritual in their marriage ceremony, and have begun to adopt the Brahmanical system of *gotras*. In respect of this last point they are now in a curious state of transition, as they have all hit upon the same *gotra* (Kasyapa), and thus habitually transgress the primary rule of the Brahmanical system, which absolutely prohibits marriage within the *gotra*. But for this defect in their connubial arrangements, a defect which will probably be corrected in a generation or two as they and their *purohits* rise in intelligence, there would be nothing in their custom to distinguish them from Aryan Hindus, although there has been no mixture of blood, and they remain thoroughly Kochh under the name of Rajbansi.

4. A whole tribe of aborigines, or a section of a tribe, become gradually converted to Hinduism without, like the Rajbansis, abandoning their tribal designation. This is what is happening among the Bhumij of Western Bengal. Here a pure Dravidian race have lost their original language, and now speak only Bengali; they worship Hindu gods in addition to their own (the tendency being to relegate the tribal gods to the women), and the more advanced among them employ Brahmans as family priests. They still retain a set of totemistic exogamous subdivisions closely resembling those of the Mundas and the Santals, but they are beginning to forget the totems which the names of the subdivisions denote, and the names themselves will probably soon be abandoned in favour of more aristocratic designations. The tribe will then have become a caste, and will go on stripping itself of all customs likely to betray its true descent. The physical characteristics of its members will alone survive. After their transformation into a caste, the Bhumij will be more strictly endogamous than they were as a tribe, and even less likely to modify their physical type by inter-marriage with other races.

Probably typical of its advance in the past

There is every reason to suppose that the movement, of which certain phases are roughly sketched above, has been going on for many centuries, and that, although at the present day its working can probably be most readily observed in Chota Nagpore, the Orissa Hills and parts of Eastern and Northern Bengal, it must formerly have operated on a similar scale in Bengal proper and Bihar. The well-known tenth chapter of Manu, which endeavours to account for the existence of the non-Aryan castes by representing them as the offspring of marriages between the four original castes, gives clear indications that in Manu's time, fixed by Burnell at 500 A.D., some of the non-Aryan races had already begun to intrude upon the Brahmanical caste system, while others were still in the tribal stage. Arguing from facts now observable, it seems likely that some of the castes, alleged by Manu to be the result of more or less complicated crosses, are really tribes, which had lost their identity like the Rajbansis; for at the present day, if we look merely to customs, ceremonies, and the like, we find in the majority of cases that the admission of a tribe into the Hindu community results after a generation or two in the practical disappearance of the tribe as such. Its identity can no longer be traced by direct enquiry from its members, or inferred from observation of their usages. The Rajbansi and the Bhumij are instances of tribes in an early stage of transition, whose antecedents can be accurately determined. Later on not only do distinctive custom fall into disuse, but the tribe itself, after its promotion to the rank of a caste, breaks up into a number of endogamous groups, each of which practically forms a separate caste. But even in this extreme case the physical characteristics, which distinguished the tribe tend on the whole to be preserved; and it is this persistence of the type which accounts for the differences of feature, which, though only definable by scientific methods, are marked enough to render it possible within certain limits to make a fair guess at a man's caste from his personal appearance.

*Asiatic Studies, p. 102

III

ON EDUCATED BENGALEES

Extract from 'Hindu Tribes and Castes' by the Rev M. A. Sherring, M. A., LL.B., London (Vol. III, published in 1881, pp. 279-83)

But our hope and comfort, too, lie in the fact, that all are not so. While in India the educated class is continually increasing, there is good reason to believe that the active opponents of caste are increasing likewise. But progress is made in this respect in a greater ratio in some parts of the country than in others. Bengalees occupy the van in this movement. To their honour, be it said, they have long been the leaders of public opinion in India. It is they who first formed it; it is they who chiefly sustain it. In them we perceive an amount of active patriotism and genuine earnestness not met with in any other Indian nationality except perhaps the Parsees. Sometimes their enthusiasm becomes excessive, and they are apt to indulge in statements respecting their rulers, and their relation to them, by no means honourable to their judgment, or to their sense of gratitude for the great liberty they enjoy under the British Government. But their inquisitiveness and outspokenness are infinitely preferable to a condition of lifelessness and dullness. And the buoyancy and zeal arising from the quickening influences of education on acute and intelligent minds, producing occasionally strange errors of opinion and singular hallucinations, if not to be admired, are nevertheless to be excused, for it is quite certain that time and fuller knowledge will correct them.

Many, perhaps I should say most, educated Bengalees have the courage of their convictions. Their thoughts wander rapidly over the broad fields of politics, religion, philosophy, and social economy, which subjects they discuss with keenness and ability, searching eagerly into the latest results of European investigation and criticism. With the same haste they have been ready to adopt and to practise the discoveries they have made. They have thrown overboard the theories and dogmas of their ancestors, and have bravely entered on new paths. To the amazement of rigid Hindus they have sternly refused to conform to old superstitions, because education and reflection have revealed to them their illusiveness and absurdity. They may have acted too suddenly before, it may be, they had sufficiently tested and weighed their new ideas. But, be that as it may, an intellectual and religious revolution has been effected during the last fifty years in the educated ranks of Bengalee society, the most striking feature of which has been the determination and resolution which Bengalees have shown in carrying out their new convictions.

And what shall be said of their treatment of caste? Confessedly this is the strongest foe they have had to encounter, and is one which has put their principles and courage to the test. The other enemies were chiefly theoretical and speculative, this was thoroughly practical; those assailed the mind, especially the imaginative faculty; these had a living reality, almost like that of material objects. Some who grappled with the first set of adversaries quailed before this, or compromised themselves by a partial surrender, or entered on a course of duplicity, resenting caste assumptions in secret, while publicly professing their complete submission to its claims. Yet, notwithstanding the hesitations of these persons, there remains a noble band of earnest and valiant men, who have broken away entirely from the bondage of caste, and have gallantly bidden defiance to its utmost resentment. Their number is still small, but they are individually possessed of great energy,—are fearless,—are of high education and superior ability,—are consciously representative men,—are resolutely bent on carrying out their new found principles—and are already too important and influential a community to be frowned upon and spurned or treated with contumely. Rigid Hindus feel that it is a serious business to break a lance with them, and prefer to leave them alone. The trimmers, however, who take both sides, come in for hard knocks and many bruises; and, persecuted and in constant terror of excommunication, suppress their sentiments, and conform, though with a bad grace, to all the punctilious demands which members of their offended castes are prompt to impose on them.

Some of the caste-emancipated Bengalees have a character for adopting European usages. In our judgment, it is far better for natives of India to adhere to their own customs than to adopt those of foreigners. Nevertheless, they are surely at liberty to do as they please. If any class have strength of intellect and will sufficient to abandon caste at any and all risk, we may rest assured it will have enough of the same qualities for its future guidance. A spirit of eclecticism having been produced among the members of that class they will not be satisfied with the mere renunciation of foolish custom and exploded opinions, but will speedily form other habits in accordance with their new ideas. In carrying out their purpose we must not be surprised that their minds take a wide range, and that they adopt views derived from observation on a multitude of heterogeneous objects. In this manner, Bengalees, who have released themselves from caste, in seeking to establish for themselves new forms of social life, are not to be blamed, that I see, for taking as their models the most civilized, intellectual, and advanced people with whom they are acquainted. Nor is it a matter of astonishment, though it is of regret, that they should be prone to copy their bad qualities and habits, as well as their good.

Did we not possess the example of these progressive Bengalees, we might have been inclined to pay some attention to the manifest opinion of Hindus of the old school, that while they might abandon their religion they would never surrender their caste. But an important commencement has been made, and that by the most enlightened and best educated portion of the native community. And it is satisfactory to know, that the work of reformation is proceeding steadily among the ranks of students in all the numerous colleges and schools of Bengal. Many of them may not be in a position to follow out their principles to their practical conclusion; but the seeds of a great social change are already sown in their minds, which are destined in after years to spring up and bring forth abundant fruit.

Moreover, this readiness of the Bengalee to follow his convictions in a practical manner, has caused his mind to react upon itself very singularly. Purposes, whether for good or for evil, if accomplished, frequently give birth to others And the human understanding no sooner finds itself successful in its projects, than it instinctively conceives others; and so the original stimulus being continually increased produces an ever-augmenting series of results. Thus it has been with the Bengalee. The very effort to deliver himself from his social captivity has had a healthy effect upon his mind. The effort itself was the product of previous thought, which had been awakened by education acting on an inquisitive and busy intellect. Excited by western ideas derived from reading and study, he has endeavoured to put in practice the new conceptions he has formed on many matters, and thereby a fresh excitement has been imparted to him. Or his condition may perhaps be represented as one of intellectual excitement, which, having once been generated and having been nourished by its achievements, has gone on continually increasing. Unquestionably, at the present time, the educated classes of Bengal, especially those persons who having imbibed the true spirit of knowledge have been anxious faithfully to follow its leadings, are in a state of extraordinary mental excitement and restlessness. Englishmen looking on are very apt to suppose that much of this mental state of the Bengalee arises from, and

indicates presumptuousness and conceit. Hence he is commonly spoken against and misjudged, his faults are exaggerated, his motives are distorted, and the very efforts he is making to improve himself are held up to ridicule. Now all this is most unfair and reprehensible. Considering the entire revolution which he is undergoing, intellectually and socially, it would be a miracle if the Bengalee did not make many mistakes, and did not often place himself in a ludicrous position in the opinion of hypercritical and fault-finding Englishmen. The whole circle of European learning has been suddenly opened out to him,—he has been called upon to alter or abandon his former notions on many important topics in the wide range of human knowledge which he has studied, in the new aspects in which they have been presented to him with all the intensity of his most active mind,—he has found himself transformed into another being, utterly discontented with the stagnation of most of his fellow-countrymen; and is it at all remarkable that many of his ideas should be crude, and that, for the most part, he should fail to master his situation, and that his situation should master him? All his shortcomings are remediable. Knowledge, like strong food, is slow of digestion; but give it time, and the process will be accomplished. The Bengalee has a glorious future before him—a future in which, if I mistake not, he will shine conspicuously as the leader of public opinion and of intellectual and social progress among all the varied nationalities of the Indian Empire. When he attains to the full stature of himself,—when his mind has become thoroughly matured,—when he perceives the true bearings of the knowledge he has acquired, and in his person and life exhibits that advanced civilization, which he only now hears about, and reads about, but which has not yet, except to a very meagre extent, passed into his being,—when he has thus been refined in the crucible of wisdom, and has become a genuine lover of virtue and a sturdy champion of the truth, then he will occupy that exalted position in India, as a counsellor and guide to its teeming inhabitants, which his talents already indicate to be that which he ought to fill.

I have dwelt upon the character of the Bengalee in order to show, that being at the head of the party of progress in India he has set an example of independent thought which it would be to the interest and honour of the other nationalities to follow. In Benares and other cities are many men of intelligence and education, who are capable of being leaders of their fellow-countrymen in the abandonment of superstitions and the adoption of new ideas and habits, conformable to the education they have received and the enlightenment their minds have experienced. Like the Bengalees, of whom I have been speaking, they have knowledge, but strange to say, unlike them, they have little or no conviction, no strength of character, no resolution, no clear perception, and no consciousness that increased knowledge implies increased responsibility. With all their weight of learning, the possession of which enables them to carry off university degrees and honours they are perfectly content to mingle among the most superstitious and ignorant Hindus, to do as they do, to obey their foolish dictum as law, and to have no other aim in life than to conform to the most rigid usages of their ancestors. I would say to all such persons, that education is thrown away upon them, and that they continue to perform with apparent heartiness the most senseless and preposterous custom of the most degraded of their fellow-countrymen,—custom which were originated in the infancy and imbecility of their race; they deserve, so long as they continue such abject cowards, to be ranked among that dishonoured class. Let them not misunderstand me however, for I speak as their sincere friend, not as their enemy. Personally, as I know from long experience, many of them are estimable persons, worthy of all respect and admiration. But so far as their influence extends, as far as they undertake any practical measures for elevating either themselves or their fellow-countrymen in the scale of civilization, and for delivering them from the debasing prejudices and custom of former generations, am I not correct in designating them as mere ciphers, as ornamental, and yet useless, members of the great Hindu society in which they move, and of which they form so important a part?

IV

ON KULINISM

Extract from 'The People of India' by Sir Herbert Risley, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Appendix VII, p. cxliii

To the EDITOR of "THE TIMES"

October 1, 1907

Sir, Will you allow me, as a subject of the British Empire, to join Sir George Birdwood in his protest against the gross insularity with which the subject of Kulin polygamy has been discussed in your columns since Sir Henry Cotton, by putting his denial of its existence in the form of a defence of Indian morality, assumed that the test of morality is simply conformity to English custom? In this all your correspondents except Sir George have followed him, the only difference being that his intentions were civil, and theirs openly offensive. To an Indian that can hardly weigh as a difference at all. If (to illustrate) an Indian paper were to publish a controversy between two Bengalees, one holding up the Archbishop of Canterbury to the execration of all pious Hindus as a Christian, and the other defending him as a man of far too high character to be tainted with the Christian superstition, the Archbishop would hardly feel much more obliged to his defender than to his assailant.

If the Empire is to be held together by anything better than armed force—and we have neither energy nor money enough to spare from our own affairs for that—we shall have to make up our minds to bring the institutions and social experiments of our fellow-subjects to a very much higher test than their conformity to the customs of Clapham. It is true that mere toleration for its own sake is out of the question: we are not going to tolerate suttee or human sacrifice on any terms from anybody, if we can help it. We are far too tolerant as it is, if not of other people's abominations and superstitions, at all events of our own, which are numerous and detestable enough in all conscience. But before we begin to hurl such epithets as 'revolting' and 'abhorrent' at any custom of our Indian fellow-subjects, we had better consider carefully why we are shocked by them. Very few of us are trained to distinguish between the shock of unfamiliarity and genuine ethical shock. Kulin polygamy is unfamiliar, therefore it shocks us, and causes gentlemen of ordinary good breeding to use abusive and intemperate language in your columns. Under these circumstances, I, having ascertained that my opinion in this matter is representative enough to be of some importance, am emboldened to say that the institution of Kulin polygamy, as described by your correspondents, does not seem to me on the face of it an unreasonable one. Let me compare it with our own marriage custom. We are told first that the Bengalees do not marry out of their caste. To them, therefore, the promiscuity which we profess must be 'revolting' and 'abhorrent'; but we have the ready and obvious defence that our promiscuity is only professed and not real, as our Deputy-Lieutenant class and our commercial traveller class, for instance, do

not intermarry. Further, the Bengalees hold that it is part of the general purpose of things that women should bear children, and that childlessness is a misfortune and even a disgrace. It will not be disputed. I think that this, under the surface, is as much an occidental as an oriental view. Again, the Bengalees attach great importance to their children being well-bred. So do we. On all these points the only difference between India and England is that England holds her beliefs more loosely, less religiously, less thoughtfully, and is less disposed to let them stand in the way of pecuniary gain and social position.

How then do the parents of an English family, of the class corresponding to the Indian Brahman class, secure well-bred grandchildren for themselves and also for their nation? They use their social opportunities to put their daughters promiscuously in the way of young men of their own caste, in the hope that a marriage with some one or other will be the result. Frequently it is not the result: the daughter becomes an old maid, one of the wasted mothers of a nation, which as Mr. Sydney Webb and Professor Karl Pearson have warned us, is perishing for want of well-bred children. Even when chance is favourable, and the daughter finds a husband, she often refuses to become a mother because her religious and social training has taught her to regard motherhood as a department of original sin, and to glory, not in the possession of children, but of a husband, so that the childless woman with a husband despises the mother who has no husband.

What does the Bengalee father do under the same circumstances according to Sir Henry Prinsep? He selects a picked man—a Brahman, representing the highest degree of culture and character in his class; and he pays him £100 to enable his daughter to become the mother of a well-bred child.

Now this may strike the parochial Englishman as unusual or, as he would put it, 'revolting', 'abhorrent', and so forth; but it is certainly not unreasonable and not inhuman. Far from being obviously calculated to degrade the race, it is, on the face of it, aimed at improving it. Sir George Birdwood has just told us in your columns that the Kulin 'happens, for the most part, to be of fine physique'. Sir George has no doubt also noticed that the products of our system happen, for the most part, not to be of fine physique. Is it quite clear that this is mere happening? Is it not rather what one would expect under the circumstances? And is the practice of taking deliberate steps to produce and reproduce men of fine physique really revolting and abhorrent to our British conscience as distinguished from our British prejudice? Let us, however, do justice to our system, indefensible as it is in many respects. It secures what most men want: that is, a sharing out of the women among the men so that every Jack shall have his Jill, and the able men and attractive women shall not accumulate partners and leave mediocrity unprovided. If this were the end of public policy in the matter, and if the race might safely take its chance of degeneracy provided monogamy, even on the hardest conditions, were maintained, there would be nothing more to be said. But as the whole Imperial problem before us is fundamentally nothing else than to produce more capable political units than our present system breeds—in short to breed the Superman—this is not a time to rail at experiments made by people who are not under the harrow of our prejudices, or to persist in calling the custom founded on those prejudices by question-begging names such as purity, chastity, propriety, and so forth, and to speak of a Brahman who is the father of a hundred children as a libertine with a hundred wives. Any man of thirty may have a hundred children without having a wife at all and still be positively ascetic in his temperance compared with an average respectable and faithful British husband of the same age. And if the hundred children 'happen, for the most part, to be of fine physique,' the nation will be more powerful and prosperous in the next generation than if these hundred children were replaced by a hundred others of indifferent physique, each having a different father, promiscuously picked up in a Clapham drawing room.

A system which limits the fertility of its men of fine physique to the childbearing capacity of one woman, and wastes the lives of thousands of first-rate maiden ladies in barrenness because they like to own their own houses and manage their own affairs without being saddled with a second-rate or tenth-rate man, must not take its own merits for granted. It may be the right system; it may be bound up with all that is best in our national life and fortunate in our national history; it may be all that our stupidest people unanimously claim for it. But then again it may not. The evidence on the other side is weighty; and the population question is pressing hard on us. The case must be argued, not assumed; and the final verdict will be that of history and not of our modern suburban villas with no nurseries.

Yours truly

G. BERNARD SHAW

Report of the Committee appointed in 1866 by the Government of Bengal to report on the necessity of Legislating on the subject of Polygamy among the Hindus

FROM C. HOBHOUSE, ESQ., AND OTHERS,

TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

Dated the 7th February 1867.

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters Nos. 1647 to 1651 T., dated Darjeeling, 22nd August 1866, to our respective addresses, and we beg to submit the following reply:—

We understand that the Hon'ble the Maharajah of Burdwan, and some 21,000 other Hindu inhabitants of Lower Bengal, prayed for an enactment to prevent the abuses attending the practice of polygamy amongst the Hindus in Lower Bengal; that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor was in favour of the measure of bringing the said practice strictly within the limits of ancient Hindu Law; that, on the other hand, His Excellency the Governor-General in Council was of opinion that the Hindu inhabitants of Lower Bengal were not prepared, either for the suppression of the system of polygamy, or yet for that strict limitation of it which His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal recommended, but desired only a remedy for the special abuses practised by the sect of Koolin Brahmins; that His Excellency would therefore be prepared to take into consideration any deliberate measure which His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor might in consultation with some of the ablest of the leading native gentlemen in Bengal, think fit to recommend for the suppression of the special abuses abovenamed, provided that such measure had not, on the one hand, the effect of restricting the general liberty now possessed by all Hindus to take more than one wife, and that it did not, on the other hand, give the express sanction of English Legislation to the system of polygamy, and that to us has been committed the duty of reporting on the best means of giving practical effect to the wishes of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, and of framing and submitting a Draft Bill for that purpose.

In order that it may be seen exactly what we understand that system to be, for which we are instructed to suggest a remedy, we think it necessary, briefly, to trace the history of Koolinism back; to state how it arose and what it was, and what we believe it to be, and what in the main are declared to be those evils to which it has given rise, and which it perpetuates.

In the Institutes of Manu, we do not find any distribution of the sect of the Brahmins into distinct denominational classes, but we find it declared that certain Brahmins were by conduct and acquirements entitled to higher respect than other Brahmins whose conduct was not so strict, and whose learning was not so great, and this declaration may possibly have laid the foundation of that distribution of the Brahmins into denominational classes which subsequently was made.

It was not until the time of the Hindu King Ballal Sen, who reigned some 284 years before the Mahomedan conquest, or about 877 A.D., that any distribution into denominational classes took place. This distribution was confined to the descendants of those Brahmins who had migrated from Kanouj into Bengal on the invitation of the Rajah Adisur, and it is stated that the cause of this distribution was the fact that the sect of Brahmins generally had fallen off in knowledge and in practice of the strict Hindu Shastras.

There were two chief divisions of Koolins, viz., the Barendros of what was then known as the geographical division of Barendrobhoom, and the Rarhis of Burdwan and other places.

The Koolins of Barendrobhoom were divided into two classes—

1st—The Koolins; and
2nd—Kaps;

but as it is not amongst the Barendro Koolins that any abuse of the system of polygamy exists, we shall not further refer to these Koolins.

The Rarhi Koolins were also divided into two classes, viz.:—

1st—The Koolins;
2nd—The Shrotryos;

and subsequently to these classes was added a third, the Bhongshojo, the origin of which is somewhat obscure.

The Koolin class was an order of merit, and was composed of those Brahmins who had the nine qualifications—

1st—Of observance of Brahmin duties;
2nd—Of meekness;
3rd—Of learning;
4th—Of good report;
5th—Of a disposition to visit holy places;
6th—Of devotion;
7th—Of the preservation of the custom of marriages amongst equals only;
8th—Of asceticism; and
9th—Of liberality.

The Shrotryo was composed of those Brahmins who were supposed to have eight only of the nine qualifications of the Koolins.

When the above classes were first created, a peculiar Code of Laws, the bulk of which has in process of time swelled, and which is called by the Koolins the Kooleena Shastras, was laid down for the guidance of the Koolins.

If it were possible, it would be superfluous to trace the history of the Koolins from the time abovementioned up to the present time; it is sufficient that we should now state, not in its numerous ramifications and complications, but in its main features only, what we believe to be the present condition of the Koolin class or of Koolins and Koolinism as best known by these terms. We are speaking of the Rarhi division of Brahmins, and we believe we are right in stating that the chief distinctive classes amongst them at the present day are four in number, and are these, viz.:—

The Koolins, or first class.
Bhongo Koolins, or second class.
Bhongshojo Koolins, or third class.
Shrotryo Brahmins, or fourth class.

The first class is composed of persons who are supposed to possess the nine qualifications of the order of merit, and who, at any rate, are presumed never to have forfeited their title to that order by inter-marriages out of their own class.

These men, it is said, usually marry two wives,—one out of their own class, and one out of the class of the Shrotryos—and they take a consideration from the bride on the occasion of all inter-marriages with the Shrotryos, and also of all inter-marriages amongst themselves, except in cases where there is an exchange of daughters.

The second class is composed of Koolins of the first class, who have fallen from this latter class by inter-marriages with daughters of families in the third class.

This second class is again sub-divided into—

1st—Swakrito Bhongo Koolins;
2nd—Bhongo Koolins of the second generation;
3rd—Bhongo Koolins of the third generation;
4th—Bhongo Koolins of the fourth generation.

The male members of the first and second sub-divisions of this second class contract an unlimited number of marriages during the life-time of the first wife, and except in cases of exchange, whether these marriages are contracted with Koolin women of their own class, or with the daughters of parents in the inferior classes, a consideration is given by the parents or family of the bride to the bridegroom.

In the fifth generation after the first act by which a Koolin of the first class has fallen into the second class, i.e., has become a Bhongo Koolin, he falls into the third class, i.e., he becomes Bhongshojo, and the fourth class, the Shrotryo, is composed of persons who have never been Koolins at all.

It will be most convenient here to state that the marriages most sought after are marriages with Bhongo Koolins of the first and second sub-divisional classes, i.e., the Swakrito and the Bhongo Koolin of the second generation, and that the daughters of the class Bhongo Koolins generally are not permitted without degradation to marry beneath their class.

We will now describe some of the main customs in the matter of marriage, which, on the authority of the statements made in petitions to the Legislative Council, and in some instances within the knowledge of more than one of the native gentlemen on our Committee, obtain amongst the Bhongo Koolins, and we will state what are declared in the papers to be the evil results of some of those custom.

1st—In addition to the presents usually given amongst all classes of Hindoos on the occasion of marriage, a Bhongo Koolin always, except when he gives his daughter to a brother Bhongo, and takes in exchange that brother Bhongo's daughter, exacts a consideration for marriage from the family of the bride.

2nd—A present is often given in addition on the occasion of any visit made to the house of the father-in-law.

3rd—If the daughters of the first and second sub-divisional classes of Bhongo Koolins cannot be given in marriage to husbands of their own classes, they must remain unmarried.

4th—The number of wives, including those of the same class, is said to be often as many as 15, 20, 40, 50 and 80.

5th—Polygamy is said to be resorted to as a sole means of subsistence to many Bhongo Koolins.

6th—Marriage, it is said, is contracted quite in old age, and the husband often never sees his wife, or only at the best visits her once in every three or four years or so.

7th—As many as three and four marriages have been known to have been contracted in one day.

8th—Sometimes all a man's daughters and his unmarried sisters are given in marriage to one and the same individual.

9th—It is so difficult to find husbands in the proper class for Koolin women that numbers, it is said, remain unmarried.

10th—The married or unmarried daughters and the wives of Koolins are said to live in the utmost misery; and it is alleged that crimes of the most heinous nature,

adultery, abortion and infanticide, and that prostitution are the common result of the system of Bhongo Koolin marriages generally.

11th—Cases are cited of men who have married 82, 72, 65, 60 and 42 wives, and have had 18, 32, 41, 25 and 32 sons, and 26, 27, 25, 15 and 16 daughters.

12th—Lists have been adduced to families in the Burdwan and Hooghly districts alone, showing the existence of a plurality of wives on the above scale, and in numerous cases.

13th—The principle on which Koolinism was perpetuated, viz., that of preventing inter-marriages between certain classes, is violated.

14th—Families, it is said, are ruined, in order to providing the large sums requisite to give a consideration on the occasion of their daughters' marriages, or are unable to marry their daughters at all for want of means to procure such consideration.

15th—Marriages are, it is said, contracted simply in order to this consideration, and the husbands do not even care to enquire what becomes of their wives, and have never even had any intention of fulfilling any one of the marriage duties.

16th—The crimes that are said to result from the Koolin system of marriage are said to be habitually concealed by the actors in them and by their neighbours, and this so as to baffle the efforts of the Police at discovery.

17th—No provision is made for the maintenance of one wife before marriage with an unlimited number of others.

The above are said to be some of the custom and are declared to be some of the evils said to result from the system of polygamy as practised by the sect of Bhongo Koolins, and the evils may thus be briefly summed up—

1st, the practical deprivation of the indulgence of natural ties and desires in the female sex in a legitimate manner; 2nd, the virtual, sometimes the actual, desertion of the wife by her natural and legal protector, the husband; 3rd, the encouragement of the practice of celibacy amongst the female sex; 4th, the non-maintenance of the wife by the husband; 5th, the supersession or abandonment of the wife at the mere pleasure of the husband; 6th, the formation of the contract of marriage for money considerations simply; 7th, the denial of nuptial intercourse except upon special monetary consideration given, 8th, the ruin, in a property point of view, of families; 9th, the contraction of the marriage tie avowedly without any intention even on the part of the husband of fulfilling any one of the duties of that tie; 10th, the binding down the female sex to all the obligations of the marriage state whilst yet withholding from that sex every one of the advantage of that state; 11th, prostitution; and lastly, the encouragement of the actual crimes of adultery, abortion, and infanticide and of the habit and practice of the concealment of such crimes.

The customs detailed above, as obtaining amongst Bhongo Koolins in the matter of marriage, have, on the whole, we think, been accurately detailed. The evils said to result from these custom are, we have reason to believe, greatly exaggerated, and the abuse of the permission to take a plurality of wives is, we believe, on the decrease; yet we do not doubt but that great evils exist, and those evils divide themselves naturally into two classes: first, that class which is contrary to religion and morality, and second, that which is contrary to established law.

We think that the following extracts, containing a brief view of the Hindu system of religion and morality as applied to the marriage state, will show that the system of polygamy, to whatever extent it is abused by the Bhongo Koolins, is opposed to the ordinances of the Hindu Code of religion and morality:—

Brahmins are to shun the allurements of sensual gratification. Indulgence in sensual pleasure incurs certain guilt; abstinence from it heavenly bliss. Neither the Vedas, nor liberality, nor sacrifices, nor strict observances, nor pious austerities ever procure felicity for the man contaminated by sensuality. The husband is to approach his wife in due season; he is to honour and adorn her, when he honours her, the deities are pleased; when he dishonours her, religious acts are fruitless; a wife unless guilty of deadly sin, must not be deserted; the husband who does not approach his wife in due season is reprehensible; he is one person with her and she cannot by desertion be separated from him; once a wife is given in marriage and the step is irrevocable; only after a wife has treated a husband with aversion for a whole year can he cease to cohabit with her; immorality, drinking spirituous liquors, affliction with an incurable or loathsome disease, mischievousness, waste of property, barrenness after eight years' cohabitation, death of all children after ten years of cohabitation, the production of only female children after eleven years of cohabitation, and speaking unkindly are the sole grounds for supersession of a wife; desertion of a blameless wife is penal; subtraction of conjugal rights is denounced with heavy penalties; supersession of the wife is justifiable on grounds which regard the temper, conduct or health of the wife, and is tolerated on other grounds, where neither justified nor tolerated; it is illegal, abandonment of a blameless and efficient wife, without cause given or without her consent, is illegal; the principles peculiar to the Brahmin forms of marriage are those of equal consent and disinterested motives; immemorial custom, regulating marriage in general and in its different forms, and the relations of husband or wife, is to be observed, and non-observance leads to forfeiture of the fruits of the Vedas.

Manu, Chapter I, 109, 110 to 115.
Manu, Chapter III, 45, 55 to 57.
Manu, Chapter VIII, 389.
Manu, Chapter IX, 4, 45 to 47, 77, 80, 81.
Strange, Chapter II, pp. 46, 47, 48, 52 to 54.
Macnaghten, Vol. I, 58, 60.

The above texts clearly seem to us to indicate that the Bhongo Koolins to what extent they marry out of motives of sensuality only, or do not cohabit with, or abandon without any cause or supersede or neglect, or do not maintain their wives, or disregard the sanctity of the marriage tie generally, act contrary to the plainest injunctions of the Hindoo Shastras.

To the extent that the system of inter-marriages amongst the Bhongo Koolins encourages celibacy amongst women, and exacts a consideration for the contract of marriage; it is questionable whether there is any practice which is at variance with the letter at least of the Hindoo Shastras.

In the matter of celibacy, the whole tenor of the Hindoo system of marriage does certainly advocate the marriage of women even before they have arrived at puberty; penalties are prescribed for those fathers and families who neglect to marry their daughters before they have arrived at puberty, and daughters had formerly even the privilege of giving themselves in marriage in case of protracted neglect on the part of others to give them in marriage, yet on the other hand, perpetual celibacy is inculcated rather than the act of giving the daughter in marriage "to a bridegroom void of excellent qualities".—Manu, Chap. IX, Sec. 89.

And again on this subject—a father is prohibited from receiving any gratuity, however small, for giving his daughter in marriage, on the principle that he who through avarice takes such a gratuity is a seller of his offspring.—Manu, Chap. III, Sec. 51.

The case, however, that we have to contemplate is that of a father who gives, not one who takes, a gratuity in order to the marriage of his daughter, and who is not actuated by avarice, but by what the Hindoo Law declares to be the laudable desire of marrying his daughter early in life, and to a Brahmin of excellent qualities, and there is no text that we know of that prohibits a person from taking a consideration on the occasion of marriage.

The utmost that can be said against the taking of this consideration is that it is contrary to the principle on which the four first forms of marriage, which are peculiar to the Brahmins, are based, viz., that both parties to the

marriage should be actuated by disinterested motives.—Macnaghten, Vol. I, paras. 59, 60.

Looking at the subject generally, however, there cannot be a doubt but that the system of polygamy as practised by the Bhongo Koolins is opposed to the strict ordinances of the Hindoo Shastras, and it is also said to be productive of the special offences against the law which we have named, and we are instructed, if we can, subject to the restrictions imposed upon us by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, to suggest a legislative measure by which the system may be suppressed.

The root of the evil is in that custom by which Bhongo Koolins of the inferior grades and Bhongshojo Koolins eagerly offer, and Bhongo Koolins of the higher grades as eagerly accept, valuable considerations for the marriage of a woman of the former classes to a man of the latter class.

A law could, of course, be passed, rendering such contracts illegal under penalties on both the contracting parties.

But in the first place it is not clear that the letter of Hindoo Law is not rather in favour of, than against such contracts, and in the second place, in a case such as this, where both parties are interested to conclude the contract in question, it is evident that either the provisions of any law prohibiting such contracts would be evaded, or that violations of any such law would be effectually concealed.

And evasion of such a law is all the more easy under that part of the Hindoo system of religion and morals which inculcates acceptance by the Brahmin sect of gifts from the virtuous, if they themselves are poor, and this as one of the means of subsistence.—Manu, Chap. X, Secs. 75, 76.

Systems of registration of marriages, of fines increasing in amount for every marriage after the first, of certificates of all marriages after the first, to be taken out in the Civil Courts, and such like schemes have been suggested and have suggested themselves to us; but in all these schemes even if they were not otherwise objectionable, there would, it seems to us, be an element which would indirectly at least, affect that "general liberty which is now possessed by all Hindoos to take more than one wife" with which we are instructed not to interfere.

The scheme which has at first sight seemed most feasible is that of framing a Declaratory Law, setting forth what the law is on the subject of polygamy, and prohibiting any infraction of it under penalties.

Such a Declaratory Law would certainly 'regulate polygamy amongst the Hindoo inhabitants of lower Bengal generally' and we are not quite certain, therefore, that, in proposing such a law, we should not be transgressing that part of our instructions which forbids us to 'give the express sanction of English legislation to the Hindoo system' of polygamy; but for the sake of considering the subject, we will suppose that we are not prohibited from proposing a Declaratory Law.

Now such a law must, in our judgments, clearly be declaratory of what the Hindoo system of polygamy is, and nothing more and nothing less; if it be more or less, then it ceases to be simply declaratory, and becomes inactive.

The following is that which, after consultation of the best authorities, we find to be the law which, strictly taken, should regulate the practice of polygamy amongst the Hindoos.

We find that, according to one of the ordinances of Manu, a Brahmin is enjoined to marry one wife, and this a woman of his own caste; but that, if he be so inclined, he is permitted to marry more than one wife, during the life-time of his first wife, and he is recommended to select a second, a third, and a fourth wife in the order of the classes, viz., out of the Kshatrya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra classes, respectively and consecutively.—Manu, Chap. III, Secs. 12, 13.

This was an ordinance of the time of Manu, but we are now in the iron age of the Hindoo system, and so a Brahmin is now forbidden to marry any but a woman of his own caste.

It is contended, however, by the advocates of polygamy that the permission to marry a plurality of wives, which formerly extended to women of all the four classes, is to be construed, not so as to abolish polygamy altogether, but simply so as to confine it to inter-marriages amongst the various classes.

To this opinion Strange so far seems to incline, in that he states that it does not appear how many wives a Hindoo is competent to have at one and the same time (Chap. 2, p. 56); and in Sec. 204, Chap. VIII, Manu, there is a case in which it is evidently contemplated that a man may be the husband of two persons of the same caste at one and at the same time, though, in this instance the permission was evidently only accorded under circumstances of an exceptional nature; and again, in Sec. 161, Chap. IV, there is a general maxim, a maxim allowing the widest margin conceivable, to the effect that any act, though it be not prescribed, and if it be not prohibited, is lawful provided that it gratifies the mind of him who performs it.

Macnaghten, on the other hand, points out the illogical nature of the deduction made from the texts quoted, and states that action taken in the matter of marriages from this deduction is considered by the Pundits to be reprehensible.—Vol. I, pp. 58, 59.

In our view the texts 12, 13, Chap. III, Manu, relied on, must be held to be obsolete and inapplicable. Those texts refer to an era in the Hindoo system in which it was permitted to a Brahmin to marry out of his own sect and thus prescribed the order, and put no restraint upon the circumstances under which he might contract such marriages but we are now presumed to be living in a purer era, when marriages of this looser kind, which were before permitted, are now prohibited, and the logical deduction seems to us to be that those texts, which had for their main object the regulation of such marriages, have, with the marriages themselves, become obsolete.

We turn, therefore, to those other authorities which seem to us to declare most definitely the Hindoo system of polygamy.

Immemorial custom, which is defined to be good usages long established, is declared to regulate the laws concerning marriage, and the relationship of husband and wife.—Manu, Chap. I, Secs. 112, 115, and Chap. II, Sec. 18.

A Brahmin who has not violated the rules of his order, who has read certain portions of the Vedas, who has obtained the consent of his spiritual guide, and who has performed certain ceremonial ablutions, may then espouse a wife of the same class as himself, who is endowed with certain excellences, and not marked by certain defects.—Manu, Chap, III, Secs. 2, 4 and 7 to 11.

On the decease of the wife, the husband may, after performance of sacrifice and the funeral rites, marry again.—Manu, Chap. V, Sec. 168.

If a wife drinks spirituous liquors, if she acts immorally, if she shows aversion to her husband, if she be afflicted with any loathsome or incurable disease, if she be mischievous, if she wastes her husband's property, if she be afflicted with a blemish of which the husband was not aware when he married her, if she has been given in marriage fraudulently, if before marriage she has been unchaste, if, after seven years of married life, she has remained barren, if, in the tenth year of marriage, her children be all dead, if, after ten years of marriage, she has produced only daughters, and if she has spoken unkindly to her husband, she may in some of those contingencies, be altogether abandoned, and in all superseded by her husband.—Manu, Chap. IX, Secs. 72, 77, 80, 81.

But the wife who is beloved and virtuous, though she be afflicted with disease, may yet not be superseded by another wife without her own consent.—Manu, Chap. IX, Sec. 82.

These causes are accepted by Strange as those which lead to separation (Chap. II, p. 47), and he remarks upon the latitude which they give to the will and caprice of the husband, whenever there is in him the disposition to take advantage, of the letter of the law.

And further on, he points out that, where supersession of the wife is not justifiable nor permissible, under, we would suppose, any one of the above contingencies, there it is illegal; and he defines illegal supersession to be the abandoning, with a view to another wife, a blameless and efficient wife who has given neither cause nor consent.—Pp. 52 to 54, Chap. II.

If we have rightly quoted, and if Mr. Justice Strange has rightly interpreted the law, then in any Bill declaratory of law, we should have to propose to give the sanction of English legislation to supersession of a wife on grounds the most trivial and inadequate, to say that she might be superseded, because she was found blemished (perhaps within the meaning of Secs. 7 to 11, Manu, Chap. III) or was mischievous (whatever that may mean), or had spoken unkindly, or was barren (and who is to say where the fault of barrenness lies, for if it is with the husband, then under Sec. 79, Chap. IX, Manu, there is no supersession), or for many other causes more or less ridiculous, or incapable of proof.

On these considerations, we find that it is not in our power to suggest the enactment of any Declaratory Law, neither can we think of any legislative measure that, under the restricted instructions given for our guidance, will suffice for the suppression of the abuses of the system of polygamy as practised by the Koolin Brahmins, and we beg to report to that effect.

C. P. HOBHOUSE.
H. T. PRINSEP.
SUTTO CHURN GHOSAL.
ISHWAR CHANDRA SURMA.
RAMANAUTH TAGORE.
JOYKISSEN MOOKERJEE.
DEGUMBER MITTER.

While subscribing to the report generally, we deem it due to record our opinion separately on the following points:—

1. It is stated in p. 6, Cl. 4, that among other evils of Koolin polygamy the 'number of wives is often as many as 15, 20, and 80'. Whatever might have been the case in times gone by we can distinctly state that it is not so now. The rapid spread of education and enlightened ideas as well as the growth of a healthy public opinion on social matters among the people of Bengal, has so sensibly affected this custom that the marrying of more than one wife, except in cases of absolute necessity, has come to be looked upon with general reprobation. Even among Bhongo Koolins of the 1st and 2nd class, the number of wives now-a-days seldom exceeds four or five except in very rare instances, but there is ample reason to believe that this class of people will settle into a monogamous habit like the other classes of the community, as education will become more general among them and the force of social opinion the more widely felt.

2. From the report it will appear that polygamy, as an institution, is confined to a certain class of Rarhi Koolins called Bhongo of the 1st and 2nd order, and that at present the practice even amongst them obtains in a much more mitigated form than a few years before. We need not notice that the number comprised in that class forms but a fraction of the population of Bengal, the catalogue of crimes, therefore, given in p. 6 of the report, even if their correctness were unimpeached, must, it can be easily imagined, be infinitesimally small, so far as the same are traceable to polygamy as their immediate cause. However much we deprecate polygamy and lament its abuse, we cannot still conceal from ourselves the fact that the evils which are plausibly enough inferred as inseparably associated with it are not wholly ascribable to it. They are seen to exist in full force even where polygamy is not known or is considered a crime, and would appear to be simply the natural consequence of an imperfect knowledge of social laws not confined to India alone. A legislative enactment, however stringent and rigidly enforced, might be effectual in diverting those evils from their original course, but it is quite powerless to stop the source from which they take their rise.

3. Our countrymen are already awakened to a proper sense of the duties which they owe to themselves and to their offsprings, to be swayed by those considerations which rendered polygamy at one time an unavoidable necessity. We are accordingly of opinion that this question may, without injury to public morals, be left for settlement to the good sense and judgment of the people. The Government cannot directly interfere with it without producing serious harm in diverse ways. All that it can and ought to do is to assist in the spread of that enlightenment which has already so much advanced the desired reform.

Some explanation is due from Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee, who had signed the petition, praying for a law for restricting the practice of polygamy. He desires to say that he has always been against this custom, and that when the movement was initiated about ten years ago, he was strongly in favour of it from a belief that the evils flowing from it would not be rooted out without the force of law, and when it was revived last year, he also gave his adhesion. But he is now satisfied by enquiries instituted by himself, as well as from representations made to him by others, that a remarkable change in the opinion of his countrymen has, within the last few years, taken place on this subject, that with other signs of social progress not the least is that which marks with strong disapprobation the old custom of taking a plurality of wives as a means of a man's subsistence, and that it would consequently be in accord with the true interests of morality as well as of the cause of improvement for the State to abstain from interfering in the matter.

RAMANAUTH TAGORE.
JOYKISSEN MOOKERJEE.
DEGUMBER MITTER.

CALCUTTA:

The 1st February 1867.

I sign this report with the following reservations:—

I am of opinion that the evils alluded to in p. cl, cli are not 'greatly exaggerated', and that the decrease of these evils is not sufficient to do away with the necessity of legislation.

I would translate the term 'speaking unkindly' in p. civ to mean 'habitually abusing', and the term 'mischievous' to mean 'exceedingly cruel'.

I do not concur in the conclusion come to by the other gentlemen of the Committee. I am of opinion that a Declaratory Law might be passed without interfering with that liberty which Hindoos now by law possess in the matter of marriage.

ISHWAR CHANDRA SURMA
(VIDYASAGAR).

The 22nd January 1867.

V

THE GRAMYA DEVATA

Extract from 'Census of India', 1901, by E. A. Gait (Vol. VI, published in 1902, pp. 199-204)

Almost every village has its special tutelary deities (one or more), which preside over the welfare of the community. These are called the Gramya Devata and are worshipped on the occasion of every religious ceremony and also on special occasions, e.g., when disease breaks out or a newly-built house is occupied for the first time. The landlord of the village celebrates the puja, usually under a pipal or banyan tree, while each ryot performs his own ceremony at home.* Sometimes a Brahman officiates but frequently the people conduct the worship themselves. Sometimes there is no visible representation of the godling, but in Bihar a mound or stone is erected under a tree and smeared with vermilion. In Hooghly an earthen pot is filled with water and a mango twig is placed on the top, which is then covered with a piece of new cloth. Various offerings are made, usually of food cooked or uncooked, and goats are sometimes sacrificed; the offerings are generally taken by the family but in Hooghly they are the perquisite of the Bhuinmali. The Koches and their congeners worship the Gramya Devata at a curious ceremony, called *gambhira*, when the young people of the village disguise themselves, personating the deities, and dance The festival, which takes place in Chait or Baisakh, lasts for several days.

Some village deities are less local than others and have obtained a wider vogue. These usually have a sylvan home, e.g , Dholai Chandi, who inhabits a tree or grove which is held sacred by all. Pieces of brick and rags are tied to the branches, as an offering to procure the welfare of children, and people make obeisance whenever they pass her abode. Bana Durga is a sylvan deity of Mymensingh, who is also worshipped on behalf of children, and to whom sacrifices are made of pigeons and goats, which are subsequently taken by people of low caste.

The worship of the Gramya Devata seems to be connected with the animistic idea, which sees spirits everywhere, and in all manifestations of nature, and it is carried out with the greatest zest amongst the aboriginal tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where the *jahira*, *sarna*, or sacred grove, the small patch of virgin forest preserved from the axe as a refuge for the sylvan deities, who would otherwise have no local habitation, is peopled not by one or two, but by quite a number of godlings. Marang Buru is the Chief Gramya Devata of the Santals He is known also to the Mundas and Hos, but these tribes believe that he resides on the summit of high hills, the latter look on him as a disease godling. All these tribes worship him in the same way. A handful of rice is deposited in three places in the sacred grove, and the animal chosen for the sacrifice, usually a goat, is made to eat it, after which the head is severed at one blow. The head is taken by the *naiya*, or priest, and the body by the members of the family. The fame of this godling has spread to Malda, where he is known as Marang Deva and is worshipped to secure immunity from fever. A circle is drawn on the ground with powdered rice and a goat is sacrificed inside it. Another notable denizen of the sacred grove in Singhbhum is Desuli Bonga or Kara Sarno, who, though malignant, protects those who duly propitiate him from disease and other calamities. His festivals take place in the month of Magh, in Chait when the *sal* tree flowers and again in Asarh. He is also worshipped in time of drought and when illness attacks a family. Amongst the other godlings of this class may be mentioned Thanpati of the Savars, Juangs, Bauris and Bagdis, Sarna Burhi of the Oraons and Duar Pahar or Dura of the Cheros.

*In Orissa the village godlings are feminine and are called Gram Deoti or Thakurani. Each village has its own godling, whose position was recognised in the first regular settlement of Orissa when a piece of land was left unassessed (*mafe gram deoti*) for her worship.

GENERAL REMARKS

Incompleteness of discussion

The above notes merely indicate some of the main forms, which the popular religion of the people takes, and they are admittedly very incomplete. Not only is the notice of the godlings dealt with very brief, but many, and indeed whole classes, have been left undiscussed. I have not mentioned the various aboriginal deities, such as the androgynous Burha Burhi, Bathu, and Grajja, who have still been only partially admitted to the Hindu pantheon, nor others, such as Sankar, Banskali, Mangalchandi and Kankini, who have been adopted as forms of Kali, nor the godlings of special castes, such as Gandhesvari of the Gandhabaniks, Ganesh Janani of the Mayras, Gaurinath of the Kandus, Kulain of the Yakhas, Kangalima or Satima of the Baruis. Magadhesvari of the Maghs, etc. It would be impossible to deal fully with the matter in a Census Report, but before leaving the subject I will refer very briefly to the worship of Dharmaraj or Dharma Thakur whose recent identification with Buddha will be discussed in the next section.

Dharmaraj

By some Dharmaraj is regarded as Yama and by others as the Sun. Some again consider him to be the God of snakes, and some a form of Siva or of Vishnu. He is usually worshipped by a low caste priest, a Pod, a Jugi, a Dom or a Bagdi. In a few places he has temples, but, as a rule, he is represented by a shapeless stone daubed with vermilion and placed under a tree. In a village in the Arambagh subdivision he is worshipped in the form of a tortoise. His shrines are common all over West Bengal and also in Dinajpur, Murshidabad and the 24-Parganas. He is frequently believed to possess certain curative powers and his priests administer medicines as specifics for various diseases. Hogs, fowls and ducks are sacrificed before him, and offerings are made of rice, flowers, milk and *pachwai*, but never of cooked food. The worship takes place in the months of Baisakh, Jaishta and Asarh, on the day of the full moon, and in some places on the last day of Bhadra. All castes, even Brahmans, make offerings through the medium of the officiating priest

Forms of worship often local

It may be pointed out in conclusion that while the earth, sun and moon, and certain large rivers are worshipped throughout the province, many of the other objects of adoration are revered only in certain localities. The veneration of deified heroes is more or less confined to Bihar, while snake-worship prevails mainly in west, and parts of north, Bengal. The tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau and some of the Himalayan tribes give the spirits of the mountains a high place in their pantheon, while in the greater part of Bengal proper the old aboriginal godlings have, as a rule, been taken over by the Brahmans as forms of Kali and other orthodox deities, and have thus lost their identity. It is only in the extreme north and east that deities, who are admittedly non-Hindu, still command the worship of men, while in the West, Buddhism still ekes out an obscure and precarious existence.

TRACES OF BUDDHISM IN BENGAL

Discoveries of Colebrooke and Hodgson

When the East India Company gained a foothold in India. Buddhism seemed to have disappeared from the land, and although its doctrines were mentioned, in order to be refuted, in the philosophical works of the Hindus, the word was little more than a name to the Pandits, and was absolutely unknown to the common people. The philosophic side of Buddhism, as ascertained from Hindu sources, was first investigated by Colebrooke,* but it is to the indefatigable researches of Brian Hodgson that we owe the discovery of Buddhism as a living religion in Nepal. While resident at Khatmandu he investigated the subject closely and the results are embodied in a most interesting paper in the second volume of the transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.† He showed how the philosophic agnosticism of Buddha gave way to the theory that the Adi Buddha, by his union with the primordial female energy called Prajna, gave birth to five Buddhas, who each produced from himself by *dhyana* (meditation) another being called his Bodhi-satwa or son The chief of these latter was Avalokita, who, with his Sakti Tara, eventually became the keystone of northern Buddhism. There arose also numerous other Buddhas, demons and deities, all of which were objects of worship, and then came the introduction of the Tantrik mysticism, based on the pantheistic idea of *yoga*, or the ecstatic union of the soul with the supreme spirit. At this stage, as in Tantrik Hinduism, the saktis, or female counterparts of the Bodhi-satwas, occupied the most prominent position, and the esoteric cult of these female deities became every whit as obscene as that practised by the Kaula or extreme sect of Sakta Hindus. Since Hodgson's time, numerous students have attacked the subject and the early history of Buddhism and its modern developments in other countries are now well known.††

Identification of Dharmaraj with Buddha

All this time it was assumed that, except in Burma and on the borders of Burma, Nepal and Tibet, Buddhism had disappeared from India. This, however, has been proved to be a mistake by the researches of Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri, who has shown that a corrupt form of Buddhism still survives in the shape of Dharma worship, which is current amongst the Pods, Doms and other castes of low rank, and which has already been described in the notes on Popular Hinduism Dharma or Dharmaraj, it would seem, is none other than Buddha himself. The discovery was announced in an article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society for 1895 and the result of this and further researehes were embodied in a pamphlet published in 1897 called the 'Discovery of Living Buddhism in Bengal' I circulated, as a basis for further enquiry, a note giving a brief outline of the facts and arguments adduced in this pamphlet, but without much result beyond the collection of further information regarding the extent to which Dharma worship prevails. The reports thus received were shown to the Pandit. who has favoured me with a resume of the main points in his argument. which is reproduced verbatim in the following four paragraphs·

"We learn from the Si-u-ki that during the first half of the seventh century Buddhism was the prevailing religion in Bengal. The author, the celebrated Chinese traveller Hiuen Sang, mentioned indeed the heretics; but it is not known who these heretics were. Some of them undoubtedly were Brahmanists.

Traces of Buddhism up to Sixteenth Century

"During the three or four centuries, which followed the composition of the Si-u-ki, the Brahmans came from Kanauj with their ever-faithful adherents, the Kayasthas, and a silent religious and social revolution was accomplished, in which the Brahmans had everything to gain, and the Buddhists everything to lose. Traces of the existence of Buddhism as a living religion can be found even up to the sixteenth century, and then it is completely lost in the populous plains of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In the outlying districts, however, in hill tracts, and in neglected nooks and corners, it is still professed by a few thousands of men. Thus in Chittagong there are the Baruas, who profess the Buddhist faith and belong to the southern school of Buddhism. They think that they obtained their Buddhism from Burma and Ceylon, and that within the last two or three centuries. The Chittagong Hill Tracts is a professedly Buddhist district, and the inhabitants seem to have adhered to their Buddhism from very ancient times. There Buddhism is not altogether of the southern school, because they have their temples of gods and goddesses. In the Sub-Himalayan regions bordering on Bengal, the Bhotias and some other hill tribes profess Buddhism greatly mixed up with the superstitious observances of degenerate later times known as Mantra-yana, Vajra-yana, Kala-Chakra-yana, Lamaism and Devil-worship. The Newars of Nepal profess what they call Hinduism, but in their estimation it has two *Margas* or ways, the *Siva-Marga* and the *Budda-Marga*. Half the Newars are Buddhists. Though they profess to be Mahayanists, they have mixed up their faith with much that belongs really to the subsequent *Yanas* of Buddhism. But they still adhere to Indian Buddhism, and have not borrowed anything from Lamaism. In the Orissa Tributary Mahals there is a State known as Baud, the chief of which derives the name from Buddha, and says that Buddhism is still professed by a considerable portion of his subjects. The Savaras on the borders of Orissa are said to be still Buddhists. The Savaras, who cook in the great temple of Jagannath are supposed to belong to the same religion. There is a small, industrious, but very turbulent, community in Barisal, known as the *Maghai* community, who profess Buddhism. They seem to have settled in that maritime district since the sixteenth century, when the Arakanese, known to the Musalman rulers of Bengal as *Magha*, were the terror of Lower Bengal and the Bay.

"These are the only people, who still profess Buddhism on a soil in which that religion was first preached, where it flourished for thousands of years, but alas! where it is completely forgotten.

"The traces of Buddhism up to the sixteenth century, mentioned above. consist of many references in books, colophons of manuscripts and inscriptions Thus we know from Tibetan sources that the great monk, Dipankara Shri Jnana, known in Tibet as Atisa, was invited from Vikrama Shila in Magadha to Tibet in the eleventh century to reform the Buddhist faith prevailing there. There is a copy of Bodhicharyavataratika by Prajna Kaza Shrijnana copied in the same century The copyist speaks of the author as *talapadanam*, showing that he was a pupil of the author. A copy of the Astasahasrika-prajnaparamita made at Nalanda is to be found in the Asiatic Society's collection, bearing the date of the sixth year of Mahipaladeva, who reigned in the same century. In the twelfth century, the great Naiyaika Gangesopadhyaya, a scholar of Mithila, whose date is universally accepted amongst pandits of 750 years before this time, wrote his work with the avowed object of dispelling the darkness of Pasandas, *i.e.*, Buddhism. In the same century Sulapani, the great writer on Hindu law and ritual, mentions the Buddhists as a naked people, whose very sight is to be avoided. In the Ballala-Charita we find Bya-don-pa fighting with Ballala to avenge an insult offered to the Buddhist priest of Mahasthan. In the thirteenth century there is an inscription at Sravasti dedicating a Buddhist temple for the purposes of Buddhist worship, and in the same century a Buddhist priest from

*J. R. A. S., Vol. I, pages 549-579.

†This and subsequent papers on the same subject have been in the "Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet", Trubner and Co., London, 1874.

††One of the best of recent works on the subject is "The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism" by Col. Waddell, I.M.S.

Tamluk went to lower Burma and instituted a reformation along with other Buddhist Priests of the place. His deeds are recorded in the *Kalyani* inscriptions. In the fourteenth century a Bengalee Brahman became a convert to Buddhism and proceeded to Ceylon, where the reigning king Parakrama Vahu made him the sole supervisor of Buddhist religious establishments in the kingdom. In the fifteenth century Buddhist manuscripts were still copied in Bengal, and a manuscript copied about the middle of the century is now in the Cambridge collection of Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts.

Manner in which Buddhism disappeared

"In the sixteenth century, Chaitanya is said to have met Buddhists in Southern India and Nityananda in the Himalayan regions Chudamani Dasa, one of the biographers of Chaitanya, mentions the Buddhists as rejoicing at his birth. In the seventeenth century Buddhi Guptanatha wandered in various parts of India and found Buddhism flourishing in many places. Then it is lost altogether For two or three centuries Buddhism was absolutely unknown in India The revival of Sanskrit learning fostered by European orientalists brought Buddhism again to the notice of the Indian public, and it became a problem how to account for the complete disappearance of Buddhism. Brian Hodgson thought that Nathism was the bridge which joined the corrupt Buddhism of later days with the Tantrik-Hinduism of modern times. There were Nathas or Lords, who boasted of having attained miraculous powers and who had numerous followers They were all Buddhists But their Buddhism was not of the strictest kind The Saivas claim some of them as their *gurus* But the rest were undoubtedly Buddhists. These belonged to the lowest classes of people—Haris, Doms and Chandals. This Nathism appears also to have been the bridge which united Lamaism on the one hand, and the *gurus* or spiritual guides of the Hindus, on the other. Both these proceeded from the same sort of man-worship, which is the essence of Nathism.*

Modern Survivals

"Brian Hodgson's explanation solves only one or two points of the great problem connected with the disappearance of Buddhism. A few more points are solved by the fact that the writers of Tantrik compilations among the Hindus incorporated as many of the Tantrik Buddhist divinities as they could possibly do without jeopardizing their reputation for orthodoxy For instance, they incorporated *Manjushri*, *Kshetrapala*, *Tara* without even changing their names or their functions. But still there were divinities to whom, even with their wonderful power of adaptation, they could not venture to give a place in their Pantheon, and one of these is *Dharma* *Dharma* is the second personage in the Buddhist Trinity. In the Mahayana school he is changed into *Prajna*, an abstract idea in the feminine, meaning supreme knowledge, and in the *Mantra-yana* the feminine idea became *Tara*, a female divinity with five manifestations. The processes of spiritualisation proceeded further and the Buddhists conceived of an Adi Buddha and an Adi Tara, probably *Kalika*.

"The word Dharma, thus slipping from the second personage of the Buddhist Trinity, became confined to the *Stupa*-worship, the visible emblem of Buddhism, to the ignorant multitude. Dharma-worship remained confined to the lowest classes of the people, the dirtiest, meanest and most illiterate classes. All sorts of animal sacrifices are offered before Dharma, and the drinking of wine is one of the chief features of his worship. All the lowest forms of worship rejected by the Brahmans gradually rallied round Dharma, and his priests, throughout Bengal, enjoy a certain consideration, which often excites the envy of their highly-placed rivals the Brahmans, who though hating them with a genuine hatred, yet covet their earnings where ever these are considerable, and there are instances in which the worship of Dharma has passed into Brahman hands and has been, by them transformed either into a manifestation of Siva or of Vishnu.

Reasons for taking Dharma to be Buddha

"Doubt has been expressed in many quarters regarding the identification of Dharma worship as a survival of Buddhism, and it is, therefore, desirable, to recapitulate the facts and arguments by which this has been established. Dharma is meditated upon as *Shunya-murti* or void The great goal of Buddhism is *Sunyata*. As the lamp is extinguished, so is the soul extinguished. This is the original idea of annihilation preached by Buddha. In later times, in the hands of the schools, this idea came to be termed *Sunyata*, concerning which neither existence, nor non-existence, nor a combination of the two can be predicted. It is void, zero. In Hindu systems of philosophy we find the Buddhists credited with the theory of the evolution of entity from non-entity, and that very non-entity is the essence of Dharma, and in that form his votaries are required to mediate upon him. This is an undoubted Buddhist idea. The ceremonies and fasts in honour of Dharma all take place on the full moon day of *Baishakh*, the birthday of Buddha. The ignorant worshippers, all of them, are aware that Dharma is very much respected in Ceylon. And what religion has a greater vogue in that island than Buddhism? The Dharma-worshippers are fully aware that Dharma is not an inferior deity, he is higher than Vishnu, higher than Siva, higher than Brahma, and even higher than Parvati. His position is indeed as exalted as that of Brahma in Hindu philosophy. In fact, one of the books in honour of Dharma gives an obscure hint that the work has been written with the object of establishing the Brahmahood of Dharma. The representation of Dharma in many places is a tortoise. Now a tortoise is a miniature representation of a stupa with five niches for five Dhyani Buddhas. At Salda in Bankura an image of Buddha in meditative posture is still actually worshipped as Dharma

"The worshippers of Dharma are unconscious of the fact that they are the survivors of a mighty race of men and that they have inherited their religion from a glorious past. Political and social revolutions of centuries have brought them to the lowest point of degradation. But if they ever become conscious of the fact that they are the survivors of the Indian Buddhists, the civilizers of Asia, they are likely to be better men and more useful members of society. Dharma-worship prevails in the whole of Western Bengal, and in almost every village there is a temple of Dharma. There are also many places consecrated to Dharma, where annual and other festivals take place in his honour."

The Saraks of Baramba still Buddhists

385. The only fresh light thrown on this interesting subject by the Census is the fact that Buddhism is still professed by the Saraks of Tigaria and Baramba and the adjoining part of Cuttack. The Saraks of Chota Nagpur are believed to have been formerly Jains, but those here mentioned are still professed Buddhists. Their religion is gradually being merged in Hinduism, but it still possesses many distinct features and they possess religious books of their own, one of the most important of which I have had transcribed, and have given the copy to the Mahamahopadhyaya, who informs me that it is of considerable value.

*This adoration of the *guru* is one of the most characteristic feature of the Vaishnava revival in Bengal. The Vaishnavas say: "When Hari is angry the *guru* is our protector, but when the *guru* is angry we have no one to protect us". This service veneration of the *gurus* is called Gurupadasraya. (*Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, p. 103.)

VI

(1) THE KOL

Extract from 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal' by Edward Tuite Dalton, C.S.I.

(published in 1872, pp. 171-77)

Insurrection, 1831-32

The Kol insurrection of 1831, though no doubt only the bursting forth of a fire that had long been smouldering, was fanned into flame by the following little episode:—

The brother of the Maharaja and holder of one of the maintenance grants which comprised Sonpur, a pargana in the southern portion of the estate, gave farms of some of the villages over the heads of the Mankis and Mundas to certain Muhammadans, Sikhs, and others who had sought and obtained his favour. Twelve villages that had belonged to Singari Manki were thus given to the Sikhs, and not only was the Manki dispossessed, but two of his sisters were seduced or ravished by these hated foreigners. A similar complaint was made against the Muhammadan farmers. One of them had acted very oppressively towards a Munda of Bandgaon in Singhbhum and, it was said, had abducted and dishonored the Munda's wife. These men and some other Mankis of Sonpur who were equally dissatisfied invited all the Kols of Sonpur, Tamarh and Bandgaon to assemble at the village of Lankah in Tamarh. The meeting took place and the conveners addressed the assemblage. 'The Pathans and the Singhs (Sikhs),' they said, 'have dishonored us; the Kunwar Harnath Singh has forcibly deprived us of our villages, which he has given to the Singhs. Our lives are no longer of value. We are all brethren, let us act together.'

It was agreed that the wrongs inflicted on them could no longer be tolerated. They would at once 'commence* to burn, plunder, murder, and eat'.

This was no vain threat. A few days after the meeting, on the 11th December, 1831, a raid was made on the village of Kamrang held in farm by a Muhammad Ali Naik and two hundred head of cattle carried off. On the 20th December, a number of villages bordering on Singhbhum held in farm by Hari Singh and Diyal Singh, Sikhs, were plundered and burned by a body of 700 Kols under Surga, the aggrieved Munda of Singhbhum, Singrai Manki, and others, and one of the Sikhs was wounded. These villages formed part of the estate from which Singrai had been ejected. On the 25th December, several villages held in farm by Kali Khan and Saifullah Khan were plundered and burned, and one of the Khan's men was thrown into the fire. On the 2nd January, 1832, Kamrang was again attacked, and next day they sacked Jafar Ali's village and murdered him and ten of his people including the unfortunate Kol female whom he had seduced. The Nazir of the Sherghati court now appeared on the scene, and sent to the Kols to say that if they would desist from disturbing the peace of the country, their lands would be restored to them. They replied, they would attend to no orders but those that emanated from the Maharaja of Chutia Nagpur; that they would not leave a single foreign farmer alive; they would destroy every village in Sonpur Pargana, even Govindpur where Harnath Sahi resided, and then they would wash their weapons in the river Karo that flows by his house!

In the meantime the arrows† of war were being circulated through the country like the fiery cross, and by the middle of January the Mundaris and Oraons had all entered with zeal into the spirit of the insurrection. The country appears to have been entirely unprepared for such an event, troops there were none, the police-stations were generally abandoned, and even the hereditary zamindars, connections of the Raja's, sought safety in flight. In every pargana the villages in which 'Sads' (Hindus) resided were destroyed, and all 'Dikos' (foreigners) who fell into the hands of the insurgents were murdered. The subordinate *Rajas of Rahe, Bundu, Tamarh, Barwa, though neither Sads nor Dikos, narrowly escaped with their lives, when those places were all sacked and destroyed.

With the exception of the force from Singbhum that came to the aid of the insurgents and were the most formidable division of the rebel army, it does not appear that the Kols in their work of destruction moved far from their own homesteads, as the 'Sad' portion of each village was plundered and burned by the Kols of that or neighbouring villages. The murders were most numerous in the Doisa and Karombe Parganas, as the 'Sads' there were unprepared for the attack, and none were spared that fell into the hands of the insurgents.

Troops to put down the insurrection were of course being collected from different points and were gradually being concentrated in the disturbed district; but before military operations could be undertaken, the insurgents had done all that they had threatened to do and might, though it is not again mentioned, have washed their weapons in the Karo and retired. Captain (the late Sir Thomas) Wilkinson reached Pithauria, which as I have already stated is on the brink of the northern face of the plateau, about the middle of January, and the work of incendiarism was then in full blaze.

Captain Wilkinson was without sufficient force to penetrate far into the disturbed districts, but he lost no time in compelling the villages near Pithauria to submit. This was not done without fighting, and, indeed, the insurgents on more than one occasion threatened his position, advancing against it with a force estimated at about 3,000 fighting men, but they appear to have been easily repulsed. The inhabitants of the large village of Nagri between Ranchi and Pithauria had been particularly active in the work of destruction, and had avowed their determination to fight to the last; but an expedition was sent specially against them with the unequivocal instructions 'attack, slay and destroy,' and to such orders energetically carried out, the Nagri heroes speedily succumbed. This is a very primitive Oraon village which up to the present time retains all the old institutions; the bachelors' hall with the banners, yak's tails, trumpets, and drums, etc., and the dancing arena in front where often songs are sung that remind the young men how their fathers 'went out' in 1832. The subjugation of Nagri was followed by the submission of most of the northern villages, but the Oraons of the west and Mundaris of the centre and the south showed no inclination to lay down their arms, and the insurrection now spread into Palamau where it was taken up by the Kharwars, merely it would seem for the love of the thing. It grew serious, however, and a squadron of cavalry making its way to Chutia Nagpur through that pargana found itself so hotly opposed in one of the hill passes, that the officer in command deemed it necessary to make a retrogade movement and await reinforcements.

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*Deposition of Singrai Manki.

†An arrow passed from village to village is the summons to arms, and sent to any one in authority it is an open declaration of war. The Hos of the Bhor Pir in Singhbhum thus avowed their intention to espouse the cause of the dethroned Raja of Porahat in 1857, and summoned their brethren.

*Lal Jithnath Sahi of Ginjo and Kapilnath of Salgi are prominently noticed as honourable exceptions. They held to their respective villages and repulsed several attacks made on them.

Not till the middle of February were the troops in a position to operate on a scale adequate to the occasion. Then three columns were formed to start simultaneously from three points* in the northern part of the plateau, and sweep the country in parallel lines as they moved from north to south.

The right and centre columns met with little opposition, the heads of villages submitting as they advanced, but the left column when they reached Sonpur found that the Kols had abandoned their villages, and with their flocks and herds and families had taken refuge in the hills. In attempting to dislodge them, the troops, especially a detachment of the 3rd Light Cavalry, suffered some loss. The columns, however, were now concentrated in the south. Bindrai Manki, Singrai's brother, and Surga, the heroes of the episode, held out to the last, but on the 19th March, 1832, these leaders came into camp and surrendered to the Commissioner, the remaining sirdars all then tendered their submission, and the insurrection was at an end.

Great changes in the administration followed this insurrection. The disturbed districts and jungle mahals with the dependent tributary mahals were organized as a non-regulation province under the name of the South-Western Frontier Agency; the system of zamindari police, under which authority was restored to the chiefs to whom the people had been accustomed to look for its exercise, was established in Chutia Nagpur; the border Mankis whose dispossession from their tenures was the main cause of the insurrection, were reinstated, and the zamindars were deprived of the power of ousting them without the orders of the European officer now placed at the head of the district. They obtained title deeds constituting them ghatwals, or guardians of the passes, and officers of police, and that position they still hold.

The Bhumij

The insurrection of Chutia Nagpur and Palamau was speedily followed by disturbances in the southern portion of the Manbhum district in which the Bhumij Kols were the chief actors.

Near the boundary of Chutia Nagpur, the term Bhumij as applied to this class is seldom used. The Kols who form the bulk of the population call themselves Mundas or, as the name is usually pronounced in Manbhum, Muras. The title Bhumij, 'the children of the soil', is given to the members of the tribe settled further east; but, generally, if asked to what class or caste they belong, they say 'Sirdar'. In Dhalbhum the Bhumij call themselves, and are called by the Singbhum Kols, 'Matkum'.

Geographical distribution

The Bhumij are, no doubt, the original inhabitants of Dhalbhum, Barahbhum, Patkum, Bagmundi, and still form the bulk of the population in those and adjoining estates. They may be described roughly as being chiefly located in the country between the Kasai and Subarnarekha rivers. They had formerly large settlements to the north of the former river, but they were dislodged by Aryans, who as Hindus of the Kurmi caste now occupy their old village sites. The Bhumij have no traditions of their own origin, generally asserting that they were produced where they are found, but some who dwell in the vicinity of old Jain temples declare that the founders of the temples preceded them; though they can tell us nothing of those founders, nor of the architects of the ruined and deserted Hindu temples existing as additional marks of a prior occupation of the country by a more civilized people.

I have elsewhere† noted that these Bhumij were probably the 'Vajra Bhumi' (the terrible indigenes) who are described as abusing, beating, shooting arrows at, and baiting with dogs, the great Saint Vira, the twenty-fourth Jina or Tirthankara of the Jains, an account of whom will be found in Volume IX of the Asiatic Researches.

Chuars

The Bhumij of the Jungle Mahals were once, under the nick-name 'Chuar', the terror of the surrounding districts, and their various outbreaks were called 'Chuaris' On several occasions since they came under the British rule, they have shown how readily a Chuari may be improvised on very slight provocation. I do not know that on any occasion they rose like the Mundaris simply to redress their own wrongs. It was sometimes in support of a turbulent chief ambitious of obtaining power to which according to the courts of law he was not entitled, and it was sometimes to oppose the Government in a policy that they did not approve, though they may have had very little personal interest in the matter.

Recent disturbances

Thus in the year A. D. 1798, when the Pachet estate was sold for arrears of revenue they rose and violently disturbed the peace of the country till the sale was cancelled. After hostilities had continued for some time, in reply to a very pacific message sent to them by the officer commanding the force, they asked if the Government were going to sell any more estates? I do not think that the settlement of any one of the Bhumij Jungle Mahals was effected without a fight. In Dhalbhum the Raja resisted the interference of the British power, and the Government set up a rival, but after various failures to establish his authority, they set him aside and made terms with the rebel. In Barahbhum, there was at one time a disputed succession. The courts decided that the eldest born of Raja Vivika Narain, though the son of the second wife, should succeed in preference to the son of the first wife, the Pat Rani. The Bhumij did not approve of the decision, and it was found necessary to send a military force to carry it out. This was the origin of the last disturbance known as Ganga Narain's rebellion, which broke out in 1832.*

Lakhman, the son of the Pat Rani alluded to above, continuing to oppose his brother, was arrested, and died in jail leaving a son Ganga Narain.

On the death of Raja Raghunath Singh, he also was succeeded by the son of his second Rani, who was declared by the Sudder Court to be heir in opposition to a claim again set up by Madhab Singh, the younger son, but the son of the Pat Rani; but failing in his suit, Madhab Singh resigned himself to his fate and was consoled by being appointed diwan, or prime minister, to his brother. In this capacity he made himself thoroughly unpopular, more especially by becoming an usurious money-lender and extortionate grain-dealer, and soon Ganga Narain found that in opposing a man so detested, a majority of the people would side with him. Accordingly in the month of April 1832, he, at the head of a large force of Ghatwals, made an attack on Madhab Singh and slew him. This foul crime was committed with great deliberation, cunning, and cruelty. Madhab was seized and carried off to the hills to be sacrificed. Ganga Narain himself first smote him with his battle axe, then each Sirder Ghatwal was compelled to discharge an arrow at him, and thus all the leading Ghatwals became implicated in the plot. A system of plundering was then commenced, which soon drew to his standard all the 'chuars,' that is all the Bhumij of Barahbhum and adjoining estates. He attacked Barabazar where the Raja

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*Tiko, Churia, Pithauria.

†*Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for 1866, p. 186, Note on Manbhum.

*Decisions of the law courts in succession cases have on other occasions been the cause of disturbances in the Jungle and Tributary Mahals. The last affair of the kind was in 1868, when the Hill Bhuiyas of Keonjhur revolted against their present chief on the ground that he was not of pure blood or born in lawful wedlock. In determining what the local custom is in such cases, the views of the people should always be ascertained.

lived, burned the Munsiff's (Native Civil Judge) cutcherry and the police station from which the police had fled, but three unfortunate peons (runners) of the Munsiff's Court were caught and killed.

The officials and police fell back on Bardwan; and for some time Ganga Narain had the country at his mercy; and he sacked every place worth plundering; but in November following a force was collected, consisting of three regiments of Native Infantry and eight guns, and military operations against the insurgents commenced. They were soon driven to take refuge in the hills, but being pressed there also, Ganga Narain fled into Singbhum and endeavoured to enlist in his favour the reputed invincible and irrepressible Larkas; they were just then at issue with one of the chiefs who claimed supremacy over a portion of them, the Thakur of Kharsawan, and though they were not unwilling to join in the row, they wished before they committed themselves to Ganga Narain's leadership to test his capacity to lead. They, therefore, demanded that he should, in the first place, make an attack on the fort of the Thakur of Kharsawan. In complying with this request he was killed, and the Thakur had the pleasure of sending his head to Captain Wilkinson, with a letter quite in the style of Falstaff when after the battle near Shrewsbury, he said, 'there is Percy. If your father will do me any honor so; if not, let him kill the next Percy himself. I look to be either Earl or Duke, I can assure you'.

Traditions

I have not been able to discover that the Bhumij possess any independent traditions of migrations. Those who live in proximity to Chutia Nagpur recognise no distinction between themselves and the Mundas. They intermarry and associate and coalesce in all matters indicating identity of race, for, though it may be said that they are not much troubled with caste prejudices, there is no portion of the old Indian population which is quite free from it. The Bhumij further east have become too Hinduized to acknowledge the relationship. The Dhalbhum Bhumij consider themselves autochthones, and will not admit that they are in any way connected with the Mundas, Hos, or Santals. It is pretty certain that the zamindars of all these estates are of the same race as their people, though the only man among them whom I found sensible enough to acknowledge this, was the Raja of Bagmundi; the others all call themselves Kshatryas or Rajputs, but they are not acknowledged as such by any true scion of the illustrious stock In claiming to be Rajputs they do not attempt to connect themselves with any of the recognized families of the tribe, but each family has its own special legend of miraculous production.

The family legend of the Raja of Barahbhum may be given as a specimen of their skill in making pedigrees.

Legend of the Barahbhum family

Nath Varaha and Kesvaraha, two brothers, quarrelled with their father, the Raja of Virat, and settled in the court of Vikramaditya. (This has some connection with the tradition of the adjoining estate Patkum, the Raja of which claims descent from Vikramaditya.) Kes the younger was sawn into two pieces, and with his blood Vikram gave a 'tika'* to the eldest and a pair of umbrellas, and told him that all the country he could ride round in a day and night should be his. Nath mounted his steed and accomplished a circuit of eight 'yojanas', whatever that may be, within the time specified, and a precious stiff line of country he took in riding round what is now Barahbhum, but it must be all true as the print of his horse's hoofs are still visible on the southern slopes of the hills.

With one or two exceptions all the Ghatwals (captains of the border and their men) of the Bhumij part of the Manbhum and Singhbhum Districts are Bhumij, this is a sure indication of their being the earliest settlers. They were the people (like the Mundari Bhuinhars in Chutia Nagpur, the Bhuiyas in Bonai, Gangpur, Keonjhur, etc., Gonds in Sirguja and Udaipur) to whom the defence of the country was entrusted. The Bhumij Ghatwals in Manbhum have now after all their escapades settled down steadily to work as guardians of the peace.

*Mark on the forehead.

Dhalbhum

The Raja of the extensive zamindari of Dhalbhum is no doubt of Bhumij extraction, but for him the Herald's college of the period failed to manipulate a Rajput descent. His ancestor was a washerman, who afforded refuge to the Goddess Kali when, as Rankini, she fled from a demon in Pachet. The Goddess, in gratitude, gave the washerman a young Brahmani, a ward of her own, to wife, and the Rajas of Dhalbhum are the descendants of this union. The origin of the story appears to be that a Bhumij chief of Dhalbhum, probably, at the instigation of a Brahman stole from its shrine in Pachet an image of Rankini and set it up as his own tutelary deity. The shrine from which the image was abstracted is shown at the village of Para near Purulia in Manbhum, and it became the popular object of worship in Dhalbhum by all classes of the people there. Rankini especially rejoiced in human sacrifices. It is freely admitted that in former years children were frequently kidnapped and sacrificed at her shrine, and it cannot be very positively asserted that the practice of offering such victims has long been discontinued.

At the shrine of this goddess a very cruel scene was enacted every year till 1865, when with the concurrence of the zamindar it was put a stop to. It was called the 'Binda parab,' and Ganganarain probably had it in his mind when he so cruelly disposed of Madhab Singh.

Binda Parab

At this parab two male buffaloes are driven into a small enclosure, and on a raised stage adjoining and overlooking it, the Raja and suite take up their position. After some ceremonies the Raja and his 'Purohit'* discharge arrows at the buffaloes, others follow their example, and the tormented and enraged beasts fall to and gore each other whilst arrow after arrow is discharged. When the animals are past doing very much mischief, the people rush in and hack at them with battle axes till they are dead. The Santals and wild Kharrias, it is said, took great delight in this festival, but I have not heard a murmur at its discontinuance, and this shows it had no great hold on the minds of the people.

Tenures

Many of the Bhumij tribe are well off. Some of them who are Sirdar Ghatwals are in virtue of their office proprietors of estates comprising each from one to twenty manors, but as the most substantial tenants under them are also hereditary Ghatwals, rendering service and paying besides but a very low fixed rent, these Ghatwali estates are not so valuable to the proprietor as villages on the ordinary tenure would be.

The Bhumij live in commodious, well-built houses, and have about them all the comforts to which the better class of cultivators in Bengal are accustomed. Those who live quite amongst the Bengalis have retained very few of their ancient customs; none perhaps, except the great national amusement, the gay meetings for dance and song both at their villages and at 'yatras', which are characteristic of all Kols.

Physical traits

In appearance they are inferior to the Hos of Singhbhum and to the best of the Mundas of Chutia Nagpur. They are short of stature but strongly built, and like the Santals rather inclined to fleshiness. In complexion they are variable, like the Mundas ranging from a dark chocolate to a light brown colour; they observe many of the Hindu festivals but retain their sacred groves

*Family priest.

in which they still sacrifice to the old Gods. They have generally left off eating cow's flesh in which their unreformed brethren in Singhbhum and Chutia Nagpur indulge, but eat fowls.

The Bhumij have, in a great degree, lost the simplicity and truthfulness of character for which their cognates are generally distinguished. They have acquired from the Bengali Hindus the propensity to lie, but they have not the same assurance or powers of invention, and their lies are so transparent, that they are easily detected.

Mr. Ball of the Geological Survey informs me that he found in the Bhumij country of Dhalbhum some remains of an ancient settlement which was said to have been the abode of a Raja who had two tongues. This is the only tradition I have heard directly connecting the Bhumij with the snake race, the Nagbangsi,* but it is an independent testimony to the wide-spread influence of that mysterious people.

In the religion of the Kols there are no traces of snake worship, if it be not hidden in their name for the rainbow 'Lurbeng', which means 'a serpent.' I have noticed, however, the occurrence in Chutia Nagpur of people apparently allied to the Kols who call themselves Nagbangsis, though not allied to the Nagbangsi family of Chutia Nagpur, and the Nagesars, also called Kisans, and among the old sculptures that are found in the country are images of serpents or snakes which must have been intended for altar pieces.

*Who, till they became mortals, had forked tongues like serpents.

(ii) THE LEPCHA

Extract from 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal' by Edward Tuite Dalton, C.S.I.
(published in 1872, pp. 100-102)

I have no personal acquaitance with the Lepchas, or the country they inhabit. The information I have to give regarding them is derived from Dr. A. Campbell's note in the Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1840.

Geographical position

The Lepchas are found in Western Butan, Eastern Nepal, and in the small territory between both called Sikhim. I find no estimate of their numbers. They are well-known to the frequenters of the favorite Hill Station Darjiling, and are supposed to be the aborigines of the mountain forests surrounding that pleasant retreat of Bengal officials, and it is probable that they regard Sikhim as their fatherland.

They divide themselves into two tribes, Rong, the true Lepcha, and Khamba. The latter comprises the family of the ruler and his clansmen.

It is narrated that two centuries ago the people of Sikhim, consisting of Lepchas and Butias, tired of the intestine commotions that had long disturbed the little state, consulted their Lamas from beyond the snow as to the best means of obtaining good government and repose, and were advised to seek in that region for a ruler who would suit them.

Accordingly a deputation of their Lamas was sent to the North, and proceeding to the province of Kham in the Celestial Empire, they there found a youth whose horoscope presented the necessary indication of his fitness for the throne, which was offered to him and accepted, and accompanied by a body of his clansmen he returned with the Lamas, and was proclaimed Rajah of Dingong, as the Lepchas call Sikhim.

All the Tibetans who penetrate through Butan into Assam are called Khampas, or Kampas, and the name is, I suppose, of the same origin as that assumed by the Sikhim rulers.

Physical traits

The Lepchas are described by all who have written about them as physically of the true Mongolian type. They are short of stature, averaging about five feet. Five feet six is considered tall, and four feet eight is a common stature amongst the men. The women bear towards them the usual proportion. The face is broad and flat, nose depressed, eye oblique, no beard, but a very little moustache, complexion olive, and boys and girls in health have generally a ruddy tinge which adds greatly to their good looks. The total absence of beard, and the fashion of parting the hair along the crown of the head, gives to the males a somewhat effeminate appearance, and the robes of the sexes being cut somewhat alike, it is not always easy to distinguish them. They are proud of their hair and careful in its arrangement, the women wearing theirs behind braided in two tails tied with silken cords and tassels. Their garments are ample, often of the coarse, flossy cloth of the silk that is spun by the castor-oil plant worm, the 'Eri' of Assam, and they wear over all a small, sleeveless, woollen cloak, covered with crosses, fastened by a girdle of silver chains.

Character

Dr. Campbell says, they are amiable and cheerful in disposition, and of an intelligent and inquiring turn of mind, which renders them attractive to a European. Colonel Walter Sherwill calls them "the free, happy, laughing, and playful, no-caste, Lepchas, the children of the mountain, modest, social, and joyous in disposition." They are fond of racing, playing at hop-step and jump, quoits, wrestling, and jumping, and are great practical* jokers, but they are indolent and deficient in energy and particularly averse to serving for hire.

Agriculture

They are poor agriculturists. Nomadic in their habits, they form no permanent villages, and cultivate barely sufficient for their subsistence. When their stock of grain and pulse falls short, they subsist themselves on wild roots, mountain spinach, fern-tops, fungi, and other natural products, and the produce of the chase. They seldom remain more than three years in one spot. This is indeed the usual time in which all similar nomads consider the freshness of the virgin forest soil on which they rely to wear out. They have no ploughs, and the implements they employ do no more than scrape and soften for the reception of seed the upper layer of vegetable mould.

The Lepchas are not a warlike race. They carry weapons, a long knife, bow and arrows, but are fonder of using them against the wild beasts than against their fellow creatures.

Food

They eat all kinds of animal food.† Pork is their favorite dish, next to that beef, goat, and mutton. Those who live in Nepal are obliged to conform to Hindu practices and abstain from forbidden meats. It is the great delight of these unwilling abstinents to cross into Sikhim, Darjiling, and have a thoroughly good feed on beef.

They are fond of fermented and spirituous liquors, but are not much given to excess. They make themselves a beer from a fermented infusion of Indian corn and Murwa, which is acidulous and refreshing. The art of distillation they have not yet acquired.

**Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1853, page 638..

†Major Sherwill found that they would not feed from the carcasses of sheep killed because diseased, though they ate snakes, frogs, and other extraordinary food.

Priesthood

Dr. Campbell says, the Lepchas are Budhists and have priests, some of their own tribe educated at home, a few of the same race who go for their education to the great monastic establishments beyond the snow, and some Tibetan priests. The latter two classes adhere to the monastic discipline, and are supposed to be devoted to celibacy. The country-born and country-educated priest is permitted to marry.

Dr. Latham* tells us that the Lepcha is no Budhist, and that the priests, though they carry about the Budhist prayer machines, wear Budhist rosaries, and profess monkish mendicancy, are also the medicine men, the exorcists, and the directors of the feasts, ceremonies, and sacrifices in honor of evil spirits; but notwithstanding all this they may be just as good Budhists as the Butias, who whilst flirting with the mysteries of that religion retain much of their original Paganism or Shamanism.

*Latham's *Descriptive Ethnology*, Vol. II, p 88.

In morality the Lepchas appear much superior to the Butias. Polyandry is not mentioned as one of their institutions, and a marriage ceremony is acknowledged.

Marriages

They do not marry young, as they often find it difficult to make up the necessary sum demanded by the parents of the girl; but the marriage is sometimes allowed to take place on credit, the girl remaining in her father's house and her husband living with her there till he can pay or has earned the money which entitles him to take her home.

Chastity in adult girls previous to marriage is not very rigidly insisted on.

The Lepchas bury their dead as is the custom generally of the Budhists.

(iii) THE LIMBU AND KIRANTI, MURMI AND HAIOO

Extract from 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal' by Edward Tuite Dalton, C.S.I
(published in 1872, *pp.* 102-105)

The Limbus and Kirantis

The next tribe in geographical order, proceeding west from the confines of Butan, are the Limbus. They are a branch of the people called 'Kiranti' or 'Kirati', and for the earliest notice of them we must refer to the Purans.

The Kiratis, it is said, occupied the country to the east of 'Bharata',* and in the list of peoples further on we find them alongside the 'Barbaras', and are told in the note that these latter are considered by all the authorities as borderers and foreigners and nations not Hindu. The Kirantis are still numerous in Dinajpur, which was part of the ancient Matsyadesh, all the inhabitants of which were considered as foreigners and borderers. They are as Limbus an important segment of the population of Sikhim, and as Kirantis of Nepal, but the people indicated do not themselves affect either of these designations, preferring, according to Mr. Hodgson,† the names Khwombo, or Khombo, and Kirawa. Dr. Campbell‡ says that the correct denomination of the people is 'Ekthumba' but the term Limbu is generally used to indicate the whole population of the country between the Dudkusi and the Mechi. Mr. Hodgson defines the Kirant country thus·—

1	Sunkosi to Likhu	} Khwombuan.
2	Likhu to Arun	
3	Arun to Mechi, Singilela ridge	Limbuan.

Tribal affinities

In regard to the affinity of the tribes thus conjoined, he observes that they are, at all events, closely allied races, having essential community of customs and manners, and they all intermarry. Dr. Campbell also says that in the generic term Limbu are included the Kiratis, the Eakas (Hodgson, Yakhas,) and Rais, and that in appearance and habits they are all very much alike, and they intermarry, which amongst the Hill Tribes, as well as the people of the plains in India, is the great test of national connection.

The Kirantis are divided into Wallo Kirant, or Hither Kirant, Mangh or Middle Kirant, and Pallo or Further Kirant. The Wallo include the Libus and Yakhas. Their numbers, Mr. Hodgson thinks, do not now exceed a quarter of a million, but they have a tradition that they once numbered two and a half millions. The above appear to be geographical divisions; they are also divided into several tribes. Dr. Campbell says, they are ranged under two great divisions, called Hung and Rai; these are sub-divided into various tribes, each bearing the family name of Hung or Rai, according to which of the great divisions they belong, as Phedahung and Kembang Rai.

*Wilson's *Translation of the Vishnu Purana*.

†*Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1858, p. 448.

‡*Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1840, p. 595.

Physical traits

In describing the physical character of the Limbus, Dr. Campbell* starts by an opinion that they belong to the great Mongolian family, but though they are much mixed up with the Lepchas, he evidently considers them as less Mongolian than that tribe. "The Libu is a little taller than the Lepcha, somewhat less fleshy, and more wiry in the limbs, as fair in complexion, and as beardless. He is scarcely ever ruddy as the Lepchas are, his eyes are if any thing smaller, and placed more to the front than those of the Lepchas, and his nose, though somewhat smaller, is somewhat higher in the bridge than that of the Lepchas. He wears his hair long, but does not plait it into a tail, has no fancy for bead necklaces, wears a 'kukri'† instead of the 'ban', and wide trousers and a jacket instead of the robe and long jacket of the Lepchas."

Mr. Hodgson has given a very minute description of three individuals of the tribe selected by him as typical; the traits as described are not Mongolian, and he sums up thus· "All these men have a depth of color and defect of bone and muscle assimilating them to the low land Turanians generally, and differenciating them from the Highlanders, but especially from the Palasen, the Gurung, the Sunwar, the Murmi, the Magar, and the Lepcha and Bontawa" (one of them) "has a head and a face carrying on the resemblance with the low land Turanians, which I believe to be so frequent amongst the Kirantis as to deserve to be called the rule, not the exception."

Linguistic affinities

In regard to their language which he has carefully analyzed and described he says: "The complex pronominalization of the Kiranti verb points to a special connection with the Munda (i.e., Kolarian) sub-division." He also notes analogies of formation between the Kiranti and Dravirian languages.

Traditions

The Kirantis have a tradition that they had rulers five centuries ago, who were called Hang or Hwang. They have none now but village headmen, who are called 'Pasung', who collect the taxes and settle disputes.

**Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1840, p. 596.

†Curved knife, *Ban?* Probably the long straight sword of Tibet, Butan, etc.

Proprietary rights

The Kirantis, like the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, tenaciously cling to the lands reclaimed by their ancestors. They appear to have in Nepal full proprietary rights in these tenures, called Walikha. Each proprietor 'Thang-pung-hangpa' pays 4 Rupees per annum as land tax, and 1 Rupee in commutation for the corvee.

Arts and agriculture

They have ploughs, but from the nature of their cultivation on the slopes of hills seldom use them. "Their general, almost exclusive* status is, however, agriculturists, their produce maize, buckwheat, millet, dry rice, and cotton. They have no craftsmen." In this, too, they resemble the Kols, who, even when most civilized, are dependent on other races for the commonest articles of domestic use for raiment and utensils. The Kirantis, however, spin, weave, and dye cloths for their own use, and make fermented and distilled liquors.

Religion

The Limbus or Kirantis, though subjected to the sneers and frowns of a Brahmanical priesthood on one side and the more indulgent exhortation of Budhist monks on the other, have, like the Kols, obstinately adhered to their primitive paganism. Mr. Hodgson found the Kirantis had no name for God, and no recognised order of priests. The Limbus, says Dr. Campbell, believe in the existence of a Supreme God, who is called Sham Mungh, the God of the universe, and worship other dieties named Mhang Mo, Takpaka, Hem-sung-mung, the destroyer, Teba-sum, the God of wisdom, Mungol Mo, the preserver, and Hem-sung, the household God. They do not build temples or make images of their gods, but propitiate them by sacrifices of animals, i.e., killing an animal in the name of the God they wish to propitiate and eating it themselves, giving, as they observe, "the life to the God and the flesh to themselves." The places set apart for sacrifices are marked by the erection of bamboo poles with rags attached. On these occasions, the persons employed as priests are either Bijowas, or Phedangkos; the former are mendicant friars, apparently of no particular race, who wander about in the garb of Budhist priests, who by cunning and charlatanism inspire their votaries with considerable awe, but who are ready for a consideration to sing or dance for those in health, prescribe for those who are sick, and cast the devil out of those who are vexed. One doctrine most important to themselves they have succeeded in propagating, i.e., that ill betides the man who sends a Bijowa dissatisfied from his door.

The Phedangko is more exclusively the Limbu priest, and the office is sometimes hereditary, but in a large family one of the sons is generally told off for it, and he is declared to be specially called to the work of propitiation. The Kiranti priest is called Nakchong. It is his duty to propitiate the penate and the manes of the ancestors of each family in his care by an annual worship constituting two festivals in the year, the first celebrated after the harvest, and he attends at marriages and deaths.

They believe in all kinds of sorcery and witchcraft, and have exorcists.

Births

Amongst the Kirantis† births are not attended by any religious observances, but the Limbus‡ call in the Phedangko, who examines the infant carefully, sacrifices a fowl or kid, and invokes for the young stranger the blessings of the Gods. The parents name the infant on the third day.

Marriages

The Limbus and Kirantis have to buy their wives; those who are too poor to pay in cash serve like Jacob in the father's house till they have given an equivalent in labor. The men select for themselves. They employ friends to arrange price and preliminaries, sending by them an offering to the parents of two or three rupees to gain their consent. On the day fixed for the ceremony, the bride and bridegroom are seated side by side and the priest admonishes them, then he gives a hen into the hands of the bride and a cock to the man, and cuts off the cock's head first and next the hen's, their blood is allowed to mingle together and auguries as to the prospects of the happy pair drawn from the form it assumes as it flows.

*Hodgson.

†Hodgson.

‡Campbell.

Burials

The funeral ceremonies of the Kirantis are like those of the Mundas and Kasias. They burn their dead, selecting the summits of mountains for the purpose, and afterwards collect and bury the ashes, over which they raise a square tomb of stone, about four feet high, placing an upright stone on its summit.

On the upright stone is engraved a record of the quantity of largesse distributed at the funeral of the deceased. This inscription is either in the Devanagari or Lepcha character, according to the comparative facility of procuring an engraver in either of these characters.

Language

They have no written character of their own. Their language is described generally as pleasing to the ear, being labial and palatal rather than nasal and guttural.

THE MURMIS

The Murmis appear to be a nomadic and pastoral branch of the Butias. They are Mongolian in appearance, Budhist in religion, and speak a language which appears to me to be a dialect of Butia. They live in houses built of stone on mountain tops at an elevation of from 4 to 6,000 feet. They are found in all parts of Nepal from the Gunduk river to the Mechi, and in smaller numbers in the Sikhim country. They are divided into several families or clans. The Murmis like the Butias burn their dead.

THE HAIOOS (CAMPBELL), OR HAYAS, OR VAYAS

I do not know that any members of this tribe are at present located in any part of Bengal, but as there appear to be good grounds for affiliating them with one or other of the families of the aborigines of the Gangetic provinces, I will close with them my account of the northern races.

Geographical position

The Hayas* appear in Nepal as the fragment of a tribe of great antiquity with peculiar traditions, language, and appearance, all tending to isolate them from the people amongst whom they dwell, and to direct our attention to swarthy southerners for their affinities.

They are now found "tenanting the basin of the river Kosi between the confines of the great valley of Nepal proper, and that point where the Kosi turns southwards to issue to the plains"—a single people distinct from all their neighbours, they appear to be rapidly diminishing in numbers. As they are represented as only forming a population of a few thousands, they will probably ere many years elapse cease to exist as a separate tribe.

Traditions

Mr. Hodgson tells us that they have a tradition of a very remote time when they were a numerous and powerful people. Doctor Campbell† gives as their tradition that they originally came from Lanka (Ceylon), having left that country after the defeat of their King Rawan by Ram Chandra, but the Raksha King Rawan is still their hero and God, they have no other; they remained a long time

*There is a tribe in Ceylon called Vaidas.

†*Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1858, pp. 443-456.

in the Dakhin, "whence they journeyed on to Semrounghur in the days of its glory, and that, lastly, but a long time ago, they reached the hills, their present abode."

I have suggested that the ancestors of the Bhuyas were the people who formed the army of the ape general Hanuman, the ally of Ram Chandra, in his famous operations against Rawan.* It is interesting to find a remnant of the host that opposed him, and however far-fetched this tradition may appear, there is much to support the theory of their southern origin.

Language

I have no Haya vocabulary to refer to, but Mr. Hodgson in analyzing the construction of the language, has noted many peculiarities common to it and Sonthal, or Kol language, and this connection takes them as far south as Ceylon, if not to Ceylon.

Physical traits

In regard to their physical characteristics, he deduces from the specimens he examined, that they are darker and of a less Mongolic caste of countenance than the Lepchas. The sample that he considered most typical of the race was 5 feet 4½ inches in height, moderately fleshy, and dark brown; vertical view of the head oblate, wider, and flat behind; greatest breadth between the ears, rising pyramidically from the zygomata to the crown of the head; facial angle not bad, the forehead retiring, and narrowing only slightly, the mouth not being porrect, nor the chin retiring but pointed; eyes remote but small, and the upper lids flaccid and somewhat down, curved at the inner canthus; nose pyramidal, not levelled between the eyes, nor the extremity much thickened, but the nares large and round; mouth large but well formed, with neatly shaped lips and vertical fine teeth.

The above, as I understand it, would answer well for a description of an ordinary Singhbhum Ho, but on the whole the Ho would probably be handsomer.

Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. IX, for 1840.

We have very little information regarding the customs of the Hayas, but Doctor Campbell made good use of an opportunity he met with to witness their national dance, and thus he describes it

"The nautch was indeed a singular one and novel. About 30 males and as many females were drawn up in line as closely packed as possible, the first a man, the next a woman, and so on alternately, not standing side by side, but back to belly, and all holding on to each other by throwing forward the hands and grasping the arms of the persons in front. The column thus formed, and preceded by half-a-dozen men beating drums and cymbals, and shouting in a barbarous dialect what was said to be a metrical lament, moved slowly in a circle nodding and keeping time to the music. In this pastime and so closely packed that the circle of sixty individuals had the appearance of a machine with a row of heads and feet set in motion, did they revolve and mourn for an hour."

Peculiar dance

The mourning being for the death of their hero Rawan.

Resemblances with the Hos

I should like very much to have seen this dance. It may possess features peculiarly its own, but judging from the description given, I am confident that wherever these Hayas came from, they were taught dancing at the same school as the Hos, and there may be something in the similarity of the names. I do not indeed think that the Ho youths and maidens mourn as they dance, and they know nothing of Rawan or Lanka; but many an hour have I seen them revolve just as described by Doctor Campbell locking up as no soldiers ever locked up, keeping admirable time both in the movements of the feet and undulations of the head to the monotonous beat of the drums. It is the dance of Hos and Sonthals, not of the Mundas, though they too have something resembling it, and it can be made to assume a mournful cadence, as the same step and drum-beat is used at their funeral dances.

(iv) THE MECH AND KOCH

Extract from 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal' by Eduard Tuite Dalton, C.S.I. (published) in 1872, *pp.* 89-92)

THE MECH

Locality

All the authorities agree in considering the Mech and Kachari as the same people, or at least of common origin. Buchanan calls them a tribe of Kamrup, who appeared to have been at one time more numerous than he found them to be, and to have undergone great changes. The large tract of country called Mechpara in the Gowalparah District no doubt took its name from them, and the proprietor is a Mech; but he and most of his people repudiate this origin and call themselves Rajbangsis. The Mech are to be found in the recently annexed Butan Duars.* They extend from thence in a westerly direction into the Nepal Terai as far as the Konki river, subject, respectively, to the Nepalese, Sikim, Butan, and British Governments, and their habits and customs are found much modified by the people with whom they come in contact, viz., the Pani Kocchis, Rajbangsis, Dhimals, Thawas, and Garos on one side, and the Limbus, Kerantis, Lepchas, Murmis, and Butias on the other. They are fairer than the Kocchis, and have more markedly the Mongolian characteristics, but accompanied by a softness of outline which distinguishes them readily from the more marked features of the same order, as exhibited in the Lepchas, Limbus, and Butias. They are said also to resemble the Mugs and Burmese, and to be like them, and like the Kasias (with whom Fisher compares them) greatly addicted to drinking spirits, smoking, and pan chewing.

*Campbell, *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal,* August, 1839.

It is said that when living beyond the pale of Hindu influence, they are as omnivorous a race as any in the world, but they will not eat the flesh of the elephant.

Habits

They are very nomadic in their habits, seldom settling down in permanent villages, but continually shifting their cultivation and abodes, that they may have the full benefit of the virgin forests to which they cling. It is their love for such forests that retains them under Nepalese or Butan rule. Their constitutions have become so much accustomed to the malarious influences of the Terai, that apparently they cannot live without the poisonous gases they imbide there, and in the purer atmosphere of the plains, or in breathing the more invigorating air of the higher ranges, they pine and die.

I find no further information regarding the Mechs that assigns to them noteworthy peculiarities. They worship the Sij (*Euphorbia*) as the emblem of the supreme deity like the Kacharis, and they call themselves, and no doubt are, Bodo or Boro, which means a great people, and Rangta, a heavenly, and all other designations in which the Kacharis rejoice.

THE KOCH OR KOCCH

Locality

There can be no doubt that the Kocch is one of the most ancient of the peoples in India. Of their origin we know nothing; their linguistic affinities were supposed to be with the Mech Kachari, but this rests on an uncertainty,

and they are distinguished from those tribes by the darkness of their complexion. Kocch Behar must be regarded as the present nucleus of the race, but they are still numerous in the old Kamarupa and the ancient Matsiyadesh, that is, in Rungpur and Lower Asam and Purniah, extending west as far as the 87° 45′ of E. longitude, or to the boundary of ancient Mithila, and east to 93° E. longitude. Hodgson has estimated their numbers at upwards of a million.

Conquests

They were a recognized power to the north of Eastern Bengal, coeval with the Hindu kingdom of Kamarupa, and spread east till their chiefs became lords of the marches between Kamarupa and Butan. It was, I think, from the opposite direction that Kamarupa was invaded, and the eastern part of it subjugated by the Kacharis some centuries previous to this extension. It appears to be about the year 1550 A.D. that the two powers came into collision, when the Kocch under their great leader Haju expelled the Kacharis and established a dynasty which lasted two hundred years. These Kocch princes were driven from power in Western Kamrup, Rungpur, and Gowalparah by the Muhammadans, and from Eastern Kamrup by the Ahoms; but "the descendants of Haju still exercise *jura regalia* in that portion of the ancient possession of his family which is called Kocch Behar".

The grandson of Haju. Vishu Sinh, with all the people of condition, apostatized to Hinduism, and took the name of *Rajbangsis*,* those who declined, finding they were treated as vile, adopted Islam. Thus the mass of the Kocch people became Muhammadans and the higher grades Hindus; the latter now reject and contemn the very name of Kocch, and it is bad manners at the court of the descendant of Haju to speak of the country as Kocch Behar;† strange that rather than declare himself the representative of a line of heroes, who so long maintained their position against the haughty invaders, claiming to be of the Solar or Lunar race, he should accept the myth which, by a reflection on the chastity of the daughters of Haju, gives him for ancestor the god Siva.

Kamrup temples

A large vaulted vestibule, measuring 40 feet by 20 feet, in front of the old temple of Haju in Kamrup,‡ was built by Noro Narain, Haju's great grandson, in 1550 A.D. He found the temple entirely deserted and almost lost in impenetrable jungle. He not only repaired it, but endowed it with lands, priests, musicians, and dancing girls; but the vaulted brick addition of Noro Narain replaced a dismantled edifice of stone, which he had not the skill to restore. The temple is situated on a hill about 300 feet high, whence probably it takes its name, as *haju* means 'hill' in the Bodo and cognate languages, and from the fragments of the old vestibule a rude flight of steps have been constructed from the tank below to the ancient fane on the hill, in which, as I have stated before, the object of worship is in fact an image of Budha. Noro Narain also rebuilt the temple of Kamakhya, which had been destroyed by Kalapahar, the great renegade and iconoclast.

A few more words anent the upper ten thousand of the Kocchis. The Rajbangsi are all very dark; and as their cognates, the Kacharis, Mechs, Garos, are yellow or light-brown, and their northern, eastern, and western neighbours are as fair or fairer, it must be from contact with the people of the south that they got their black skins.

Here is a description of the Kocch *in situ* by a medical officer now on the spot.§

*Buchanan—*Rungpur*, Vol. III, p. 419, Hodgson, *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, XXXI, July, 1819.

†It is then called Nij Vihar.

‡Notes on Asam Temple Ruins, *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for 1855, p. 9.

§In a letter from H. Beveridge, Esq., Deputy Commissioner of Kocch Behar, to Colonel Agnew.

Physical traits

"Face flat, giving rather an appearance of squareness; eyes black and oblique; hair black and straight, in some curling; nose flat and short; cheek bones prominent; beard and whisker *rather* deficient" (mark the rather; in the Kachari, etc., these adjuncts are *very* deficient); "color of skin in *most instances* black; size of head rather flattened; forehead retreating."

Dr. Campbell, in writing of the Mechs, says, they are fairer than the Kocch, and have more markedly the Mongolian features. Yet in the Mechs those features are, he says, much modified and softened. He speaks of the Kocch in another place as having more of a Hindu physiognomy.

On referring to notes of my own, written in 1847, I find the following. "It is remarkable that whilst the facial line of the Garos is nearly vertical, in some of the Kocch tribes I have observed it exceedingly angular, though with as little prominence of nose as in the Garo tribes. The upper line along the forehead continuing in the Kocch tribes in one direction to the extremity of the upper lip, then suddenly receding to the bottom of the jawbone in the most unintellectual form imaginable."

I remarked of the Garos that their mouths, like their noses, were compressed, whilst the Kocch displayed the thick protuberant lips and maxillaries of the Negro.

Of the Muhammadan Kocch of Purniah, the Magistrate, Mr. Beames, gives the following description: "The peculiar dialect, the stunted figure, sharp wizened features, high cheek-bones, tufted beard, etc., mark them as a peculiar race."

Mr. G. Campbell would decidedly place the Kocch amongst his negritos, and I think we must allow that color and physical characteristics clearly separate them from the Bodo group, though the people called Pani-Kocch doubtless belong to that family.

The Pani-Kocch

The villages of the Pani-Kocch lie along the skirts of the Garo Hills. They are much mixed up with that people and with the Rabhas,* and in their religion, language, and custom appear to lean sometimes to one, sometimes to the other. The dress of the women is put on like that of the Rabha women, but is scantier and of different color. Their clothes are of cotton, blue with red borders, made by themselves.

They greatly reverence the Garos for having retained their freedom in regard to food which they, the Pani-Kocch, in a weak moment, were induced to resign. It is strange that they should have adhered to an abstinence for which they had no respect, but they must not eat beef, and they reject dogs, cats, frogs, and snakes, which the Garos eat. They use tobacco and strong liquors, but refuse opium and hemp. They eat no tame animal without having first given one of their gods the refusal of it.

Marriage and inheritance

In regard to marriage and inheritance, they show a leaning to the gallantry of the Garos, but do not follow strictly the rules of the female Solon who must have been the law-giver to that people. The Pani-Kocch leave to the women the cares of property, "who in return are exceedingly industrious, spin, weave, plant, sow, brew, in short, do every work which is not above their strength, such as felling trees and the like.† When a woman dies, the family property is divided amongst her daughters; and when a man marries, he goes to live with his wife's mother, and obeys her orders and those of his wife.

Marriage custom

Marriages are usually settled by the mothers when the parties are young, but not without consulting their inclinations. A girl not thus disposed of, when she grows up, selects a husband for herself, and, if he die, may take

*Buchanan.

†Buchanan's *Rungpur*, Vol. III.

another. The husband or father appears to have nothing whatever to do with the arrangement. The expense of marriage is heaviest on the mother of the girl, who pays Rs. 10, while the boy's mother only gives Rs. 5. Girls who are frail can always procure their lover for a husband. Under such a regime, a man is not of course permitted to have more than one wife, nor are concubines tolerated. If a man is known to commit adultery, he is fined about Rs. 60, and if his mother does not pay this, he is sold as a slave! Widows left with property generally manage to select young men as second husbands.

Burials

The dead are kept two days, during which time the family laments, and the kindred and neighbours assemble, eat, drink, dance, sing, and make merry. The body is then carried to the side of a river and buried.

Sacrifices

Like the Rabhas they call their supreme deity Rishi, but his wife is Jago. Every year at the end of the rainy season, a grand sacrifice is made to these deities by the whole tribe, and occasional sacrifices are offered in cases of distress. They also sacrifice to the sun, moon, and stars, and to the gods of the woods, hills, and rivers, and every year when they collect their first crops, they offer some of the first fruits to their ancestors, calling to them by name and clapping their hands, as they have no artificial method of making such a noise, as most Pagan nations, and even Hindus, consider necessary to rouse or please their gods. The priests who officiate on these occasions are called 'Deoshis,' or Brahmans, or Lamas, from which we may assume that they have no national name for such a functionary.

What are these Pani-Kocch? They have been hitherto treated as the primitive type of the Kocch nation; but we have no evidence of the fact except the name. Buchanan says, they *assumed* the name of Pani-Kocch to distinguish themselves from their hill neighbours, the Garos, with whom they were often confounded in consequence of the similarity of their manners and custom; but their religion and language resemble rather those of the Rabha than the Garo. Hodgson gives a copious vocabulary* of the language spoken by the Kocch; it is all Bengali or Hindi or Asamese, not a word or grammatical construction that would affiliate them with any of the North-Eastern tribes. In religion and custom they have long been Hindu, and their princes all now claim to be the offspring of the amours of Hindu divinities. Latham in his descriptive Ethnology gives 15 words as Kocch. Three of these are Asamese, two Bengali, and the others are words used in all those three languages. The first word on Latham's list is remarkable. For man he gives 'beta-choa'. I never heard this expression in Asam or Bengal, but it is very common in Chota Nagpur; 'beta-choa,' a boy; 'beti-choa,' a girl; and it is used by the Uriya and by the Gonds.

Aborigins of India, Essay 1st, 1847.

Affinities of the Pani-Kocch

Hodgson says that the Rabha is but a branch of the great Mech family. The Pani-Kocch are undoubtedly of the same lineage, and also closely connected with the Garo; but it is, I think, a mistake to regard them as the primitive type of the people called Kocch. They probably took the name of Pani-Kocch, when the real Kocch were dominant to conciliate the ruling power, without having any claim to be members of the family.

Affinities of the Kocch

Physical characteristics are after all the most indelible indications of race. Even where blood is mixed, the source of the different streams may be often traced, one or other fitfully predominating in different generations. I have seen the descendants of Hindu-Asamese who had been for several generations in the Naga or Abor Hills, tricked out as Nagas or Abors, but nevertheless distinguishable at a glance from the people they imitated, and looking quite out of their element. The Kocch appear to me equally out of their element amongst the Lohitic tribes, and from all I have been able to glean regarding them, it seems more likely that they originally belonged to the dark people whom they resemble, who were driven out of the Gangetic provinces when the kingdoms of Mithila and Magadha were established by the lunar and solar races, rather than to the northern Turanian or Indo-Chinese family, to whom they are so unlike; in short, I consider they belong to the Dravidian stock, and are probably a branch of the great Bhuiya family, and we thus obtain a clue to the tradition of the Bhara Bhuiyas, to whose period of rule so many great works in Asam are ascribed.

(v) THE MUNDA OR MUNDARI

Extract from 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal' by Edward Tuite Dalton, C.S.I. (published in 1872, *pp.* 163-69)

The people I am now about to describe comprise the Mundaris or Mundas of Chutia Nagpur proper, the Bhumij of Manbhum, and the Larka Kols or Hos of Singbhum These three divisions of the race would give us about 850,000 souls, thus—

Mundaris	...	400,000
Hos or Larkas	...	150,000
Bhumij	...	300,000
Total	...	850,000

The Chutia Nagpur Plateau is so connected with the great Vindhyan Range, that it may be almost considered a part of it. It is, I believe, a portion of the country formerly known as the great Dandaka forest, and it was also called Jharkhand,* the forest tract, and when the Mundaris first appeared in it, was doubtless all covered with such grand sal timber as we still find in unreclaimed parts. It forms the heart of a territory, in which the Mundaris have been settled for ages, and in which other tribes of the aborigines of India have found a secure asylum, retreating from all sides up the courses of the rivers that have their sources on the plateau. The conquered races ascended and found refuge from the common enemy in an elevated and beautiful region that is itself a gigantic natural fortress.

The mean elevation of the plateau thus occupied is upwards of two thousand feet above the sea-level. In the West, it rises to three thousand six hundred, and to the East and South, its lower steppe, from eight hundred to a thousand feet in elevation, comprises a great portion of the Manbhum and Singbhum districts. Rivers flow from it in all directions forming grand waterfalls as they bound from the upper plateau to the lower levels. The whole is about fourteen thousand square miles in extent.

The central table land, on which the tribes rallied, is admirably adapted for defence. The approaches to it from the North, North-West, East, and South, are exceedingly precipitous, the paths winding up defiles which a handful of resolute men could hold against hosts

*In the Fifth Report of the Select Committee it is called Jharkhund, Chutea Nagpur and Kukera. The latter is still the name of one of the Parganas. In the report it is said that it is called Nagpur from its diamond mines. The Raja has in his possession a diamond worth about Rs. 40,000, the product of these now fabulous mines.

of invaders. The highlands in the Western and South-Western direction strech into Sirguja and Jashpur, uniting with the Vindhyan mountains in a Western direction and the Satpura range to the South-West. They divide the waters of Narbada and Mahanadi, forming a covered way by which fresh accessions of cognates strengthened the growing colonies of Kols on the 'Jharkhanda,' and thus were founded the 'strongholds of the ten chiefs' referred to in the Puranas, and in Colonel Wilford's essays, as the Dasarna, or ten forest forts east of the Son.*

These Jharkhand or Chutia Nagpur chiefs appear to have maintained those isolated and elevated defensive positions throughout the long series of Hindu dynasties, and came with an indifferent reputation under the Muhammadan Government, as in the report of the 'Select Committee' it is stated that the Birbhum district was conferred by 'Jafar Khan on Asad-ulla Pathan, to guard against the incursions of the barbarous Hindus of Jharkhand.' It is curious that they should be called Hindus, but the Muhammadans probably regarded as such all, who were not of their own faith. Mr. J. Grant, 'Chief Serishtadar', writing of them in A.D. 1787, thus speaks of the country and its people. 'This highland district, including Palamaw, Ramghur and Chutea Nagpur hath since the days of Ptolemy been geographically termed the three "Ballads" or cantons in Arabic, and from which its modern appellation of Velayt may be a corruption if not derived from another root of the same language, modified to express a foreign dependent Government.'†

'It is also generally described under the name of Kokera, more commonly called *Nagpore*, from the diamond mines of that place, as giving most importance to the whole country, making part of the same mountanous tract of land barren of everything, except the most precious jewels in the world. Yet, perhaps, this portion of unfruitful country might be still more interestingly distinguished by delineating the character of its inhabitants, who are undoubtedly an original savage race, differing extremely in appearance, religion, language, and manners, from the Hindu Lowlanders of Hindustan.' (Vth Report, vol. 1, p. 503).

From this it would certainly appear that Jharkhand has, to a comparatively recent period, been regarded by Hindus as out of the pale of Hindustan, occupied by a people, who differed from them in religion, in customs, appearance and language.

I have never found much in Munda or Bhumij folklore that threw light on the early history of the race. The families that rank highest among them have lost such traditions in the hazy fables, which Hindus have invented for them. The lower classes, as a rule, declare themselves to be autochthones, and even the chiefs found their claims to be of noble birth on miracles that took place in the country, which they call their fatherland; but in a manuscript account of the family of the Rajas of Chutia Nagpur I possess, it is stated that the Mundaris came to Jharkhand, afterwards called Chutia Nagpur, from Pipra and Paligarh, names that occur in the Santal traditions. It is also stated that the Mundas as well as the Oraons fought with the Lowrik Sumwara, no doubt the Lowrik Sowrik of the Oraons, whom I suppose to have been *'Sarawaks'* or Jains, and were worsted, and having to fly from their own country, they successively occupied Jaipur, Chitor, Simaliya, Ruhidas, and at last found themselves in Jharkhand. It is noticeable that the Ruhidas hills are said to have afforded a refuge, or temporary resting place, to the Kharwars, the Kharrias, the Mundaris and the Oraons, but whilst the Mundaris seldom speak of Ruhidas as a place they are interested in, I have often heard them speak of it as the place that the Oraons came from. It is not, however, improbable that several tribes of aborigines may have made a stand in the Ruhidas and Kaimur Hills at different times, before they were finally forced back into Palamau, Jharkhand, and the Vindhyan Hills.

The Mundaris say they had no Raja when they first took up the country, now called Chutia Nagpur. They formed a congeries of small confederate states. Each village had its chief also called a Munda, literally 'a head' in Sanskrit; and as a village often consisted of one family, the inhabitants were all of Munda dignity, and hence it became a name for the whole tribe. What the original name for the tribe in their own language may have been, I do not know, but as the Mundaris on the plateau call themselves Konk Pat Munda, Konk or Konkpat may have been a national denomination. They appear to have only one word for ruler, the term 'Gumki', and they apply it to every one in authority. In the Manbhum district, the word Munda becomes 'Mura', which is also Sanskrit, and has the same meaning. As these Kols have taken up the word Munda, the Santals have appropriated the term 'Manjhi', and the Bhumij 'Sirdar'. The Mundari villages had each its staff of officers, and from the customs that still prevail in most old villages, the organization that has descended from very primitive times, appears to have been very complete.

I must now proceed to give the fable of the origin of the family of the Raja of Chutia Nagpur, as it is told in the family annals. We have already heard something of the snake race in connection with the 'Kikatas', but the branch of the family established in Chutia Nagpur, whether it came from Kikata, or was produced in the country to which it gave that name, had its own version of the snake story.

Mythical origin of the Chutia Nagpur Rajas

It is well-known that Raja Janamejaya, in revenge for the death of his father, compassed the destruction of the whole of the Nag or serpent race, and prepared a 'yajnya', or great incantation service for the purpose; the total annihilation of the race was, however, prevented on the eve of its accomplishment by the interference of Astika Muni, and amongst those that were saved was the great Nag Pundarika.

In the 3044th year of the Kaliyug, Pundarika Nag assumed the form of a Brahman, and repaired to the house of a certain Brahman of Benares, to perfect himself in a knowledge of the sacred books. The learned instructor became so pleased with his pupil, that he gave him to wife his only child, the beautiful Parvati; but though Pundarika had the power to assume at pleasure any form, in the same way that our vulgar devil cannot get rid of his cloven foot and some say his tail, the Nag could not divest himself of his double tongue or his foul breath, and as it was of vital importance that his wife should not discover his real character, he always slept with his back to her. However one day, or night I should say, she managed to get round him, and found out his unpleasant peculiarities, and she interrogated him sharply as to the meaning of his being thus different from the mortals of her acquaintance, and to divert her attention, he proposed they should make together a pilgrimage to Puri (Jagannath). To this she gave her assent, and delighted at the prospect of visiting that fashionable watering place, she forgot the unpleasant peculiarities of her husband, and cheerfully accomplished the pilgrimage. They returned through Jharkhand in which the Mundas and Oraons were both then established, but on reaching the hill of Sutiamba, the time arrived for her being delivered of her first child, and when the pains seized her she remembered the forked tongue and again eagerly sought for explanation.

There is even at the present day a current belief that a woman's curiosity at such moments must at all risks be gratified, and though the result of the announcement would be the immediate separation of the immortal Pundarika and his mortal wife, he felt himself bound to

Asiatic Researches, Vol. XIV, p. 384.

The Son or Soane river.

†But the three Vilayats refer to Bihar, Bengal and Orissa; not to Palamau, Chutia Nagpur and Ramgarh.

indulge her wishes, and after disclosing to her wondering ears his marvellous history, he plunged into a pool and disappeared from her sight.

Parvati was now inconsolable at the catastrophe she had brought about by her insatiable curiosity. In the midst of her grief and remorse her child was born, but instead of rejoicing at its birth, she prepared for herself a funeral pyre and became a 'Sati'.

At this juncture a Sakadwipa Brahman appears on the scene bearing an image the idol of the sun. He slaked his thirst at the pool, and when about to proceed on his journey, found he could not lift the idol that he had hitherto carried without difficulty, and whilst pondering on this, his eyes fell on a child lying sheltered and guarded by a great hooded snake. This was Pundarika in his proper form protecting his child. Addressing the Brahman, he narrated his own history and foretold that the child would become the Raja of the country to be called Nagpur, that the Brahman was to be his Purohit and the idol his tutelary deity. The boy, he said, was to be called Phani-Mukuta Raya, that is, 'the snake crowned', and promising on his own part to return when his presence was necessary, he confided the child to the Brahman, and again plunged into the pool and disappeared.* It is in commemoration of this event that the Raja and chief members of Nagbangsi family always wear turbans, so arranged as to make the head-dress resemble a serpent coiled round the head with its head protruding over the wearer's brow. The seal of the Maharaja and arms of the family show as a crest a cobra with a human face under its expanded hood, surrounded by all the insignia of royalty.

Near Sutiamba dwelt Madura, who was Raja, or Manki, of one of the Parhas.† To his house the Brahman repaired with the infant, and the Manki was easily induced to take charge of the foundling and bring it up as his own child. He had a son of the same age, and when both the boys were twelve years old, Madura convened the Parha chiefs, and, it is said, the neighbouring Rajas, the Raja of Sirguja and the Dity Raja, that is, the Raja of Patkum, who claimed descent from Vikramaditya, and it was then agreed that Phani-Mukuta Raya should be proclaimed Raja of Chutia Nagpur.

The Oraons had at this time established themselves in the North-Western part of the plateau and were present at Phani-Mukuta Raya's inauguration as Raja. The next event recorded is the marriage of the Snake Raja with a daughter of the Sikharbhum Raja, that is of the ancestor of the present Raja of Pachet. There was an awkward hitch when the Pachet Brahmans asked for Phani-Mukuta's pedigree, horoscope, and record of his birth, and the match would not have taken place, if Pundarika had not appeared and proved to the satisfaction of the ambassadors from Sikharbhum that the marriage proposed would be no misalliance. It is especially mentioned that the Mundas and Oraons all got drunk at the wedding and had a fight.

The 'snake crowned' was acknowledged by all the Parha chiefs on the central plateau of Chutia Nagpur proper, but the inhabitants of the lower steppe would have nothing to do with him. They however, followed the lead of the highland chiefs and elected Rajas of their own, all miraculously nurtured foundlings, and all through their representatives now claiming to be Rajputs. Thus have originated the Chiefs of what are called the five parganas of the Lohardagga district and most of the Manbhum zamindars. I only know one of them who has the sense to acknowledge his Mundari descent, but the conclusion that they are all of that race, is forced on us by their position, their fables of origin, and the fact that they all intermarry. Some have indeed made other alliances with good Hindu families, and owe to this an improved personal appearance in the present generation. I do not, however, suppose that all the Manbhum zamindars are Kols. Some few are Sudras, some are Bagdis, and the zamindars of the Northern Jungle mahals are all Bhuiyas.

The place pointed out as the scene of the birth of the first Nag Raja is Pithauria, a considerable market town on the Northern face of the plateau overlooking the valley of the Damudar in Pargana Sutiamba. Many Mundaris regard this part of the country as the cradle of the race, but it is not at present most densely populated by people of that tribe. The representatives of the Madura of the tradition are still to be found tenaciously clinging to the ancestral site and the graves of their forefathers, and, though simple peasants, enjoying considerable influence which they sustain by performing at the proper seasons the festivals that commemorate their former power. At all places in the Province of Chutia Nagpur that are, or have been, the headquarters of the sovereign or chief, a festival is annually solemnized in his honour called the 'Ind-parab'. Amidst great rejoicings an enormous umbrella, attached to the end of a mast some forty feet in length, is raised like a maypole by the united force of all the people that can be collected. At Sutiamba to the present day, two of these poles are annually set up, one in honour of Madura, the other to the Nagbangsi Raja, and the latter must not be moved from the ground till Madura's umbrella is well aloft.

In support of the antiquity of the Nagbangsis of Chutia Nagpur here is collateral evidence in the annals* of the Kharonda dependencies of the Central Provinces. Jaggannath Deo, the last member of the Gangabangsi families, who reigned there, finding himself without heirs, sent to Chutia Nagpur for a Nagbangsi, who founded the present dynasty of Kharonda, 860 years ago.

The boy selected was a brother of the Satranjigarh chief. This was a collateral branch holding a maintenance grant, and it can be shown that many generations of Nagbangsi Rajas had passed away before this branch of the family took root.

Unfortunately as those Rajas became great potentates among Hindus, they grew to despise the impure Kols, their subjects, and as the latter were not inclined to submit quietly to degradation and were not unmindful of what the Nagbangsis owed them, they revolted against such ingratitude, and the Rajas found it necessary to seek extraneous aid to control them. Foreigners were gradually introduced to whom lands were assigned for military services, who assisted or supported the Raja in the innovations he wished to introduce, and Brahmans were encouraged by grants of villages to settle in the country and to aid in civilizing it after their fashion. Their attempts at proselytising were not unsuccessful amongst the Mundaris. The chief men of that tribe were by degrees induced to see something very honorific and desirable in the distinction conferred by the '*poita*', the thread indicating that the wearer is a Brahman or a Rajput, and without altogether jilting their ancient sylvan deities, they commenced paying their addresses to the new order of gods and goddesses that the Brahmans and their now Brahman-ridden Rajas were endeavouring to bring into fashion, but the change did not extend to the masses generally. They saw the encroachments on their rights and liberties that were threatened, and preferred the freedom of action and license they had hitherto enjoyed. The whole body of Oraons held steadily to this view, and thus while most of the chiefs in Nagpur and Manbhum adopted Brahmanical ideas, the Oraons and bulk of the Mundaris remained in their pristine state, and though inter-marriage between the two peoples was not allowed, they otherwise harmoniously amalgamated as one nation.

The system of government that obtained among the Mundas and Oraons of Chutia Nagpur before their policy was disturbed by the conversion of their chief may still be discerned in their existing organization. This country was divided into groups of twelve or more villages, called 'Parhas', each under a headman, who was

*According to the family annals, this occurred in A.D. 10[illegible].

*Selections, Records, Government of India, No. 30, Report by Colonel Elliot.

generally called the 'Munda', and though not recognised by the authorities in the political divisions of the present time, the people still acknowledge the 'Parha' jurisdiction, and questions affecting their social relations are still adjusted in 'Parha' conclave.* Each village had besides its establishment of hereditary public servants, and these still exist. The principal of these are the representatives of the most influential of the patriarchs. They originally formed the colony, and each is literally a pillar of the little state called 'Khunt'. The head of one of these Khunts or families is the chief or Munda, of another the Pahn, or priest, and there is sometimes a third called 'Mahato', the Munda's deputy.

The headmen had no superior rights in the lands cultivated by other villagers, they were not landlords but chiefs, and they and the people acknowledging them held the soil they cultivated in virtue of their being the heirs of those who first utilized it, and when it became necessary to distinguish such men from cultivators of inferior title, the former were called 'Bhuinhars', brakers of the soil.

This is not, perhaps, the only country where we find in the cultivators the actual descendants of a primitive people, who first brought the land under cultivation, but I do not know where else to look for a poeple, who having lived under different forms of government yet link themselves with a remote antiquity by the continuous and not unsuccessful struggle they have maintained to preserve in their integrity their prescriptive rights. Against infringement of these the Kols have in all ages protested and sometimes fought, and though in numerous instances the force of circumstances has hopelessly transferred the proprietary right from the aborigines to the zamindar or his assign, many thousands have succeeded in retaining what has come down through their family from pre-historic times to a period when, under a law recently passed by the Bengal Government, these rights are being defined and registered, and they may look forward to their being transmitted in their integrity to their remotest posterity.

*In the Kolhan of Singbhum, the Parha, or as it is there called the Pirhi, system is now fully maintained; but there and in some parts of Chutia Nagpur proper the head of a Parha is called a Manki.

When the Mundaris and Oraons submitted to a Raja, and all were required to contribute to his maintenance, the people in each village were divided into two classes. The more privileged, who retained the designation 'Bhuinhar', had to give honorary attendance and constituted the militia of the state. The remainder supplied food and raiment, and these obligations were eventually commuted to money payment or rent, and the lands cultivated by this class were called 'Rajhas', or rent-paying, in contradistinction to the 'Bhuinhari', which was no doubt originally rent-free. At a later period, the Raja was allowed to hold in each village a proportion of land called Manjihas, which was cultivated for his sole benefit; and the persons, who cultivated this land for him or his assigns had lands allotted to them, subject to no other service and no rent, called 'beth kheta'. Besides the above, there were lands set apart for the expenses periodically incurred in the propitiation of the national and local deities, and the Kols thus provided against the dangers that threatened their gods from the impending changes of belief. The produce of the lands has never, that I am aware of, been appropriated to the service of the Hindu divinities, though the people contribute something yearly towards the public worship of 'Kali' inaugurated by the zamindars; if, however, the villages were all to adopt a new religion, they would doubtless assert their right to devote the assets of what may be called their church lands to the service of the newly adopted faith.

The circumstances under which the Raja's ancestor rose to power precludes his making any division of the 'Raj'. It remains to this day an undivided estate, and the succession to it is regulated by local custom of primogeniture acknowledged under Regulation X of 1800; but as the families increased, the younger members or collateral branches were supported by maintenance grants, which laps to the parent estate on failure of heirs male to grantee. These were among the earliest of the alienations, which changed so greatly the relations between the chief and his people; the latter had agreed to serve and support him, but they were now compelled to serve and support his assigns, and soon the assigns included not only relations but the Brahmans and mercenaries, who received grants for religious or military services, and lastly foreign (all people not belonging to the province were so considered) farmers to whom leases of villages were given in supercession of the Kol headman.

(vi) THE SANTAL

Extract from 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal' by Edward Tuite Dalton, C.S.I.
(published in 1872, *pp.* 207-218)

Geographical Distribution

The Santals are found at intervals, sometimes in considerable masses, but more generally much scattered, in a strip of Bengal, extending for about 350 miles from the Ganges to the Baitarini, bisected by the meridian of Bhagalpur or 87° east longitude, and comprising the following districts: Bhagalpur, the Santal Parganas, Birbhum, Bankura, Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Mednipur, Singbhum, Mayurbhanj, and Balasore. The Santal Parganas, or Santalia, said to contain upwards of two hundred thousand Santals, may now be regarded as the nucleus of the tribe, but it does not appear to have been one of their original seats. Buchanan Hamilton, in describing the Hill tribes of Bhagalpur and its vicinity, makes no mention of Santals. The aboriginal tribes he fell in with are called 'Malers', the Rajmahal Hill-men proper and their kindred, a Dravidian people. It is singular that no old colonies of Santals or other Kolarian tribes are found between the Himalayas and the Ganges. The Santal settlements that now border on that river or skirt the Rajmahal Hills are readily traced back to more southern districts, and their own traditions hardly support the theory of their northern origin. Indeed, when we find that the Kolarian races have left their trial in Assam, that it may be followed throughout the Siam States and Burma to the Pegu district, and is faintly discerned in the adjoining islands, that it may be taken up at Point Palmyras and clearly traced along both banks of the Damodar river till it reaches the hills and table-land of Chutia Nagpur, it is scarcely reasonable to assume that they have all come direct from the Himalayas. The Damodar, rising in Palamau, divides the Hazaribagh and Chutia Nagpur plateaux, and draining the northern face of the one and the southern face of the other, discharges itself into the Hughli, near the mouth of the latter river. It is the terrestrial object most venerated by the Santals; and the country that is most closely associated with their name, which they apparently regard as their fatherland, is between that river and the Kasai.

There is no doubt, however, that Santals colonised parts of the Hazaribagh district and parts of Birbhum at a very remote period, and it is chiefly by migrations from

those colonies that the modern Santalia has been formed.

The Daman-i-koh

In 1832* a considerable impetus was given to the northward movement in the action taken by Government to secure to the Rajmahal Highlanders their possessions in the hills that form the turning point of the Ganges at Sahibganj. To prevent the encroachments of the lowland zamindars of the Bhagalpur district, which were constantly exciting reprisals from the Highlanders, a tract of country measuring nearly three hundred miles in circumference was separated and marked off by large masonry pillars, and of all the land within those pillars the Government was declared to be head proprietor, and the Hill people were informed that their rights in it would be respected • so long as they conducted themselves peaceably. But the Hillmen only cared for the highlands and the tract included within the pillars called the Daman-i-Koh, or skirts of the hills and the valleys running into the hills were available for other settlers, and were speedily taken up by Santals. In a few years the Santal population in the Daman had increased from three thousand to eighty-three thousand souls, when the colony received a check by the Santal insurrection of 1854.

For a history of this rebellion and the causes that led to it the reader may be referred to Mr. Hunter's interesting volume, called 'Rural Bengal'. The Santals, starting with the desire to revenge themselves on the money-lenders, who had taken advantage of their simplicity and improvidence, found themselves arrayed in arms against the British Government, and it was not without bloodshed that the insurrection was suppressed; but it led to their being re-established under a more genial administration in what are called the Santal Parganas In the Daman-i-koh their own form of self-government is to some extent restored to them. The villages are farmed to the headmen, called Manjhis, who are also the sole guardians of the peace, a system that had been already introduced with success into the Kolhan of Singbhum.

Nomadic habits

In marked contrast to the Kolarians of the Munda and Ho divisions, the Santals, as a rule, care little for permanently locating themselves. A country denuded of the primeval forest, which affords them the hunting grounds they delight in and the virgin soil they prefer, does not attract them; and when, through their own labour, the spread of cultivation has effected this denudation, they select a new site, however, prosperous they may have been on the old, and retire into the backwoods, where their harmonious flutes sound sweeter, their drums find deeper echoes, and their bows and arrows may once more be utilized. The traditions of their ancient migrations are rendered obscure by the succession of dissolving views to which this nomadic habit introduces us, but they nevertheless tenaciously cling to a wild and remote tradition of their origin; and though much scattered and intermingled with other races, whose creeds and customs they have partially adopted, they are characterised by many old practices that they lovingly cling to, and they are one of the tribes, which has preserved the form of speech that in all probability predominated in the Gangetic provinces before the Aryan conquest.

Houses

But though prone to change, the Santals are not indifferent to their personal comfort, and are more careful in the construction of their homesteads and villages than their cognates. Their huts, with carefully formed mud walls and well raised plinths and snug verandahs, have a neat, and, owing to their love of colour, even a gay appearance. They paint their walls in alternate broad stripes of red, white, and black—native clays and charcoal furnishing the pigments; moreover, the houses are kept perfectly clean, and by partitions decent accommodation for the family is provided.

In the situation of their villages they generally seek insulation, and would gladly, if they could, exclude all foreigners, especially Brahmans; but as they clear lands that they do not care to retain and render habitable, regions that wild beasts would without them be sole lords of, they are soon followed into their retreat by the more crafty and enterprising Hindu, and the result often is they have to submit to, or give way to, the intruders. It frequently happens that the Hindu intruder improving on the Santal cultivation and making more money by it, obtains from the landlord a lease of the village at a rent the Santal would not think of paying or demanding, and so the pioneers of civilization are prematurely forced to move on.

The Santals have of late been the most honoured of the aboriginal races in Bengal in the attention that enquirers have directed towards them. In Mr. Mann's monograph we have an interesting account of their social state, and in the work by Mr. Hunter, above alluded to, an elaborate and admirably written essay on their religion, custom, and language, that have made them, no doubt, the best generally known of our Bengal non-Aryans; but instead of following these accounts, I will give the information I have myself collected about the Santals in this province.

Vast numbers of the Santals now settled in Santalia emigrated within the last century from the Hazaribagh district, but there are still large settlements of the tribe in Kharakdia to the north of Parisnath, and in the hill country between Gola and the Damudar; and some intelligent and influential headmen, called Parganaits. One of these, Bagh Rai Parganait, from a Damudar settlement, gives me orally the following versions of the mythical origin and progress of the tribe.

Legends

Bagh Rai's Narrative: 'A wild goose coming from the great ocean alighted at Ahiri Pipri, and there laid two eggs. From these two eggs a male and a female were produced, who were the parents of the Santal race. From Ahiri Pipri our progenitors migrated to Hara Duttie, and there they greatly increased and multiplied, and were called Kharwars. Thence they removed to Khairagarh and Hurredgarhi, and eventually settled in Chai Champa in the Hazaribagh district, where they remained for several generations.

'There were many Birhors in that country (they are still to be found there), and one of them seduced a Santal girl; she bore a child and cast it on a dung-heap, where it was found by the Paramanik and Jag Manjhi; they brought it home and fostered it, and the child grew up and became a very powerful man, whom no one could withstand, and he demanded a wife. They said that no Santal girl should ever marry the son of a Birhor. Then the strong man to whom they had given the Hindu name of Madhu Singh, declared he would violate all the Santal virgins, if one were not bestowed on him in marriage. The Santals above all things regard the honour of their maidens, and greatly alarmed at this threat they resolved to abondon Chai Champa to be rid of Madhu Singh. In one night they all left with their women and children, cattle and moveables, and proceeding to Chutia Nagpur, the country of the Mundas, they came to 'Marang Buru' (the great mountain), the god of that people, and prayed to him that Madhu Singh and the Birhors might not be permitted to overtake them, and he, interposing his great mass between them and their pursuers (the path wound up a steep ghat and round from the north to the south side of the mountain), effectually protected them. Thus our fathers became votaries of Marang Buru, the god of the Mundas, offering sacrifices of goats to him, and we continue to worship him to this day, assigning to him a place in the sacred grove with Jahir Era and Monika. Our ancestors made no sojourn in Nagpur, but went on

*See 'Notes on a Tour through the Rajmahal Hills', by Colonel Walter Sherwill, *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, No. VII of 1851.

to Jhalda, then in possession of the Mundas, though now the Hindu Kurmis hold it.' (This is confirmed by the fact that all the old village sites in Jhalda are marked by the indelible monolithic monuments of the Mundas.) 'They next tried Patkum, but found no resting place among the Bhumij, and pushed on to Saont, and finding much forest there, settled and built good houses and began to enjoy themselves, according to our custom, and to dance, play, and sing. But the Saont Raja, seeing our maidens dancing, took a fancy to them, and demanded that one should be given to him. This was refused, and the people dreading the consequence of refusal, left the Saont country and went to Sikhar. It was from our long sojourn in Saont that we took the name of Santal; we were previously called Kharwars. We formed numerous villages in what is now the eastern part of the Manbhum district; but as we increased and the jungle disappeared, colonies of our people went west and took up Sonabadi and Guttiari in the Gola Pargana (Hazaribagh district) and Sikhar, through which the Damudar flows. My ancestor was the leader of the colony that took up Sonabadi. There were many Kharwar Rajas in those days, and one was established at Gola, to whom my ancestor paid tribute. In the time of my grandfather, Kangal Parganait, the Ghatwali system was introduced (that is, they were required to protect the roads and passes), and it was in his time that the English were first seen in our country. One of them carrying a red stick, and thence called Lal-lathi, came to Sonabadi. He had followers with brass-engraved plates on their breasts and two strange looking dogs, and he asked for the headman, and when my grandfather appeared, they tied him up and ordered him to point out land on which a bungalow could be built, and on my grandfather giving the land was released. There was much iron ore lying about. Lal-lathi immediately set the smelters at work, made quantities of iron and sent it all out of the country.'

Thus briefly and quaintly Bagh Rai tells, according to his light, the history of his race from the creation to the establishment of British rule. The delineation of the first bold Briton that appeared amongst them, energetic and practical, is evidently a life picture. The explanation regarding Lal-lathi is probably nothing more than a Santal gloss on the word 'Wilayati', foreigner. The tradition that Bagh Rai gives of the origin of his race will be found at length, though somewhat differently told, in Mr. Hunter's 'Rural Bengal' and Mr. Mann's work. If, as is not impossible, the Santals crossed the Bay of Bengal in coming to India, the wild goose may be the white sailed vessel that bore them. The more detailed versions of the legend have been obviously filled in from Brahmanical sources. The Santals now speak of the Damudar as their sea, and the ceremonies in honour of their dead are always considered incomplete till some charred fragment of the burnt body is committed to the stream to be borne away to the ocean.

I am unable to identify the Ahiri Pipri, but Khairagarh and Chai Champa are in the Hazaribagh or Ramgarh district, and to Chai Champa remote Santals, as well as those in this district, frequently allude.

At Chai there is an old fort, the walls of which, of earth and stones, enclose a space of about five acres of land. The tradition about it is, that it was the abode of Jangra, a Santal Raja, who destroyed himself and his family on hearing of the approach of a Muhammadan army under General Sayyid Ibrahim Ali,* *alias* Malik Baya. A Muhammadan officer named Hazrat Fath Khan Duala was placed in charge of the fort, and on his dying there, a place of worship or 'Darga' was erected near his grave. There is another fort at Mangarh, four miles from Chai, which is also assigned by tradition to a Santal chief called Man Singh. He abandoned his fort on the approach of the Muhammadans. At and about Chai it is said that there were formerly six Santal Chiefs, three in Bihar and three in the Hazaribagh district.

Saont

Saont, supposed to have given the Santals their present name, is Silda in Mednipur. About the time that I was transcribing Bagh Rai's narrative, my friend Babu Rakhaldas Haldhar, Assistant Commissioner, Chutia Nagpur, was, at my request, making some enquiries regarding Santals in the eastern district, and without having heard what Bagh Rai had stated, he wrote to ask me if this might not be the place where the Santals first settled. He tells me that Pargana Silda, in which the Santals still predominate, is properly called Samanta Bhumi, and that Chatna, adjoining it, but in the Manbhum district, is admittedly a corruption of the same name. Whether this name was first given to that part of the country in consequence of its being inhabited by 'Saontals', or that the people took the name from the country as stated by Bagh Rai, I cannot tell; but putting together all the facts and legends that we possess, it is probable that the Santals were originally located in Eastern Bengal from the sea-coast inwards, and that colonies were gradually pushed on to the Hazaribagh district, or to Chai Champa and Kharakdia, and from thence northward, and that Bagh Rai's account of their movement eastward from Chai Champa to Saont through Chutia Nagpur is the reverse of what took place.

Relationship with the Kharwars

Another very remarkable circumstance touched on by Bagh Rai is the implied relationship between the Santals and Kharwars. In writing about the latter long before I had seen Bagh Rai (*vide* page 130), I gave some reasons for suspecting such a relationship, and Mr. Mann and Mr. Hunter both note that Kharwar, or a name like it, is an old name of the Santals. In the traditions of Bihar and Shahabad, as given in Buchanan Hamilton's work, the Cheros, Kols, and Kharwars are blended together, and it is probable that the Santals are not wrong in claiming relationship with the Kharwars, but by their own account the Santals have never played a prominent role in history; always clinging to the skirts of hills and forests and constantly shifting, they appear never to have advanced beyond the polity of a village community. Ignoring all relationship with other Kolarians, they yet have no tradition that they ever formed a nation or had a Raja or ruler of their own; and though great vocalists and melodists, they have no song commemorative of ancient glory. When they rose in 1855 A.D., it is probable that they contemplated no more than the extermination of their tormentors, the money-lenders. It is at all events the first time we hear of them in revolt, though so constantly migrating to avoid oppression. I cannot but think that the Mundas and Hos, who tenaciously cling to their holdings and have always shown themselves ready to fight for them, if necessary, must have the prestige of superior birth. There are many reasons for supposing that the Cheros, who were a ruling race, and the Mundas and Hos, are of the same stock, but the Santals and Kharwars may have become one people with them after having been subjugated.

The Santals, like the Kharwars, belong to, or have mixed much with, the dark races of India. The Cheros, Hos, and Mundas are, on the whole, fairer and preserve more distinctly traits of the Tartar type.

Physical traits

The Santals are noticeable for a great vagueness in the chiselling of the feature, a general tendency to roundness of outline where sharpness is more conducive to beauty, a blubbery style of face, and both in male and female a greater tendency to corpulency than we meet in their cognates. Their faces are almost round; cheekbones moderately prominent; eyes full and

*He is also called Malik Bayu, and was a General of Muhammad Tughluk. He died in the second year of Firuzshah's reign, on the 13th Zil Hajjah, 753 A.H., or 20th January, 1353 A.D. His tomb is in the town of Bihar. The legends of the district frequently mention his name.

straight, not obliquely set in the head: nose, if at all prominent, of somewhat a retroussee style, but generally broad and depressed; mouth large, and lips very full and projecting; hair straight and coarse and black. Mr. Mann notes of them, and I concur in the remark, that their cast of countenance almost approaches the Negro type. The females, he says, have small hands and feet, and are ox-eyed, and these are characteristics which the tribes linguistically allied to them do not possess. Mr. Hunter describes them as about the same height as the ordinary Hindu, but I should feel inclined to consider them as rather below that standard; he further well characterises* them, as 'created to labour rather than to think, better fitted to serve the manual exigencies of the present than to speculate on the future or venerate the past'.

Tribal divisions

The Santals, like the Israelites, are divided into twelve tribes. 1, Saran; 2, Murmu; 3, Marli; 4, Kisku; 5. Besera: 6, Hansda; 7, Tudi; 8, Baski; 9, Hemrow; 10, Kharwar, 11, Chorai; 12, . Except No. 11, the above agree with the nomenclature of tribal divisions of Santal tribes given in Mr. Mann's work; numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 11 with the names of the seven sons of the first parents in Mr. Hunter's essay. Numbers 2, 3, 6, 9, and 11 are found in the list of the tribes of the Singbhum Larka Kols, or Hos. This is remarkable, as the legends of origin handed down among the Larkas have little in common with the traditions of the Santals; and though the former also assign twelve sons to the first parents, they were the primogenitors, not of the various tribes, or kilis, or Hos, but of different families of mankind, including Hindus and Santals, the latter being the offspring of the youngest pair, who, when told to separate from the family, selected pig as their staple food. The names given above include only one to which a meaning is attached, 'Murmu', which signifies the Nilgao, *Portax (Antelpe) pictus*, and the Murmus may not kill the animal whose name they adopt, nor touch its flesh.

Polity

The polity of the Santals is very patriarchal. In each village there is, 1st, a Jagmanjhi, whose most important duty is apparently to look after the morals of the boys and girls, and if he is at all straightlaced, they must often lead him a hard life of it; 2nd, a Paramanik, whose business it is to attend to the farming arrangements and to apportion the lands. He disallows any monopoly of peculiarly fertile rice lands; all must take their share of good and bad. He has to look after the interests of new settlers and to provide for guests, levying contributions for the purpose on the villagers. All the offices are hereditary; when a new settlement is formed the office-bearers are elected, after that the next of kin succeeds.

Festivals

There is a village priest, who is called Naia (Nayaka, *Vulgo* Laya). This is a word of Sanskrit derivation, and as they have no name in their own language for such a functionary, it is probably not an original institution. He has lands assigned to him, but out of the profits of his estate he has to feast the people twice in the year—at the festival of the Sarhul, held towards the end of March, when the Sal tree blossoms, and at the Moi Muri festival, held in the month of Aswin (September-October), for a blessing on the crops. At the Sohrai feast, the harvest home, in December, the Jagmanjhi entertains the people, and the cattle are anointed with oil and daubed with vermilion, and a share of the handia, rice beer, is given to each animal. Every third year in most houses, but in some every fourth or fifth year, the head of the family offers a goat to the sun god 'Sing-Bonga' for the prosperity of the family, especially of the children, 'that they may not be cut off by disease, or fall into sin'. The sacrifice is offered at sunrise on any open space cleaned and purified for the occasion.

*Rural Bengal, p. 146.

The supreme deity

A very important distinction is observed by all the Kolarians in the motive of the sacrifices to the supreme deity and those by which the minor gods are propitiated. To Sing-Bonga the sacrifice is to secure a continuance of his mercies and for preservation. The other deities are resorted to when disease or misfortune visit the family, the sacrifice being to propitiate the spirit, who is supposed to be afflicting or punishing them.

Worship of ancestral names

Ancestors are worshipped, or rather their memory is honoured, at the time of the Sohrai festival, and offerings made at home by each head of a family. In the meantime the Naia propitiates the local devils, 'bhuts'. In many villages the Santals join with the Hindus in celebrating the Durga Puja, the great festival in honour of Devi, and the Holi in honour of Krishna. Their own priests take no part in the ceremonial observances at those Hindu feasts; they are left to the Brahmans.

Priestly functions

The person or persons, who have to offer sacrifices at the Santal feasts have to prepare themselves for the duty by fasting and prayer and by placing themselves for some time in a position of apparent mental absorption. The beating of drums appears at last to arouse them, and they commence violently shaking their heads and long hair till they work themselves into a real or apparent state of involuntary or spasmodic action, which is the indication of their being possessed. They may then give oracular answers to interrogatories regarding the future, or declare the will of the spirit invoked or about to be propitiated. When the demoniacal possession appears to have reached its culminating point, the possessed men seize and decapitate the victims and pour the blood into vessels ready placed for its reception.

Minor deities

Among the Santals in Chutia Nagpur, Sing-Bonga, the sun, is the supreme god, the creator and preserver. The other deities are 'Jahir Era', Monika, and Marang Buru, and they are all malignant and destructive. In the eastern districts the tiger is worshipped, but in Ramgarh only those, who have suffered loss through that animal's ferocity condescend to adore him. If a Santal is carried off by a tiger, the head of the family deems it necessary to propitiate the 'Bagh Bhut' (tiger devil). Occasionally the villagers all join in sacrificing a bullock or buffalo to Marang Buru. They have no very clear conception to what Buru, or mountain, their devotions should be especially paid, but he is honoured as Lord of the Jungles. The Santals further east adore deities and Chando Bonga, the moon god, and Bagh Bhut, the tiger; and to be sworn on a tiger-skin is the most solemn of oaths.

Food

Santals who, under the example and precept of Bengali Hindus, have adjured some practices considered impure by the latter, are called Sat Santals, that is, pure Santals; but there is a national antagonism between them and the Hindus that prevents any close fraternization or communion between the races. They are not over-particular about food, but nothing will induce them to eat rice cooked by a Hindu, even by a Brahman. Unfortunately during the famine of 1866 this was not known to us The cooks, who prepared the food distributed at the relief centres were all Brahmans, and it was supposed that this would suit all classes, but the Santals kept aloof, and died rather than eat from hands so hateful to them. They have no tradition to account for this bitter feeling. The animosity remains, though its cause is forgotten.

Social custom

The Santal parents have to undergo purification five days after childbirth; a kind of gruel is prepared, and after a libation to Sing Bonga or Marang Buru, it is

served out to the mother and the other members of the family. An eldest son is always named after his grandfather, other children after other relations. The Santals have adopted as a rite the tonsure of children and do not appear to recognise the necessity for any other ceremonial observance till their marriage when adult. Child marriage is not practised.

There is no separate dormitory for the boys and girls in a Santal village. Accommodation is decorously provided for them in the house of the parents, but the utmost liberty is given to the youth of both sexes. The old people, though affecting great regard for the honour of the girls, display great confidence in their virtue. Unrestrained they resort to markets, to festivals and village dances in groups; and if late in the evening, they return under escort of the young men, who have been their partners in the dances or have played to them; no harm is thought of it.

Music

The peculiar emblem of the Santals should be the flute; they are distinguished from all people in contact with them by their proficiency on that instrument. Made of bamboo not less than one inch in diameter, and about two feet in length, they are equal in size to the largest of our concert flutes and have deep rich tones. This faculty of playing the flute and a general knowledge of singing and dancing were, they say, imparted to them by their first parents, and it was also by their first parents that they were taught the mysteries of the home brew, and they, therefore, consider there can be no great harm in freely indulging in it.

Dances

There is always reserved an open space in front of the Jag-manjhi's house as a dancing place. To this the young men frequently resort after the evening meal, and the sound of their flutes and drums soon attract the maidens, who smooth and adjust their long hair, and adding to it a flower or two, blithely join them.

It is singular that in this national amusement of the Santals we have handed down to us a most vivid living representation of one prominent scene in the sports of Krishna in Vraja and Vrindavana. There is nothing in modern Hindu life that at all illustrates the animated scenes so graphically delineated in the Purans; but the description of the 'Rasa' dance in Chapter XIII, Book V, of the Vishnu Puran, might be taken literally as an account of the Santal 'Jumhir'. We have in both the maidens decked with flowers and ornamented with tinkling bracelets, the young men with garlands of flowers and peacocks' feathers, holding their hands and closely compressed, so that the breast of the girl touches the back of the man next to her, going round in a great circle, limbs all moving as if they belonged to one creature, feet falling in perfect cadence; the dancers in the ring singing responsive to the musicians in the centre, who fluting, drumming, and dancing too are the motive power of the whole, and form an axis of the circular movement.

Thus, as the pivot for the dances, sometimes sported Krishna and his favourite companions, 'making sweet melody with voices and flutes', but more frequently they took their places in the ring, 'each feeling the soft pressure of two maidens in the great circling dance'.

We are told that Krishna when he thought the lovely light of autumn propitious for the Rasa dance, with Rama commenced singing sweet low strains in various measures such as the Gopis (milkmaids) loved, and they as soon as they heard the melody quitted their homes and joined him; just so, on a moonlight night, the Santal youth invite the Santal maidens. Professor Wilson, in his note on the passages of the Vishnu Puran referred to above, observes that the 'Ras Yatra' is celebrated in various parts of India in the month of Kartika (October), but that a circular dance of men and women does not form any prominent feature at these entertainments, and he doubts if it ever is performed. In the late autumn months the Kols and Oraons have numerous yatras or jatras, at which these circular dances are performed by thousands. I will revert to these yatras in describing the Oraons of Chutia Nagpur.*

Marriages

With such freedom of intercourse, it follows that marriages are generally love matches, and, on the whole, happy ones; but it is considered more respectable if the arrangements are made by the parents or guardians without any acknowledged reference to the young people. The price to be paid for the girl, averaging five rupees, with presents of cloths to her parents, having been determined on, a day is fixed for a preliminary feast, and afterwards for the marriage itself, and a knotted string; which shows the number of days that intervene, is kept as a memorandum. Each morning one of these knots is removed by the impatient lover, and when the last is loosened, the bridegroom and his friends with noisy music set out for the abode of the bride. As they approach the village, the Jag-manjhi comes out to meet them, attended by women with water to wash the feet of the guests, who are then escorted to the house of the bride, and the two mingling together merrily sing, dance, and feast in front of the bride's chamber. At the last quarter of the night, the bridegroom makes his appearance riding on the lap of one of his comrades, and soon after the bride is brought out by a brother or brother-in-law in a basket. Then comes the inevitable 'sindur dan'. The groom daubs his lady-love on the crown and brow very copiously with vermilion (sindur), and the assembled guests applaud with cries of 'Hari bol'. The bride and groom, who have fasted all the day now eat together, and this is supposed to be the first time that the girl has sat with a man at her food. It is creditable to the Kolarians that this custom has been retained through ages, notwithstanding the derision with which it is viewed by all Hindus. On the following day before the party breaks up, the young people are thus admonished by one of the sages, 'Oh boy! oh girl! you are from this day forth to comfort each other in sickness or sorrow. Hitherto you have only played and worked (as directed), now the responsibility of the household duties is upon you; practise hospitality, and when a kinsman arrives wash his feet, and respectfully salute him'. No priest officiates during a Santal marriage. The social meal that the boy and the girl eat together is the most important part of the ceremony, as by the act the girl ceases to belong to her father's tribe, and becomes a member of her husband's family.

Santals seldom have more than one wife, and she is treated with most exemplary kindness and consideration. Should the husband be for any reason, as her barrenness, induced to seek a second partner during her lifetime, the first wife is never deposed from her position as head of the household; the second wife must obey her and serve her.

Daily life

A Santal in prosperous season leads a pleasant life. He is either busy with his cultivation or playing his flute, or dancing with the girls, or engaged in the chase. He throws himself with ardour into the latter pursuit, and in hunting down beasts of prey he evinces great skill and powers of endurance and indomitable pluck.

Hunting expeditions

They have every year a great hunting festival in which thousands take part. These expeditions are organized with as much care and forethought, as if the hosts engaged in them were about to undertake a military campaign, and take place in the hot season, when the beasts have least cover to conceal themselves in. When the array of hunters reaches the ground on which operations against the wild beasts are to commence, they form a line of beaters several miles in length, every man armed with a bow and arrows and a battle-axe, and accompanied by dogs, who, though ugly creatures to look at, appear, like their masters, to be endowed with a

**See* also description of the dance of the Hayas, p. 106.

true hunting instinct. When they emerge from the woods on open spaces, the game of all kinds that are driven before them suddenly appear. Birds take wing and are beaten down with sticks or shot with arrows; quadrupeds, great and small, are similarly treated, and in this way deer, pig, jungle fowl, peafowl, hare, etc., are bagged; but tigers and bears on these occasions of open warfare are generally avoided.

These hunting excursions last for four or five days, and at the end of each day the Santals feast merrily on the contents of their bags and thoroughly enjoy themselves. Their rule in regard to possession of an animal killed is that it belongs to him, who first wounded it, no matter by whom the *coup de grace* may have been inflicted.

Character as police constables

The Santals employed in the police force are very highly spoken of by an officer, who long commanded them. They may not be expert detectives in tortuous cases, but in following up dacoits and attacking them when caught, they are far superior to the ordinary Bengali constables, and many instances of their activity and pluck have been related to me. Living as they generally do on the edges of forests, their constitutions are proof against malaria, and they may be employed on outpost duty in localities that are deadly to most people. They have been thus utilized on the grand trunk road in places where the jungle comes down to the road.

It often happens that the virtues of Santals employed in the police 'are sanctified and holy traitors to them', their truthfulness and honesty cause them to be mistrusted by the more corrupt members of the force, and if their officer is not careful in protecting them, they are often worried into resigning it; besides their peccadilloes are watched and reported by men, who are hostile to them, and this often bars their promotion or leads to their dismissal. It is said that they are losing their character for truthfulness; I have not myself found this. The Santals in Singbhum, who live much to themselves, are a very simple-minded people, almost incapable of deception.

Costume

The Santals dress better than most of their cognates. This also, it appears, is derived from the instruction of their first parents, who appointed the size of the garments that were to be worn respectively by male and female, but omitted to teach their offspring how they were to be made. They have no weavers among their own people. According to the tradition, the progenitors of the race gave their children an ornamental rather than a useful education; they taught them to sing and dance and play on the flute and drum, but failed to instruct them in any useful art.

The women wear ample 'saris', a large thick cloth not less than six yards in length with a gay red border. One-half of this forms the lower garment secured at the waist, but not so as to impede the free action of the limbs; the other half is passed over the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder, arm, and part of the breast free, and allowed to hang down in front. It is not, as with Hindu maidens, used also as a veil. The heads of young girls are generally uncovered, displaying a mass of black, rather coarse, but sometimes wavy hair, gathered into a large knob at one side of the back of the head, ornamented with flowers or with tufts of colored silk.

'Their arms, ankles, and throats* are each laden with heavy brass or bell-metal ornaments. I had a quantity of these ornaments weighed and found that the bracelets fluctuated from two to four pounds', and the entire weight sustained by one of these bells was found to be no less than thirty-four pounds of brass or bell-metal. The average may be estimated at about twelve pounds.

*From Colonel Walter Sherwill's notes.

The Santal women are represented by all, who have written about them as exceedingly chaste, yet the young people of the different sexes are greatly devoted to each other's society and pass much time together. No one has observed of them that they have custom of an immoral tendency, such as obtain among the Mundas and Oraons; but I do not suppose there is in this respect much difference between the three tribes. In all these the results of the nocturnal dances and freedom of intercourse must be pretty much the same, and Jagmanjhis have admitted to me that they have plenty of such love affairs to arrange.

Funeral ceremonies

In funeral ceremonies the Santal varies from the practice of the Ho and Munda tribes. The body is borne away on a charpai (cot) by kinsmen, and when it reaches a cross-road, some parched rice and cotton seed are scattered about as a charm against the malignant spirits that might throw obstacles in the way of the ceremony; it is then taken to a funeral pile near some reservoir or stream and placed on it. The son or brother is the first to apply fire to the body by placing a piece of burning wood on the face of the corpse, and soon all that is left are ashes and a few charred fragments of bones of the skull, which are carefully preserved. Towards evening, it is customary for a man to take his seat near the ashes with a winnowing fan, in which he tosses rice till a phrensy appears to seize him, and he becomes inspired and says wonderful things. After the incremation, the immediate relatives of the deceased have to undergo a quarantine, as impure, for five days. On the sixth, they shave themselves and bathe, and after the sacrifice of a cock repair for consolation to the nearest liquor shop.

In due course the bones that have been saved are taken by the nearest of kin to the Damudar. He enters the stream bearing the sacred relics on his head in a basket, and selecting a place where the current is strong, he dips and commits the contents of his basket to the water, to be borne away to the great ocean as the resting place of the race.

All inquirers on the subject appear to have arrived at the conclusion that the Santals have no belief in a future state. The pilgrimage to the Damudar with the remains is simply an act of reverence and affection unconnected with any idea that there is a place where those who have left this world may again meet.

It is to be observed that when the Santals in disposing of their dead differ from the Mundas, the former approximate to the Brahmanical custom. It is in fact a rough outline of the Brahman ritual, and only wants filling in. The halting at cross-roads and the scattering of rice, the application of fire first to the head by a relation, the collecting of the charred bones, especially those of the head, are all included in the ceremonies enjoined on Brahmans and orthodox Hindus.

The Brahman, like the Santal, carefully preserves the bones in an earthen vessel; he is ordered to bury them in a safe place till a convenient season arrives for his journey to the sacred river—in his case the Ganges—where he consigns the vessel with its contents to the waters.

VII

(i) THE BRAHMAN

Extract from 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal' by H. H. Risley, I.C.S.
(Volume I, Official Edition, published in 1891, *pp.* 143-62)

Internal structure

The Brahman caste is commonly divided into ten large classes, according to their locality: five on the north and five on the south of the Vindhya range. The classes are thus arranged in a Sanskrit mnemonic stanza quoted by Dr. Wilson:

(I) The five Dravidas, south of the Vindhya range:

(1) The Maharashtras, of the country of the Marathi language.

(2) The Andhras or Tailangas, of the country of the Telugu language.

(3) The Dravidas, of the country of the Dravidian or Tamil language.

(4) The Karnatas, of the Karnatika, the country of the Canarese language.

(5) The Gurjaras, of Gurjarashtra, or the country of the Gujrati language.

(II) The five Gauras, north of the Vindhya range:

(1) The Saraswatas, so called from the country watered by the river Saraswati.

(2) The Kanyakubjas, so called from the Kanwakubja or Kanauj country.

(3) The Gauras, so called from Gaur, or the country of the Lower Ganges

(4) The Utkalas, of the province of Utkala or Odra (Orissa).

(5) The Maithilas, of the province of Mithila (Tirhut).

The Brahmans found in the Lower Provinces of Bengal belongs to one or other of the Gaura groups. The Bengal Brahmans are divided into five main sub-castes—Rarhi, Barendra, Vaidik, Saptasati, and Madhya-sreni.

Rarhi

The Rarhi Brahmans derive their name from the Rarh, or the high-lying alluvial tract on the west bank of the river Bhagirathi. Their claim to be of comparatively pure Aryan descent is to some extent borne out by the results of the anthropometric inquiries recorded in another volume of this work. The current tradition is that early in the eleventh century A.D., Adisura or Adisvara, King of Bengal, finding the Brahmans then settled in Bengal too ignorant to perform for him certain Vedic ceremonies, applied to the Raja of Kanauj for priests thoroughly conversant with the sacred ritual of the Aryans. In answer to this request five Brahmans of Kanauj were sent to him—Bhatta Narayana of the Sandilya section or gotra; Daksha of the Kasyapa gotra; Vedagarva or Vidagarbha of the Vatsa gotra, or, as other accounts say, from the family of Bhrigu, Chandra or Chhandara of the Savarna gotra; and Sriharsa of the Bharadwaja gotra. They brought with them their wives, their sacred fire, and their sacrificial implements. It is said that Adisura was at first disposed to treat them with scanty respect, but he was soon compelled to acknowledge his mistake and to beg the Brahmans to forgive him. He then made over to them five populous villages, where they lived for a year. Meanwhile the king was so impressed with the superhuman virtue of Bhatta Narayana, who was a son of Kshitisa, King of Kanauj, that he offered him several more villages. The Brahman, however, declined to take these as a gift, but bought them, as the story goes, at a low price. They were annexed to the village already in Bhatta Narayana's possession, and the whole area was relieved from payment of revenue for twenty-four years. Thus tradition chronicles an early *Brahmottar* grant, the first it may be of the long series of similar transactions which have played so important a part in the history of land tenures, in the development of castes, and in promoting the spread of orthodox Hinduism throughout Bengal. Adisura did what the Rajas of outlying tracts of country have constantly done since and are doing still. A local chief, far removed from the great centres of Brahmanical lore, somehow becomes aware of his ceremonial shortcomings. Probably, as is narrated of Adisura himself, a wandering Brahman brings home to him that his local ritual is not up to the orthodox standard. He sends for Brahmans, gives them grants of land near his own residence, and proceeds with their assistance to reform his ways on the model of the devout kings whom Brahmanical literature hold up as the ideal for a Raja to follow after. The Brahmans find for him a pedigree of respectable antiquity or provide him with a family legend, and in course of time he succeeds in getting himself recognised as a member of some branch of the great Rajput community.

Although the immigrant Brahmans brought their wives with them tradition says that they contracted second marriages with the women of Bengal, and that their children by the latter were the ancestors of the Barendra Brahmans. The Barendra, on the other hand, claim to represent the offspring from the original Hindustani wives, and allege that the Rarhi Brahmans themselves spring from the mesalliance contracted in Bengal.

By the middle of the eleventh century, when Ballal Sen, the second of the Sen kings of Bengal, instituted his famous inquiry into the personal endowments of the Rarhi Brahmans, their numbers seem to have increased greatly. They are represented as divided into 56 gains or headships of villages, which were reserved for them, and might not be encroached upon by Brahmans of other orders.

It is interesting to trace in Ballal Sen's inquiry the survival or reassertion of the principle referred to above as recognised in ancient times, that the Brahmanhood of the Brahman depends not merely on birth, but also upon personal endowments. It is a question of virtue, not a question of descent. Ballal Sen, of course, could not go so far as this. The time had long passed when a Kshatriya could transform himself into a Brahman by penance and self-denial. But the Sen monarch sought to reaffirm the ancient principle, so far as was then possible, by testing the qualifications of each Rarhi family for the priestly office, and classifying them, in the order of their virtue, according to the results of this examination. The following nine qualities were selected to serve as the touch-stone of sacerdotal purity: Achar, ceremonial purity; vinaya, discipline; vidya, learning; pratishtha, reputation for purity; tirtha-darsana, zeal in pilgrimage; nishtha, piety, avritti, observance of legal marriages; tapa, ascetic self-devotion; dana, liberality.

Tradition is silent concerning the precise method in which Ballal Sen carried out his somewhat inquisitorial measures. It seems, however, to be certain that some kind of inquiry into the nine characteristic Brahmanical qualities was held under his orders, and that the kul or social and ceremonial standing of each family was determined accordingly. Some say that twenty-two gains were raised to the highest distinction. Lakshmana Sen discarded fourteen gains on account of their misconduct, and they became gauna Kulins, an order which has now disappeared. Nineteen families belonging to the other eight gains were made Kulins. The other families of these eight gains were lost sight of. Thus two classes or grades of sacerdotal virtue were formed: (1) the Kulin, being those who had observed the entire nine counsels of perfection; (2) the Srotriya, who though regular students of the Vedas, had lost avritti by intermarrying with families of inferior birth. The Srotriya

were again subdivided into Siddha or perfect, Sadhya or capable of attaining purity, and Kashta or difficult. The last named group was also called Ari or enemy, because a Kulin marrying a daughter of that group was disgraced.

Marriage

The relations of these three classes in respect of marriage were regulated by the principle laid down in the Institutes of Manu for members of the three twice-born castes, a principle for which Mr. Denzil Ibbetson has adopted the convenient and expressive name of *hypergamy*. The rule was that a man of the Kulin class could marry a woman of his own class or of the two higher Srotriya classes; a Siddha Srotriya could marry in his own group or in the Sadhya Srotriya group, while the Sadhya and Kashta Srotriyas might take wives only within the limits of their own classes. Conversely, women of the Sadhya Srotriya class could marry in their own class or the two classes above them; Siddha Srotriya women in their own class or in the Kulin class; while Kulin women at one end of the scale and Kashta women at the other were restricted in their choice of husbands to the Kulin and Kashta groups. Unequal or irregular marriages involved loss or reputation and forfeiture of rank. On the other hand, the marriage of a girl into a good Kulin house conferred a sort of reflected honour on her own family, and in course of time this idea was developed into the doctrine known as *kula-gotra*, whereby the reputation of a family depended upon the character of the marriages made by its female members.

This singular and artificial organization deranged the natural balance of the sexes, and set up a vigorous competition for husbands among the women of the higher groups. The Bansajas are those Kulins who lost their distinction on account of misconduct, i.e., their want of charity, discipline, and due observance of marriage law, three qualities which in later times constituted Kulinism

The growth of the Bansaja class introduced a further element of complication. In the struggle for husbands, Kulin girls who had no brothers or whose mothers were widows were often given to the sons of Bansaja parents; but families resorting to this device were excluded from the recognised cadre. Thus the brothers of a girl who married beneath her at once became Bansaja, but this degradation did not extend to her uncles. If an original Kulin married a Bansaja maiden, he himself became a Swakrita Bhanga or broken Brahman. His descendants in the second generation were known as Dwipurusha, in the third as Tripurusha, and in the fourth as Chaturthapurusha. After this stage special designations were dropped, and the branch was merged in the Bansaja class. Although in theory these lower branches were completely cut off from the original hierarchy formed by Ballal Sen, natural instincts could not be wholly eradicated from a number of closely related families, and girls of the Bhanga and Bansaja groups used to marry their cousins of the elder branch It might perhaps have been expected that these groups would have been admitted to the same privileges as the Srotriya, but this was not the case.

The invasion of Bengal by the Muhammadans in 1203 and the instant collapse of the Hindu kingdom was not without its effect upon the matrimonial organization of the Rarhi Brahmans. Ballal Sen's reforms had been imposed upon the caste by the order of a Hindu ruler, and their observance depended upon the maintenance of his supervising authority. When this check was removed, the system could no longer hold together, and soon showed signs of breaking up completely. Artificial restrictions had been introduced; the natural balance of the sexes had been disturbed, and a disastrous competition for husbands had set in among the three original groups. New and inferior groups had sprung up, and their natural ambitions still further swelled the demand for Kulin husbands. The pressure of necessity soon showed itself too strong for the rules. Poor Kulins sold their family rank and honour for the bridegroom-price, which had taken the place of the bride-price of earlier times; they added to the number of their wives without regard to the respectability of the families from which they came; and they raised their prices as the supply of suitable husbands diminished and competition ran higher for a Kulin bridegroom.

The reforms undertaken in the fourteenth century by Devi Vara, a ghatak or geneologist of Jessore, extended only to the Kulins. These were divided into three grades—(i) Swabhava or original Kulins, (ii) Bhanga, (iii) Bansaja. The Swabhava grade was further subdivided into 36 *mels* or endogamous groups,* each bearing the name of the original ancestor of the clan or of his village. This restriction of the marriages of Kulins to their own *mel* was the leading feature of Devi Vara's reform. Its principle was adopted and extended, it is believed, by the Kulins themselves, in the singular arrangements known as Palti-Prakriti, or preservation of the type, by which families of equal rank were formed into triple groups as it were, for matrimonial purposes, and bound to observe a sort of reciprocity. Thus Mukhuti families were bound to marry their sons to the daughters of the Chaterji and Banerji families, and *vice versa*. All kinds of complications are said to have arisen from this understanding. If, for example, the Mukhuti had only one marriageable son and the Chatterji or Banerji ten daughters approaching puberty, the former must marry all ten or all must remain spinsters. Meantime the rush of competition for Kulin husbands on the part of Bhanga, Bansaja, and Srotriya classes was as strong as before, while the proportionate number of pure Kulins had been reduced by the loss of those who had become Bhangas and Bansajas. In order to dispose of the surplus of women in the higher groups polygamy was introduced, and was resorted to on a very large scale. It was popular with the Kulins because it enabled them to make a handsome income by the accident of their birth; and it was accepted by the parents of the girls concerned as offering the only means of complying with the requirements of Hindu religion. Tempted by a *pan* or premium, which often reached the sum of two thousand rupees, Swabhava Kulins made light of their *kul* and its obligations, and married Bansaja girls, whom they left after the ceremony to be taken care of by their parents. Matrimony became a sort of profession, and the honour of marrying a daughter to a Bhanga Kulin is said to have been so highly valued in Eastern Bengal that as soon as a boy was ten years old his friends began to discuss his matrimonial prospects, and before he was twenty he had become the husband of many wives of ages varying from five to fifty.

With the spread of education among the upper classes of Bengal an advance in social morality has been made and the grosser forms of polygamy have fallen into disrepute But the artificial organization of the caste still presses hard on a Kulin father who is unlucky enough to have a large family of daughters. These must be married before they attain puberty or disgrace will fall on the family, and three generations of ancestors will be dishonoured. But a Kulin bridegroom can only be obtained by paying a heavy premium, many of the *mels* instituted by Devi Vara have died out, and in such cases, reciprocal marriage being no longer possible the son of a family left without a corresponding *mel* must marry the only daughter of a widow; while the daughter of a Kulin widow, for whom no husband of equal birth can be procured may be married to a Srotriya, and a premium accepted without endangering the family prestige.

*The names of the mels are as follows:—Phuliya, Khardaha, Sarvvanandi, Ballabhi, Surai, Acharya Sekhari, Pandit Ratni, Bangala, Gopala Ghataki, Chayanarendri, Pramadani, Dasaratha Ghataki, Subharajakhani, Nariya, Raya, Bhattaraghavi, Dehati, Chayi, Vijaya Pandit, Chadai, Madhai, Bidyadhari, Parihal, Sri Rangabhatti, Maladkara Khani, Kakumvi, Hari Majumdari, Sri Bandhani, Bhairava Ghataki, Achambita, Dharadhari, Vale, Raghava Ghosali, Sungo Sarvvanandi, Sadananda Khani, Chandravati,

According to Dr. Wise, a Kulin father in Eastern Bengal could only preserve his *kul* intact in one of three ways. By giving her to a Kulin of equal rank; by making an effigy (*Kusa-Kanya*) of her with *Kusa* grass and giving it in symbolical marriage to a Kulin; by saying to a Kulin in the presence of ghatak witnesses: 'I would give my daughter, if I had one, to you, and putting on his forehead the *tilak* or distinguishing mark which a married woman wears.

Barendra

It has been mentioned above that the Barendra Brahmans claim to be descended from the five Kanaujiya Brahmans imported by Adisura by their original or Hindustani wives. General tradition, however, rejects the latter portion of the claim, and holds that the Barendra are the offspring, not of the original wives, but of Bengali women whom the Kanaujiyas married after their settlement in Bengal. The sub-caste takes its name from the tract of country known as Barendra lying north of the river Padma between the Karatoya and Mahananda rivers, and corresponding roughly to the districts of Pabna, Rajshahi, and Bogra. Ballal Sen reorganised the Barendra at the same time as the Rarhi Brahmans, and divided them into three hypergamous classes: (1) Kulin, (2) Suddha or pure Srotriya, (3) Kashta or bad Srotriya. The first class was subdivided into eight *gains* or communes: Bhadra, Bhadri, Bhima, Lahari, Maitra, Rudra-Vagisi, Sadhu-Vagisi, and Santamani or Sandilya; the second into seven groups of the same kind; Atharthi, Bhattasali, Champati, Kamadevta, Karanjan, Nandanavasi, and Navsi; and the third into eighty-four families, the names of which need not be enumerated here. In addition to the *gains* we find among the Kulins a further division into eight *pati* or social grades: Atub-Kahni, Baini, Bosnah, Janail, Kutb-Kahni, Nirabhil, Panchuria, Rahala. The object of this grouping is not very clear. Every *gain* belongs to a *pati*, but the *pati* is not always identical with the *gain*, for members of the same *gain* sometimes marry into different *patis*. The *gains* appear to be in theory endogamous. The system of reciprocal marriage (palti-prakriti) which prevails among Rarhi Brahmans is unknown in the Barendra group. The rules governing the three main classes permit a Kulin to marry a Suddha-Srotriya girl, and the children of such a marriage rank as Kulins. Should he marry a Kashta-Srotriya, he losses his *kul* and becomes a Kap, an irregular group occupying much the same position as the Bansaja among Rarhi Brahmans. If a Barendra Kulin marries the daughter of a Kap, he himself is degraded to the group to which his wife belongs, but his children hold somewhat higher rank, and are deemed eligible for marriage to Kulins No Kulin girl may marry below her own class. If a suitable husband cannot be found, she goes through the form of symbolical marriage to a figure of *Kusa* grass, and has red lead smeared upon her forehead to show that she is really a wife. The gotras of the Barendra sub-caste are the same as those of the Rarhi, viz., Bharadwaja, Kasyapa, Sandilya, Sevarna and Vatsya. Their commonest titles are Bhattacharya, Bhumik, Chakravartti, Chaudhuri, Majumdar, Parihal, and Sikhdar.

Vaidik

Concerning the origin of the Vaidik Brahmans some differences of opinion exist. All agree in honouring them for their adherence to Vedic rites, their zeal for Vedic studies, their social independence, and their rejection of polygamy. From the fact that some of the most important settlements of the sub-caste are found in the outlying districts of Orissa and Sylhet, some authorities have been led to describe them as descendants of the original Brahmans of Bengal who refused to accept the reforms of Ballal Sen, and took refuge in regions beyond his jurisdiction. Genealogists of rival sub-castes maintain that Ballal Sen excluded them from his schemes on the ground that they did not come up to his standard of purity of descent. Buchanan mentions a tradition lingering among the Vaidik Brahmans of Dinajpur that they had been introduced into that district by Advait, Subuddhi Narayana, Raja of Sylhet. In Orissa, on the other hand, the representatives of this sub-caste are said to have come direct from Kanauj, and to have made their first settlement in Puri about the twelfth century A.D. This opinion derives support from Mr. Sherring's statement that the Kanaujiya Brahmans of Benares recognise the Vaidik as a branch of their own tribe who have settled in Bengal.

There are two main divisions of Vaidik Brahmans (1) Paschatya or western, claiming to have come from Kanauj, and (2) Dakshinatya or southern, tracing their origin to the original Bengal stock. The Paschatya had originally eleven *gotras*, divided into two groups, known as the *pancha* and *shash*. The former included Bharadwaja, Sandilya, Saunaka, Savarna, and Vasishtha, the latter, Gautam, Kasyapa, Krishnatreya, Rathikara, Sunaka, and Vachyara. The Bharadwaja *gotra*, however, became extinct, its place being taken by the Sunaka *gotra* of the Shash group. In course of time other *gotras*, Ghrita Kausiki, Maitrayali, Tuthikara, and Upamanya, came to be formed, but the relations of these to the original eleven are not very precisely defined.

Vaidik Brahmans have no Kulins, and their *ghataks* or genealogists are Brahmans of other sub-castes. Their titles are the same as those of other Bengal Brahmans: Bhattacharya, Chakravartti, and Thakur, are common designations among them. The Paschatya branch is said to have been formerly distributed in fourteen *sthans* or settlements. Three of these—Dadhichigram, Marichigram, and Santali have now disappeared, and even their sites are unknown. Of the remaining eleven, Chandradwip, Kotalipada, Samanta Sara, are in Backergunge; Alambi, Brahma Paraka, Javari in Rajshahi; Akhara, Gaurali, Pani Kantaka in Faridpur; Madhyadesa in Jessore; and Navadvipa in Nuddea. In theory, these settlements seem to have been of the same character as the *mels* created for the Rarhi Brahmans by Devi Vara. It was intended that all Vaidik Brahmans should reside in one of these villages, and that marriage should be restricted to the local limits laid down. At the present day, however, many families live elsewhere and intermarry with families similarly situated. They can, however, rejoin the original *Samaj* or association of communes on payment of a heavy fine.

Saptasati

According to popular tradition, the Saptasati Brahmans are descended from the seven hundred ignorant Brahmans sent by Adisura to the Court of Kanauj for the purpose of learning their priestly duties. Others trace their origin to certain Brahmans who were exiled beyond the Brahmaputra river for resisting the innovations of Ballal Sen. It seems to be certrain that they are peculiar to Bengal, and that they cannot claim connexion with any of the ten standard Brahmanical tribes. This view is borne out by the names of their *gotras*, which differ entirely from the standard Brahmanical series, and appear to be of a local or territorial rather than of an eponymous type. The Saptasati themselves virtually admit their inferiority to the other orders of Brahmans. Men of education and respectability are reluctant to admit that they belong to this sub-caste, all distinctive practices are being abandoned, and the entire group seems likely to be absorbed in the Srotriya grade of Rarhi Brahmans. The Saptasati have no Kulins, nor do they keep ghataks for the purpose of maintaining genealogies. Notwithstanding this, they give their daughters in marriage to Kulins of the Rarhi sub-caste, and by paying a heavy dowry, often amounting to as much as one thousand rupees may even obtain brides from families of the Srotriya class. It is further said that a Rarhi Kulin will eat and drink with the Saptasati, while a Bansaja, though of lower rank than a Kulin, would consider this a degradation. The ordinary title of the Saptasati is Sarma, not Dev-Sarma, as among the ten recognised tribes. Chakravartti, Chaudhuri, Rai, and Sarkar are also common appellations.

Madhyasreni

The Madhyasreni Brahmans profess to derive their name from the fact of their original settlements being in the district of Midnapur, lying midway (*Madhya-desa*) between Bengal and Orissa. They say that their ancestors were Rarhi Brahmans who settled early in Ballal Sen's reign in pargana Mayna in Midnapur. When Ballal Sen was engaged in classifying the Brahmans of the rest of Bengal according to their degree of virtue, he sent a *ghatak* or genealogist to the Brahmans settled in Mayna to include them in the scheme. They declined, however, to have anything to say to the institution of Kulinism, and there are no Kulins among them to this day. For their resistance to his orders, Ballal Sen ordered them to be cut off from the rest of the caste, and all intercourse between them and the Brahmans of Bengal proper was strictly forbidden The Rarhi Brahmans of the present day, with whom the Madhyasreni thus claim kinship, are by no means inclined to accept this legend as true. They point out that it is *prima facie* most unlikely that a colony of Rarhi Brahmans should have left their original seats for no particular reason, and have settled in an out-of-the-way place like pargana Mayna Again, it is said, if the Madhyasreni were really Rarhi Brahmans, how is it that they have eight *gotras*, including Parasara, Gautama and Ghrita Kausika, while the true Rarhi have only five? Gautama and Ghrita Kausika are found among the Brahmans of Orissa, and Parasara is said to be characteristic of the Saptasati Brahmans of Bengal, whose ignorance of correct ritual compelled Adisura to import the ancestors of the Rarhi Brahmans from Kanauj. On these grounds it is conjectured that the Madhyasreni Brahmans may be a composite group made up of members of the Rarhi, Utkal and Saptasati sub-castes, who for some reason broke off from their own classes, settled in an outlying district, and in course of time formed a new sub-caste. Some go so far as to suggest that the original Madhyasreni were expelled from their own sub-castes, and quote a local tradition attaching to them the name *Madyadoshi*, 'guilty of drunkenness,' in support of this view. Although the standard form of Kulinism is not recognised by the Madhyasreni, those families among them who bear the Rarhi Kulin names of Mukharji, Chatterji, Banerji, are specially sought after in marriage, which practically comes to much the same thing. Another curious form of hypergamy is also in force among them. People who live in the four villages (Bhamua in pargana Mayna, Gokulnagar in Chetua, and Maharajpur and Bhogdanda in Kedar) supposed to be the original seats of the caste are held in great honour, and residents of other villages who marry their daughters to them are expected to pay a heavy bridegroom-price.

Most of the Madhyasreni are worshippers of the Saktis, but in the matter of religion and ceremonial observances generally they do not depart materially from the practices of other Brahmans. It should be observed, however, that widows among them are allowed to eat uncooked food on the eleventh day of either fortnight of the moon, while the widows of other Brahmanical sub-castes are not allowed to touch even water on that day. Some Madhyasrenis again serve the Goalas or Gops as their family priests, and others are said to eat uncooked food at religious ceremonies performed by members of the Kaibartta caste, and to accept gifts from them on those occasions.

Sakadwipi

The Sakadwipi or Sakaldwipi Brahmans are supposed to have been brought by Rama from Ceylon for the purpose of practising medicine. According to another opinion they were the indigenous Brahmans of the ancient country of Magadha. Some say that it is for this reason that they were formerly called Magas. The name, however, has dropped into disuse, and the Sakadwipi themselves prefer the legend associating them with Rama's famous invasion to that connecting them with a part of the country proverbial among Hindus for its ceremonial impurity. At the present day the bulk of the sub-caste are employed as priests in Rajput families; some are landholders, some practise Hindu medicine. It is a curious fact that, although the Sakadwipi have the standard eponymous *gotras* of the Brahman caste, their marriages are regulated not by these, but by ninety-five *purs* or divisions of the local or territorial type; that is to say, a Sakadwipi man may marry a woman of his own *gotra* who in theory is descended from the same mythical ancestor (*rishi*) as himself, but may not marry a woman whose forefathers are shown by the name of her *pur* to have come from the same village or the same tract of country as his own. To abandon the *gotra* altogether and to substitute for it exogamous divisions based on a wholly different order of facts involves so serious a departure from orthodox usage that one is inclined to doubt whether the Sakadwipi can ever have been organized on the regular lines. This doubt is borne out by the statement made by Mr. Sherring,* that 'the test applied to a stranger pretending to be a Sakadwipi is to offer him what is called *jhutha pani*, or water from a vessel from which another person has drunk—a custom prohibited by all strict sects of Hindus. Should the stranger not be a Sakadwipi, he will refuse the water, probably with some indignation, as, by drinking it, his caste, whatever it was, would be broken. If a Sakadwipi, however, he will take it readily.'

**Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, p. 102.

(ii) THE KAYASTHA

Extract from 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal' by H. H. Risley,
(Volume I, Official Edition, published in 1891, *pp.* 438-54)

Traditions of origin

KAYASTHA, *Kaet*, *Kait*, *Kayath*, *Kaya*, the writer-caste of Bengal proper, a numerous and influential body, whose traditional origin has been the subject of much controversy. No mention of the caste occurs in Manu, and the Kayasths themselves reject the theory, which gives them for an ancestor the Karan, the son of a Vaisya father by a Sudra mother. The earliest reference to the Kayasths as a distinct caste occurs in Yajnavalkya, who describes them as writers and village accountants, very exacting in their demands from the cultivators. In the Padma and Bhabishya Puranas the Kayasths are made out to be the children of Chitragupta, the supreme recorder of man's virtues and vices, who sprang from the body (*kaya*) of Brahma, and this was the first Kayastha. The Skanda Purana gives them a more distinguished ancestry. It tells how Parasurama's efforts to exterminate the Kshatriya race were time after time defeated by the birth of sons to the Kshatriya women, whom he spared when their husbands were killed. Determined to clear the earth of the obnoxious tribe, he resolved to show mercy no longer, even to women in their pregnancy. In fulfilment of this vow he pursued the widow of the Kshatriya Raja Chandra Sen into the hermitage of Dalabhya Rishi, where she had taken refuge, and demanded that she should be given up to him. But Dalabhya begged the life of the child in the Rani's womb, and his request was granted by Parasu Rama on the condition that the child should be called Kayastha and should be brought up to follow the ritual of the Sudras, and not that of the twice-born castes. On this showing the Kayasthas are by birth Kshatriyas of full blood, but

by reason of their following the ceremonies of the Sudras they are called Vratya or incomplete Kshatriyas. The faint suggestion of inferiority, which this term implies seems on the whole to be borne out by the position assigned in the Mrichhakatika to the Kayastha, who sits with the Judge as assessor in the trial described in the ninth act of the play. He is charged with the ministerial duty of recording evidence under the orders of the Judge, and he, like the other assessor, Sreshthi, speaks Prakrit, while the Judge and the principal defendant use the more dignified Sanskrit From the Mrichhakatika we pass on to the more recent and more popular opinion that the forefathers of the Bengal Kayasthas came from Kanauj with the five Brahmans whom King Adisura summoned to perform for him certain Vedic ceremonies. Around this tradition a bitter controversy has raged between the Kayasths, who sought to exalt their social status, and members of other castes who refused to admit their claims One party alleged that the five Kayasths—Makaranda Ghosh, Dasaratha Vasu, Kalidasa Mitra, Dasaratha Guha, and Purushottama Datta—came to Bengal as the menial servants of the five Brahmans. Their social standing therefore could have been no higher than that of the Kahars, who in Upper India at the present day discharge personal services for members of the higher castes. The Kayasths for their part repudiated this view as derogatory to their dignity, and some of them went so far as to argue that the five Kayasths of the tradition were political officers-in-charge as Kshatriyas, of a mission from Kanauj to the King of Bengal, and that the five Brahmans played quite a subordinate part in the transaction, if indeed they were anything more than the cooks of the five Kayasths. An ingenious grammatical argument, based on the names of the two sets of immigrants, is brought forward in support of this view

Putting tradition aside, and looking on the one hand to the physical type of the Kayasths and on the other to their remarkable intellectual attainments, it would seem that their claim to Aryan descent cannot be wholly rejected, though all attempts to lay down their genealogy precisely must necessarily be futile. It appears to be at least a plausible conjecture that they were a functional group, developed within the Aryan community, in response to the demand for an official and literary class, which must in course of time have arisen. This class would naturally have been recruited more largely from the peaceful Vaisyas and Sudras than from the warlike Kshatriyas, while the Brahmans would probably have held aloof from it altogether. It is possible, though I put forward the suggestion with much diffidence, that the tradition describing the Kayasths as the offspring of a Vaisya and a Sudrani may be merely an archaic method of saying that the writer-caste was composed of elements drawn from the two lower grades of Aryan society. This view of the origin of the Kayasths is entitled to whatever support it may derive from the statement of some of my correspondents, that even in recent times instances have occurred of members of other castes gaining admission into the Kayasth community. Some of these statements are curiously precise and specific. It is said, for example, that a few years ago many Magh families of Chittagong settled in the western districts of Bengal assumed the designation of Kayasth, and were allowed to intermarry with true Kayasth families. An extreme case is cited in which the descendants of a Tibetan missionary have somehow found their way into the caste, and are now recognised as high class Kayasths. Another story tells how a certain Uriya Goala, bearing the name Datta, which is one of the distinctive hypergamous titles of the Kayasths, took service with a Kayasth family in Calcutta, where his principal duty was to boil the milk to be offered to certain idols. This man's sons grew up and were educated with the sons of the house, and were recently admitted as Kayasths of the Dutta group and of the Kasyapa gotra. Alongside of these instances, derived from inquiries in Western Bengal, we may set the statement of Dr. Wise that in the eastern districts of Bengal there exist a very numerous body called Ghulam, or slave, Kayasths, and also known as Shikdar, or Bhandari. The Ghulam Kayasths are descended from individuals belonging to clean Sudra castes, who sold themselves, or were sold, as slaves to Kayasth masters. It is stoutly denied that any one belonging to an unclean tribe was ever purchased as a slave, yet it is hard to believe that this never occurred. The physique of the low and impure races has always been better than that of the pure; and on account of their poverty and low standing a slave could at any time be more easily purchased from amongst them. However, this may be, it is an undoubted fact that any Ghulam Kayasth could, and can even at the present day, if rich and provident, raise himself by intermarriage as high as the Madhalya grade, and obtain admission among the Bhadralok, or gentry of his countrymen. Datta being a Madhalya title, it will be observed that this is precisely the position to which in the instance quoted above the descendants of an Uriya Goala are said to have attained.

The Bengal Kayasths are divided into four sub-castes:

(1) Uttar-Rarhi
(2) Dakhin-Rarhi
(3) Barendra
(4) Bangaja

These groups are in theory endogamous, but within the last few years marriages have occassionally taken place between members of the Dakhin-Rarhi and Bangaja sub-castes.

Internal structure

The Uttar-Rarhi are met with in the districts of Birbhum, Burdwan, Murshedabad, parts of Rangpur, Dinajpur, Hughli, and Jessore. The Dakhin-Rarhi are massed in Burdwan, Hughli, Midnapur, 24-Parganas, Jessore, Krishnagar, and parts of Bakarganj, while in Dacca only two families reside. The Bangaja are established in Bakarganj, Jessore, 24-Parganas, Dacca, Faridpur, western part of Maimansinh, eastern part of Pabna, and in several villages of the Bogra district. The Barendra are settled in Rajshahye, Pabna, Maldah, Bogra, Dinajpur as well as here and there throughout Faridpur, Jessore and Krishnagar.

Within each of the sub-castes we find a series of three hypergamous groups, each comprising so many family names. These are given in tabular form in the Appendix. The rules governing the intermarriage of these groups differ in several material points from those in force among the Brahmans.

Marriage and Kulinism

Ballal Sen is said to have divided the Kayasths into four sub-castes according to locality, thus: Uttar-Rarhi, Dakshin-Rarhi, Bangaja and Barendra. He selected eight members from each *kul* of the Dakshin-Rarhis in order to create *samajs* or hypergamous groups, *e.g.*, eight from each of the three families of Ghosh, Basu and Mitra out of which two were made *Kulin* and six were made Bansaj. Prabhakar of the Akna group and Nisapati of the Bali group represented the Mukhya of the Ghose family; Sukti of the Baganda group and Mukti of the Mahinagar group represented the Basu family; while Dhuin of the Barisa group and Guin of the Tek group represented the Mitra family. Thus according to the rules of Ballal Sen only these six men were made Kulin; the rest were made Bansaj, *i.e.*, born of the Kulin family. The following are the names of the Bansaj groups: Amreswar, Dirghanga, Karati, Seakhala, Khania and Sankrali of the Ghosh family; Nimarka, Sathuli, Chitrapur, Dirghanga, Gohari and Panchamuli of the Basu family, Dabarakupi, Chandara, Dantia, Chaklai, Kumarhatta and Balia groups from the Mitra family.

The members of the Guha family lived in Eastern Bengal, where their ancestor, Dasaratha Guha, was ranked as a *Kulin*, but those, who had been incorporated after Ballal's grouping into the Dakshin-Rarhi sub-caste were reckoned as *Mauliks*.

Those Kayasths, who had been living at that time in Eastern Bengal, including Datta and Guha, were classed as *Mauliks*, out of which eight families—De, Datta, Kar, Palit, Sen, Sinha, Das and Guha—were Siddha Mauliks, and the remaining seventy-two families beginning with Hora were classed as Sadhya Mauliks. Formerly ten out of seventy-two families of Sadhya Mauliks used to intermarry with the Kulins, but afterwards sixteen families became connected with the Kulins by intermarriage. The names of the sixteen families are: Pal, Nag, Arnab, Som, Rudra, Aditya, Aich, Raha, Bhanja, Hora, Teja, Brahma, Bishnu, Nandi, Rakshit and Chandra.

The *kuls* of Kayasths are of nine sorts, out of which five are known as *mul* or original and four as *sakha* or branch. Following the order of social estimation, the *mul kuls* are Mukhya, Kanishtha, Sharabhrata or Chhabhaya, Madhyansa and Turjyak or Teyaj. The *sakhas* or branches are—Dwitiya-Po (second son of Kanishtha), Chhabhaya's Dwitiya-Po (second son of Chhabhaya), Dwitiya-Po (second son of Madhyansa), and Dojo-Po (second son of Teyaj). Kulins belong to one or other of these nine varieties. They are further subdivided into different grades, and they rise or fall in social estimation according to the marriage made by the eldest son and eldest daughter. If they marry into Kulin families, the reputation of their own family is secured, and the younger members may marry as they please

Mukhya Kulins are of three kinds—Prakrita, Sahaj and Komal. Only the eldest son of each has the right to hold that title. Their other sons will descend a step or rise in social estimation in accordance with their observance of the marriage law.

It is a great distinction for a Mukhya to observe the 'Navaranga' or nine-garde *kul*, the rules regarding which are. The *agchhei*, or eldest daughter of a Mukhya, should be given in marriage to a Mukhya, the *dochhei*, or second, to a Kanishtha; the *techhei*, or third, to a Chhabhaya; the *chauchhei*, or fourth, to a Madhyansa, and the *panchami*, or fifth, to a Teyaj Kulin. Conversely, the eldest son of a Mukhya should be given in marriage to a Mukhya girl, the second to a Kanishtha girl, the third to a Madhyansa girl, and the fourth to a Teyaj girl. The Mukhya, who observes these rules of marrying and giving in marriage earns the title of Navarangi.

'Pancharanga' *kul* is observed in the following manner: The first son of a Kanishtha Kulin ought to marry the *dochhei* or second daughter or a Mukhya, the second son that of a Madhyansa girl, the third son that of a Teyaj girl. The Kanishtha Kulin, who observes these rules is held in honour by his fellows and is called Pancharangi.

The following general rules are to be observed by all *Kulin* Kayasths, though some of them apply to other castes as well:

A *Kulin* loses his *kul* by marrying or giving in marriage outside the *parjya* or generation, to which he himself belongs, counting from the first advent of Kayasths in Bengal. Whoever does so becomes a *Maulik*. A *Kulin* loses his *kul* by marrying a *randa* or daughter of a man having no male issue, or if he should by accident marry a *swagotra* or *swapinda*. An adopted son of a *Kulin* is not a *Kulin*. Though he has the privileges of a son in other respects, he has no such privilege as regards *kul*. He will simply remain a *Bansaj*. A *Kulin* by marrying the daughter of a *Kulin* of a lower degree descends to the level of the latter. For instance, if a *Mukhya* man marries a *Madhyansa* girl, he becomes a *Madhyansa*. Again, if a *Teyaj* man marries a girl of Madhyansa's Dwitiya-po, he becomes Dwitiya-po of Madhyansa. A man should not give in marriage his daughters one after another to *Kulins* of the same degree. For instance, if the first daughter is given to a *Mukhya*, it is not proper that the *dochhei* or second daughter be given to another *Mukhya*. In that case both the giver and the taker become degraded

Religion

Subject to the exceptions noted above, the religious practice of the Kayasths does not differ materially from that of the highest Hindu castes in Bengal. It is a singular fact that while the teaching of Chaitanya has united almost all the artisan and agricultural castes in a common faith, the three highest and most intelligent castes in Bengal adhere as a rule to the Sakta ritual. In Eastern Bengal all Kulin Kayasths, and something like three-fourths of the other divisions, are believed to practice Saktism, and it is said that a large proportion of these celebrate the Bamachari Achar or Chakra ceremonies. For the fulfilment of domestic religious duties every Kulin family has a private temple, or sacred nook, where a Sivalinga is erected and daily worship performed by the head of the household All Kayasths observe the Sri Panchami, or 'Dawat Puja', on the fifth of the waxing moon in Magh (January-February) This festival is held in honour of Saraswati, the goddess of learning, who is regarded by the Kayasths as their patron deity On this day the courts and all offices are closed, as no Hindu penman will use pen and ink, or any writing instrument, except a pencil, on that day. When work is resumed a new inkstand and pen must be used, and the penman must write nothing until he has several times transcribed the name of the goddess Durga, with which all letters should begin Kayasths are expected to spend the holiday in meditating on the goddess Saraswati after they have observed certain religious rites; but the extent to which this obligation is observed depends largely upon the inclinations of the individual On this day, says Dr Wise, the Kayasth must taste of a hilsa fish, whatever its price, while from the Sri Panchami festival in January to the Vijaya Dasami in September or October fish must be eaten daily, but from the last to the first month it must not be touched. This curious custom, probably founded on some hygienic superstition, is often reversed by Bengali Kayasths

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Kayasths in 1872 and 1881

District	1872	1881
Burdwan	53,398	33,069
Bankura	11,676	20,575
Birbhum	8,319	8,902
Midnapur	101,663	92,178
Hughli	38,722	25,484
Howrah		15,849
24-Parganas	82.803	82,364
Nadiya	39,719	40,780
Jessore	90,640	62,611
Khulna	.	36,985
Murshedabad	17,077	15,655
Dinajpur	4,523	6,024
Rajshahye	8,727	8,378
Rangpur	10,387	11,449
Bogra	5,483	3,759
Pabna	35,359	34,602
Darjiling	44	406
Jalpigori	587	3,782
Kuch Behar	..	2,522
Dacca	102,084	92,909
Faridpur	57,026	84,193
Bakarganj	125,164	87,834
Maimansinh	105,537	108,409
Chittagong	68,916	72,370
Noakhali	20,878	37,565
Tipperah	72,804	69,373
Chittagong Hill Tracts	93	588
Patna	28,289	29,864
Gya	40,222	43,965
Sahabad	42,407	46,994
Mozufferpur	70,992	42,552
Darbhanga		45,124
Saran	47,686	51,065
Champaran	24,547	28,411
Monghyr	20,452	23,044
Bhagalpur	17,170	21,810
Purniah	11,833	12,761
Maldah	4,601	4,656
Santal Parganas	5.940	7,820
Cuttack	5,329	4,441

Puri	..	..	..	1,194	2,335
Balasore	..	.	..	2,371	1,757
Tributary States		..	..	386	1,517
Hazaribagh	..	..	..	6,300	9,232
Lohardaga	..	..	..	4,061	6,690
Singbhum	..	.	..	611	993
Manbhum	..	..	..	7,991	6,506
Tributary States		..	..	210	689

The statement includes the Kayasths of Behar and the Karans of Orissa, which form the subject of separate articles. It would be impossible to distinguish the statistics relating to these three groups.

Origin and internal structure

Kayasth, *Kaeth, Lala,* the writer-caste of Behar, who trace their mythical parentage to Chitragupta, the scribe or recorder of Yama, the regent of the dead, and pique themselves on being wholly distinct from the Kayasths of Bengal. The physical characters of the Behar Kayasths afford some ground for the belief that they may be of tolerably pure Aryan descent, though the group is doubtless a functional one recruited from all grades of the Aryan community. Kayasths themselves hand down a tradition that their progenitor Chitragupta was produced from the inner consciousness of Brahma for the purpose of managing the business affairs and keeping the accounts of the other castes, and each of the twelve sub-castes traces its pedigree back to some member of his family. Chitragupta himself and all his sons and grandsons are said to have been invested with the sacred thread marking the twice-born castes, and Kayasths claim to have, and occasionally to exercise, the right to wear this sacred symbol. The sub-castes are the following:

(1) *Aithana*
(2) *Amashta*
(3) *Balmik*
(4) *Bhatnagar*
(5) *Gaur*
(6) *Karan*
(7) *Kulsrashta*
(8) *Mathur*
(9) *Nigam*
(10) *Saksena*
(11) *Sribastab*
(12) *Surajdwaj*

Of these the Aithana are supposed to come from Jaunpur in the North-Western Provinces. The Amashta may possibly, as Mr. Crooke suggests[1], be the modern representatives of the Ambastha tribe said to be descended from a Brahman father and Vaisya mother They, like the Karans, also in theory, a mixed group, born of a Sudra woman by a Vaisya father, are found in large numbers in Gaya, Patna and Tirhut. The Balmik or Valmiki sub-caste are supposed to have come from Guzerat. Mr. Crooke thinks they may perhaps have taken their name from the author of the Ramayana Karans, Amashtas and Sribastabs will smoke in the same hooka, but will not eat *kachchi* food together. The two former, however, will eat *kachchi* that has been cooked by a Babhan. Nigam (derived by the same authority from the Sanskrit *nigama,* meaning the Veda, a town, road, traffic) are not met with in Behar. The Surajdwaj group—the word means having the sun for emblem—are said to be descended from the Brahman Madhava Nal and Kam Kandla, a dancing girl of Vikramaditya's Court. The Mathur, Saksena, Bhatnagar and Sribastab sub-castes claim descent from the first wife of Chitragupta, said to have been a daughter of the Surajbansi race of Kshatriyas. The names appear to have reference to localities—the first to Mathura, Saksena to the ruined town of Sankisa in Farukhabad, Bhatnagar to Bhatner, and Sribastab either to Srinagar, the traditional place of origin of the sub-caste or to Srivatsa, an epithet of Vishnu, who is their favourite object of worship.[2] The Khare and Dusre subdivisions of the Sribastab sub-caste trace their origin to the grandsons of Chitragupta According to Buchanan, the Khare Sribastabs[1] claim to be higher than the ordinary Sribastabs, and call themselves Paure. The two subdivisions do not intermarry or eat and drink together. Similar subdivisions are found in the Saksena sub-caste. Contrary to the common usage of Hindus, Kayasths of the Mathur, Bhatnagar and Saksena groups eat even *kachchi* meals fully dressed The Gaur Kayasths believe that they derive their name from Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal, and allege that the Sen Kings of Bengal were really Gaur Kayasths. A curious story is told about the Gaur and Bhatnagar sub-castes, which is worth quoting as an illustration of the growth of mythical traditions of that type. The Bhatnagar Kayasths, it is said, came to Bengal at the time of the Mahomedan conquest, and finding the Gaur Kayasths settled there, asked to be admitted to eat and drink with them. The Gaur Kayasths agreed to invite the Bhatnagars to their houses for food, but declined to accept their hospitality in return. After a time the Bhatnagars, who had friends at court, began to put pressure on the Gaurs in order to compel them to accept their invitations, and the latter fled to Delhi to lay their case before the Emperor Balban Meanwhile Balban died, and the Bhatnagars prevailed upon his successor to order some of the Gaur Kayasths to be arrested and compelled to eat with their rivals. To avoid this dishonour the rest of the sub-caste took refuge with the Brahmans of Badaon, who passed them off as members of their own caste, and went so far as to eat with them in support of their allegation For doing this the Brahmans were turned out of their caste, and became the family priests of the Gaur Kayasths. After a time the Gaur Kayasths, who had been forced to eat with the Bhatnagar were admitted on the intercession of the Badaon Brahmans to communion of food with their brethren. For the purpose of marriage, however, they were formed into a separate group under the name of Shamali or Northern Gaur. Traditions of this sort are not uncommon, and it is to be regretted that no means exist of testing their historical value Their most singular feature is the conspicuous part alleged to have been played by the ruling power, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, in determining purely social questions. A caste is now regarded as an autocratic body, whose decisions on questions concerning its own members no one would dream of questioning This does not seem to have been the view taken by the earlier rulers of Bengal, and the further back we go, the more frequent and pronounced do such instances of interference become.

Besides the regular Lala-Kayasths included in the twelve sub-castes enumerated above, people calling themselves Kayasths are found working as tailors in the Sewan subdivision of Saran, and some of the vermilion-selling Sindurias, who formerly acted as inoculators and now have turned vaccinators, claim to belong to this caste The Lala-Kayasths disown all connexion with these groups There is, however, nothing *prima facie* improbable in the hypothesis that a certain number of Kayasths may have adopted the profession of tailors or vaccinators, and may thus have become separated from the main body of the caste Nothing is more common than to find even a slight departure from the traditional occupation of a caste becoming the occasion for the formation of a new endogamous group. Signs of a tendency in this direction may be traced in the fact that many Kayasths object to marry their daughters in the family of those who have served as hereditary *patwaris* or village accountants. "Patwaris", says one of my correspondents, "however rich, are regarded as socially lower than other Kayasths, *e.g* , Kanungo, Akhauri, Pande, or Bakshi".

The system of exogamy practised by the Kayasths of Bihar is shown in detail in Appendix I, and needs only brief explanation here. An examination of the names of the sections will show that intermarriage is really

[1]Ethnographical Handbook, p. 105.

[2]Crooke, op. cit., p. 105.

[1]Eastern India, II, 466.

regulated by a number of *kuls* or exogamous sections, mostly of the territorial or titular type, and that the Brahmanical *gotras*, though recognised in theory, are really ineffective. Thus the Sribastab Kayasths reckon among their sections the Brahmanical *gotra* Kasyapa; but this is the only section of the Brahmanical type that they possess. All Sribastabs belong to the Kasyapa *gotra* and thus of necessity violate the primary rule of exogamy upon which the *gotra* system depends Although the Brahmanical *gotra* is disregarded, the rule of exogamy is carefully observed in relation to the *kul*. Thus members of the Akhauri *kul* believe themselves to be descended from an ancestor holding the title of Akhauri, conferred many generations ago. Their original habitat was Churamanpur in Shahabad, and the full designation of the *kul* is *Churamanpur ke Akhauri*. The meaning of the term Akhauri is uncertain. Some say it is a corruption of Lakhauri, owner of a lakh of rupees. In further illustration of this system of using titles as the designations of exogamous groups and expanding or eking them out by prefixing the name of a village, the following *kuls* of the Sribastabs may be mentioned: Amaundha ke Panre; Dihia Koth ke Panre; Mithabel ke Tewari; Morar ke Bakshi, Rai or Thakur; Bataha ke Misir; Hargaon ke Singh, Patar ke Tewari, Parsarma ke Thakur; Sahuli ke Sahuliar. The last appears to be of the local or territorial type. All *kuls* are strictly exogamous. Only the father's *kul* is excluded in marriage. The system is supplemented by a table of prohibited degrees calculated in the manner described in the article on Brahman.

Marriage

All Kayasths, who can afford to do so, marry their daughters as infants, but the scarcity of husbands is greatly complained of, and daughters of poor Kayasth families frequently remain unmarried up to the age of eighteen or nineteen. When a girl is married before puberty, she lives with her own people apart from her husband, until she has atained sexual maturity Connubial relations cannot commence until the ceremony of *duragaman*, or bringing the bride home, has been performed. This may take place one, three, five or seven years (*numero deus impare gaudet*) after the marriage according to the age of the bride. When a girl is married after puberty, this ceremony is added to the regular ritual, and the girl goes to live with her husband at once or at latest after a year. Widows may not marry again; nor is divorce recognised.

Among the Kayasths, as among the other high castes of Behar, the balance of the sexes seems to be uneven, and the number of girls marriageable at a given time is usually in excess of the number of possible husbands available for them. The first step, therefore, towards initiating proposals for marriage is taken by the parents or guardians of the bride, who depute a Brahman (generally the purohit, or priest of the family) and the family barber to find out a suitable bridegroom. These emissaries select several suitable boys and report accordingly. Among Kayasths no marriage can take place unless the horoscopes of both the bride and bridegroom 'agree', as the phrase goes, that is to say, unless from the dates of the births of both the girl and the boy it can be calculated by astrological methods that the bride will not become a widow, and that the marriage will prove fruitful and happy in every respect. If the two horoscopes do not 'agree', the negotiations are broken off. In order to comply with these conditions, the Brahman, who acts as go-between carries with him a copy of the bride's horoscope, takes copies of those of all the eligible boys, and reports to his employer on the prospects of each possible combination Here it is that difficulties begin. Highly educated as the Kayasths are, they have not yet shaken off the trammels of astrology, and the custom of insisting on the 'agreement' of the horoscopes has such a strong hold upon their minds that it often proves the chief obstacle to a marriage desirable in other respects. Owing to this cause the marriage of the girls is delayed in many cases till long after they attain puberty, and the consequence is that the bride is often older than the bridegroom. In order to get their daughters married, parents are obliged to give them to bridegrooms of unequal age, doubtful education and character, and of unequal position and wealth. This practice, though often preventing the marriage of the girl in her infancy, turns out undesirable in many respects. Other difficulties arise from the exorbitant demand of *tilak* and *jahez* (dowry) by the parents of the bridegroom, which leads to unequal marriages and brings about the ruin of families unfortunate enough to have a number of girls to be married.

After the *ganana* has been made out to the satisfaction of both parties, and it has been ascertained that there are no objections to the marriage on the ground of consanguinity, etc., the question of bridegroom price and dowry (*tilak*, *jahez* or *dan pan*) is settled. This is too often exorbitant. If the terms are agreeable to the bride's parents, the marriage is at once agreed upon. In many cases the bride's parents depend wholly on the discretion of the Brahman and Hajjam in the selection of the bridegroom, and these either to save themselves trouble or in collusion with the parents of undesirable bridegrooms are said to make selections which the bride's family would not approve if they knew all the facts. The bridegroom's relations on the other hand are equally in the dark regarding the qualifications of the bride, and it thus happens that girls suffering from actual physical defects are enabled to obtain husbands by the collusion of the match-makers.

The following observances make up the marriage ceremony as celebrated by orthodox Kayasths of Behar:

(1) When the marriage is agreed upon, a day is fixed for the betrothal or the taking of *sagun*. On that day the Brahman and Hajjam go to the bridegroom's house, where the latter's friends assemble at an auspicious time. His parents put rupees, rice, *haldi* and *supari* in a thali before them, and the Brahman takes from this his fee at the rate of five per cent. on the amount of *tilak* and *jahez* agreed upon. If therefore the dowry be settled at Rs. 500, he will take out Rs. 25 Sometimes the bride's party pay cash as earnest money instead of taking the *sagun*. This is called *bardekhi*, literally meaning the seeing of the bridegroom. It is also called *barchheka*, as a retaining fee is paid in advance in order to secure the bridegroom.

(2) After this the date for the *tilak* or the payment of the first instalment of the dowry is fixed. On that day a party, consisting of Brahmans and others and often a relative of the bride, about seven in all, proceed to the house of the bridegroom He is adorned and made to sit in the *angan* or inner courtyard, where the gods are worshipped, after which the bride's party put a *tilak* or patch of curd on his forehead, and make a present to him of money, plates and clothes, amounting in all to the sum agreed upon to be paid at this time. This ceremony is called *tilak*. The bride's parents make a profit over the plates and cloth, which they estimate sometimes at double their value, thus reducing the actual cash payment agreed upon. It is for this reason that some astute guardians insist upon the payment of a certain amount in cash before giving the *sagun*, and if the money is not paid at the time of *tilak*, disagreements between the parties continue till after the celebration of the marriage. After the ceremony the bride's party, together with the friends of the bridegroom's family, receive *pakki* food. Before the *tilak* neither the Brahman nor the Hajjam would even drink water at the bridegroom's house.

(3) On the following day the *tilak* party returns, being presented with dresses and money by the bridegroom's father according to his means. The latter at the same time addresses a letter to the bride's father, fixing an auspicious date for the marriage This is called *lagnapatri*. If convenient to him, he agrees to it, otherwise some other date agreeable to both parties is fixed. After the *tilak* the betrothal becomes complete, and an engagement thus ratified is rarely broken off.

(4) On the eighth, fifth, and in some families on the third day before the marriage the ceremony variously

known according to its date as *athmangra*, *panchmangra* or *tinmangra*, is performed. On that day the women troop out singing to fetch earth from some field outside the village, and put it in the courtyard, where all the family gods and dead ancestors are invited to attend. This ceremony is performed at the houses of both parties. On an auspicious day the *mandap*, a sort of thatched canopy supported on nine new bamboos, is erected at the house of the bride's father. In the centre is placed an earthen vessel (*Kalsa*) supposed to contain water from all Hindu places of pilgrimage. Under this *mandap* and near the *kalsa*, where all the family gods and ancestors are invited by *mantras* to be present and witness the marriage, the marriage ceremonies are subsequently performed. No *mandap* is erected at the bridegroom's house, but only a *haris* or plough shaft is set up in the *angan*, courtyard, and a *kalsa* similar to the bride's is placed beside it.

(5) Then the ceremony of *hardikahandan* takes place. Turmeric with oil is applied to the persons of the bride and bridegroom at their respective houses at stated times daily up to the day of marriage. This ceremony is not performed at the bridegroom's house when he is married a second time.

(6) *Matrik Pujah* is the ceremony of worshipping the wives of all the gods, *i.e.*, Sakti in all her forms. The gods are also invited to be present and worshipped. The women of the family invoke the spirits of departed ancestors, and *pindas* are offered to them.

(7) Ceremonies in propitiation of dead ancestors (abhyudaik sraddh) are also performed by the parents of the bride and the bridegroom at their respective houses on the day of the marriage.

(8) *Dwar Pujah*: After performing the *matrik pujah* the women bathe the bridegroom and smear him with turmeric, and he eats with some unmarried boys his last meal as a bachelor. He is then dressed and made to sit on the lap of his mother, who drinks water which he has tasted. His brother also assists in this ceremony. After some other observances the bridegroom's party go in procession to the bride's house with as much show and noise as the means of the family permit, timing their journey so as to arrive after dark.

On arrival, and after their formal reception, the bridegroom is presented with money. This is called *dwar pujah*, the homage done to the bridegroom at the door of his father-in-law's house. After it the bridegroom's party proceed to the place (*janwasa*) prepared for their temporary reception.

(9) *Ashuch parichhalan*: After the procession has gone to the *janwasa*, the ceremony of cutting the nails of the bride takes place. At the same time a drop of blood is drawn from her little finger, and preserved in *mahawar* (cotton soaked in red dye). Her feet are also marked with *mahawar*.

(10) *Bar Newatran* or *Dhurchhak*: A party of the bride's relatives, Brahmans and others taking some *sherbet*, eatables, tobacco, etc., go to the *janwasa* and present them to the bridegroom's party. The bridegroom is formally invited to dinner with a present of money, which his father accepts. But owing to the exorbitant demands of money and grain generally made by the bridegroom's father, which the bride's father cannot always meet, this dinner seldom comes off before noon on the following day. Thus the food prepared is wasted, and the bridegroom's party remain unfed. Sometimes the bride's father in order to make up for the high *tilak* he had to pay in order to secure the bridegroom tries to cut down the amount of *jahez* agreed upon, and also doles out the *rassad* or supplies to the bridegroom's party very sparingly. The bridegroom's father, on the other hand, tries to get as much as he can out of the arrangement.

(11) *Kanya Nirechhan* (seeing the bride): After the invitation to dinner has been accepted, the elder brother or some other elder relative of the bridegroom proceeds to the house of the bride's father; the bride is made to sit under the *mandap*, and the bridegroom's brother going there presents to her jewels and clothes, after which she returns to the inner apartments and is dressed in those clothes and ornaments. By this time the bridegroom is also brought to the place.

(12) The bridegroom's feet are washed by the bride's father, and (13) he is given a wooden seat (*pidha*) and a *kusasan* or pad of *kusa* grass to sit on. All these ceremonies are performed according to Vedic prescription.

(14) His feet are again washed after taking his seat (*padanjali* and *hast argha*).

(15) Then *dahi*, honey and *ghi* and sugar (*madhuparka*) are given him to eat by the bride's father. The bride also is brought and made to sit on his right side on a similar wooden seat.

(16) *Agnisthapan*, or the placing of the fire before them, is duly performed.

(17) *Gotranchara*, or the ceremony of transferring the bride into the family of bridegroom by reciting the names of the father and the grandfather of each with Vedic *mantras*, is performed, and the bride and bridegroom's clothes are knotted together. By this ceremony the bride gives up all claims on her father's family and is transferred to that of the bridegroom.

(18) *Kanyadan* or *panigrahan*, by which the bride's father puts her hand into that of the bridegroom and entrusts her to his care, while he in his turn accepts the offer.

(19) Then the bridegroom changes his dress (*bastra bandhan*), and puts on a *dhoti* given by the bride's father.

(20) Next in order *hom* is performed by throwing *ghi* and sugar on the sacred fire in homage to all the Hindu gods.

(21) *Lajahuti* or *Lawa Merawan*: Unhusked and parched paddy brought by both parties is mixed together. The bride and bridegroom go seven times round the sacred fire, which stands in the centre of the *mandap*, taking care to keep it always on their right hand. The bride puts her hands into those of the bridegroom, holding at the same time a small *supli* or basket for cleaning grain. Into this *supli* the bride's brother pours out the *lawa*, which the bride and the bridegroom jointly pour on to the fire. This offering is said to be made to a toothless god, named Pukha.

(22) *Silarohan* (*Sapta Bedi*): The bride puts her foot on a *sil*, the stone used for grinding spices, and the bridegroom removes it. Both parties call the gods to witness that they have accepted each other as husband and wife.

(23) *Sumangli Karan* or *Sendur Bandhan*: The bridegroom smears vermilion on the bride's forehead. This form is now regarded merely as a token and memorial of the married state. Clearly, however, as has been pointed out in the article on Kurmi and elsewhere in these volumes, it is a survival of mixing the blood of the parties or drinking each others blood which is found among the marriage custom of more primitive races.

(24) *Dachhina Shankalp*: The bride's father promises in a form authorised by the scriptures to pay a price for the bridegroom The *tilak* and *jahez*, it appears, are not sanctioned by the Shastras.

(25) *Kudat Mantra Pathan*: The bridegroom formally confers his blessing on the bride's father for the presents he has made to him.

(26) *Ashuch Karan*: It has been mentioned above (No 9, *ashuch parichhalan*) that a piece of coloured cotton containing a little of the bride's blood is kept. With this the bridegroom's neck is touched, and the bride's neck is also touched with a piece of simple coloured cotton brought by the bridegroom. The pieces of cotton are tied on their wrists (*kangan bandhan*). It is believed that this practice generates mutual affection Clearly it is a survival of the earlier rite already referred to.

(27) *Pith Paritechan*: The couple exchange seats, and the bridegroom swears to protect and love his wife, and the bride swears to obey, respect and love her husband.

(28) After this the priest tells them that they have become *girhasta* and should live like married people, and explains to them their duties.

(29) *Ashirbad*: The Brahmans and all present bless the bride and the bridegroom, and throw rice (*achhat*) over them. This ends the Vedic rites necessary to make a marriage binding. Neither the bridegroom nor the bride understands what is said, and in most cases the Brahmans recite even those parts, which the parties to the marriage ought to pronounce themselves.

After the final blessing all the men present retire, leaving the bride and bridegroom under the *mandap*. Then the women come and do *chumawan, i.e.*, touch the feet, knee, and shoulders of the bridegroom with their fingers, at the same time holding rice in their hands. They are then taken into the *kohbar*, or the room prepared for their reception. There the women perform their own peculiar ceremonies, playing at the same time various tricks on the bridegroom till daybreak when he returns to the *janwasa*. Then the marriage party is invited to dinner, or rather breakfast, which, as stated above, seldom comes before noon. At this time a present of plates, etc., is made to the bridegroom, and his relatives, all of which counts towards the amount of *jahez* agreed upon. At night, or rather next morning, comes a repast of *kachchi* food, after which the bridegroom's party prepare for return. Before leaving, each of the relatives of the bridegroom makes presents of money and ornaments to the bride. This is called *madwa* or *muhdekhai*, and at the same time all the relatives of the bride meet those of the bridegroom, and each of the former makes a present of money when embracing the latter. *Attar*, *pan*, etc., are distributed. The party returns to the *janwasa* followed by the bride's people, who supply them with provisions for return journey. Thus ends the marriage. On the fourth day the ceremony of *chauthari* is performed. In some districts, especially in Patna, the bride accompanies the bridegroom to his house, where they jointly perform this ceremony. The bridegroom visits all the places of family worship. The family gods and all Hindu gods are worshipped, who having been invited to be present during the marriage are supposed then to take their departure to their respective abodes. After this the bride returns to her father's house. In such cases the ceremony of *duragawan* is performed just after the performance of the marriage rites. To complete the ceremony of *duragawan*, which means the going of the bride to the house of the bridegroom, only the nails of the bride are cut. Conjugal life cannot begin until this rite has been performed. In Shahabad and other places the bride does not accompany the bridegroom to his house after the marriage, and *chowthari* is performed by each at their respective fathers' houses In these cases the ceremony of *duragawan* is performed after one, three or five years according to the age of the bride and the convenience of the parties The ritual observed is simple. The bridegroom goes with his friends to the bride's house. No *mandap* is constructed; only a *kalsa* is placed as in marriage. The bride and bridegroom are seated together, the gods and ancestors are worshipped, and the bride's nails are cut *Chumawan*, etc., as in marriage, is performed by the women, and the bride sent to the bridegroom's house. On this occasion the bride's father gives her dresses, jewels, bed, bed-clothes, and presents to the bridegroom. Henceforth she lives with her husband and visits her parents whenever she likes.

Religion

Votaries may be found among the Kayasths of nearly all the main Hindu sects—Vaishnava, Saiva, Sakta, Kabirpanthi, Nanak-shahi, and the like. The worship of Durga and the Saktis is believed, however, to be their favourite cult. Chitragupta, the mythical ancestor of the caste, is honoured once a year on the 17th Kartik, the festival of the *dawat puja*, with offerings of sweetmeats and money, and the symbolical worship of pen and ink, the tools of the Kayasth's trade. For the worship of the greater gods and generally for religious and ceremonial purposes, the Kayasths employ Brahmans, who are received on casual terms by other members of the priestly caste As regards the ceremony of *sraddh*, the practice of the caste appears to vary. Some Kayasths observe it on the 13th, some on the 16th, and some on the 29th day after death. The final funeral ceremony, known as *barki sraddh*, is performed at the end of a year in the case of a father, mother, or other ascendant, but after three months for the death of a wife.

Occupation

Clerical work is believed to be the original and characteristic occupation of the caste, and an illiterate Kayasth is looked upon as a creature with no proper reason for existing. Kayasth tradition, however, puts a very liberal construction on the expression clerical work, and includes in it not merely clerkly pursuits of a subordinate character, but the entire business of managing the affairs of the country in the capacity of *dewan*, *sarbarahkar*, etc., to the ruling power. It is doubtless owing in some measure to this connection with former governors that Kayasths are now in possession of considerable zemindaris and tenures of substantial value, while comparatively few of them are to be found among the lower grades of cultivators. In the course of the cadastral survey undertaken in 1886-87 of 235 villages in Chakla Nai, pargana Bissarrah, Mozufferpur, a statement was drawn up at my suggestion showing the caste of the various grades of landholders. The following table shows the number of Kayasths in these villages possessing rights in connection with the land and the proportion that number bears in each case to the total of the class of landholders concerned:

	Number of Kayasths	Percentage on total of class
Proprietors	673	13·3
Lakherajdars	2	4·8
Thikadars	2	2·9
Tenants at fixed rents	53	3·9
Settled ryots	372	2·2
Occupancy but not settled ryots ..	8	6·2
Non-occupancy ryots	48	3·0

These figures cannot of course be taken to represent precisely the relations of Kayasths to the land in all districts of Behar, but they are of interest as showing the strong position that a caste, having in theory no connection whatever with agriculture and affecting to despise those of its own members, who serve as village accountants, has managed to win for itself in the land system of the country. There could be no better comment on the numerous proverbial sayings current in Behar which have for their subject the cunning and the acquisitiveness of the Kayasth caste.

Social status

Notwithstanding the jealousy with which their less astute neighbours regard them, the social position of the Behar Kayasths is unquestionably a high one. Popular opinion ranks them next in order to the Babhans and Rajputs, and like these, when they hold land as ryots, they get their homestead free of rent. All Kayasths will eat *kachchi* food that has been cooked by a 'good' Brahman, that is, by a Brahman, who belongs to a respectable sub-caste, and whose ceremonial purity has not been affected by serving low people. The Amashta and Karan sub-castes will eat *kachchi* cooked by a Babhan.

None of the Kayasth sub-caste will eat *kachchi* food prepared by a member of another sub-caste. Sribastabs, Amashtas and Karans will sometimes eat *pakki* off the same plate and smoke out of the same hookah. Ordinarily speaking, Kayasths take *pakki* food from any caste from whose hands water can be taken. The Vaishnava

members of the caste abstain from flesh and wine; but Kayasths usually eat mutton and goat's flesh, hare, game birds, and are notorious for their indulgence in strong drink.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Kayasths in 1872 and 1881:

District	1872	1881
Patna	28,289	29,864
Gaya	40,222	43,965
Shahabad	42,407	46,994
Mozufferpur	70,992	42,552
Durbhanga		45,124
Saran	47,686	51,065
Champaran	24,547	28,411
Monghyr	20,452	23,044
Bhagalpur	17,170	21,810
Purniah	11,833	12,761
Maldah	4,601	4,656
Santal Parganas	5,940	7,820
Hazaribagh	6,300	9,232
Lohardaga	4,061	6,690
Singbhum	611	993
Manbhum	7,991	6,506
Tributary States	210	689

(iii) THE JUGI

Extract from 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal' by H. H. Risley, I.C.S.
(Volume I, Official Edition, published in 1891, *pp.* 355-59)

Traditions of origin

JUGI, Jogi, a weaving caste of Eastern Bengal, many of whose members have of recent years been driven by the competition of English piece-goods to betake themselves to agriculture, lime-burning, goldsmith's work, and the subordinate grades of Government service. The origin of the caste is extremely obscure Buchanan thought it probable that they were either the priesthood of the country during the reign of the dynasty to which Gopi Chandra belonged, or Sudras dedicated to a religious life, but degraded by the great Saiva reformer Sankara Acharya, and that they came with the Pal Rajas from Western India. In Rangpur he found the Jogis living by singing an interminable cyclic song in honour of Gopi Chandra.

On the evidence now available it is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the manner in which the caste arose.

Internal structure

In Eastern Bengal we find two main sub-castes—the Masya, who perform the *sraddha* thirty days (masa) after death, and the *Ekadasi*, who celebrate it after eleven (ekadasa) days. The former abound in the southern parts of Bikrampur, Tipperah, and Noakhali; the latter in the north of Bikrampur and throughout the Dacca district generally. No intermarriages take place between them, and each refuses to taste food cooked by the other, although they drink from each other's water-vessels.

The Dharmaghare Jugis, who are found in Western Bengal, are looked down upon by the Jugis of other parts of the country. They worship Dharma, Sitala, Manasa, and other aboriginal deities, and their only *sanskar* is the wearing copper in some form, such as that of a ring or bracelet. They beg from door to door, carrying the effigies of those deities in their hands, and singing songs in their honour.

Religion

The great majority of the caste worship Mahadeo or Siva, but a few Vaishnavas are also found among them. The Masya Jugis have no Brahmans who minister to them, but a spiritual leader, Adhikari, elected by the Purohits referred to below, is invested with a cord and styled Brahman. In Tipperah and Noakhali the cord is still worn, but in Dacca of late years it has been discarded. The Adhikari of the Masya Jugis in Dacca is Mathura Ramana, of Bidgaon, in Bikrampur, a very illiterate man, who can with difficulty read and write Bengali. The post has been hereditary in his family for eight generations, and now-a-days it is only in default of heirs that an election is held. It is a curious circumstance that the Adhikari bestows the *mantra* on the Brahmans of the Ekadasi, and occasionally on Sannyasi Jugis, although neither acknowledge any subjection to him. The Adhikari has no religious duties to perform, as each household employs a Purohit to minister at its religious ceremonies. The Purohit is always a Jugi, inducted by the Adhikari and subordinate to him. He is often a relative, or marries a daughter of his master. The Adhikari, again, has his Purohit without whose ministration neither he nor any member of his family can marry or be buried. The great festival of the Masya Jugis is the Sivaratri, held on the fourteenth of the waning moon in Magh (January-February); but they observe many of the other Hindu festivals, such as the Janmashtami, and offer sacrifies beneath the *bat* tree to the village goddess Siddheswari. In all religious services they use a twig of the Udumbara, or Jagya dumur (*Ficus glomerate*), and regard with special reverence the tulasi, bat, pipal, and tamala (*Dhospyrus cordifolia*). They have *sthans*, or residencies, at Brindaban, Mathura, and Gokula, but their chief places of pilgrimage are Benares, Gaya, and Sitakund in Chittagong. The Ekadasi have Brahmans of their own, called "Varna-Sarman," and addressed as Mahatma, who trace their origin from the issue of a Srotriya Brahman and a Jugi woman. The majority of this division of Jugis are worshippers of Krishna, but a few who follow the Sakta ritual are to be met with.

Disposal of the dead

In the burial of their dead all Jugis observe the same ceremonies. The grave (*samadhi* or *ahsan*) is circular, about eight feet deep, and at the bottom a niche is cut for the reception of the corpse. The body, after being washed with water from seven earthen jars, is wrapped in new cloth, the lips being touched with fire to distinguish the funeral from that of a *sannyasi* or ascetic and a Mahomedan. A necklace made of the Tulasi plant is placed around the neck, and in the right hand a rosary (*japa mala*). The right forearm, with the thumb inverted, is placed across the chest, while the left, with the thumb in a similar position, rests on the lap, the legs being crossed as in statues of Budha. Over the left shoulder is hung a cloth bag with four strings, in which four cowries are put. The body being lowered into the grave, and placed in the niche with the face towards the north-east, the grave is filled in, and the relatives deposit on the top an earthen platter with balls of rice (*pinda*), plantains, sugar, ghi, and areca-nuts, as well as a *huqqa* with its *chillam* (bowl), a small quantity of tobacco, and a charcoal ball. Finally, from three to seven cowries are scattered on the ground as compensation to Vasumati or mother earth for the piece of earth occupied by the corpse. Women are interred in the same way as men.

The bag with its four cowries, and the position of the body, are notworthy. With the cowries the spirit pays the Charan, who ferries it across the Vaitarani river, the Hindu Styx; while the body is made to face the north-east, because in that corner of the world lies Kailasa, the Paradise of Siva.

The mourning dress of the Jugis is a cotton garment, called "Jala Kacha," literally netted end, manufactured by them, and identical with that worn by other Hindus between the death of a relative and the *sraddha*. In a corner of this raiment the Jugi ties a piece of iron, suspending it over his shoulder On the eleventh day, when the funeral obsequies are about to be performed, the barber cutting off the iron, gives it to the wearer, who throws it into the water, then bathes, offers the *pinda* to the manes of the deceased and returns home.

All Jugis believe that the spirits of good men are at death absorbed into the Deity, while the bad reappear on earth in the form of some unclean animal; but women, however exemplary their conduct may have been in this world, are not cheered by any assurance of a future state, and in their case death involves annihilation.

(iv) THE BAGDI

Extract from 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal' by H. H. Risley, I.C.S. (Volume I, Official Edition, published in 1891, pp. 37-43)

BAGDI, *Bagtit*, *Mudi*, a cultivating, fishing, and menial caste of Central and Western Bengal, who appear from their features and complextion to be of Dravidian descent, and closely akin to the tribes whom, for convenience of description, we may call aboriginal.

Internal structure

In the district of Bankura, where the original structures of the caste have been singularly well preserved, we find the Bagdis divided into the following sub-castes: (1) TENTULIA, bearing the titles Bagh, Santra, Rai, Khan, Puila; (2) KASAIKULIA, with the titles Manjhi, Masalchi, Palakhai, Pherka; (3) DULIA, with titles Sardar and Dhara; (4) UJHA or OJHA; (5) MACHHUA, MECHHUA, or MECHO; (6) GULIMANJHI; (7) DANDAMANJHI; (8) KUSMETIA, KUSMATIA, or KUSPUTRA; (9) MALLAMETIA, MATIA, or MATIAL. Within these again are a number of exogamous sections, among which may be mentioned *Kasbak*, the heron; *Ponkrishi*, the jungle cock; *Salrishi* or Salmach, the sal fish; *Patrishi*, the bean; and *Kachchhap*, the tortoise. The totem is taboo to the members of the section; that is to say, a Kasbak Bagdi may not kill or eat a heron; a Patrishi, like the Pythagoreans according to Lucian, may not touch a bean.

A Bagdi cannot marry outside the sub-caste, nor inside the section to which he belongs.

Marriage ceremony

Among a mass of ritual borrowed from the Brahmanical system, the marriage ceremony (*bibaha* or *byah* as opposed to *sanga*) of the Bagdis of Western Bengal has preserved some interesting usages, which appear to belong to a different, and perhaps more primitive, order of symbolism. Early on the wedding morning, before the bridegroom starts in procession for the bride's house, he goes through a mock marriage to a *mahua* tree (*Bassia latifolia*). He embraces the tree and bedaubs it with vermilion; his right wrist is bound to it with thread, and after he is released from the tree this same thread is used to attach a bunch of *mahua* leaves to his wrist. The *barat* or procession of the bridegroom's party is usually timed so as to reach the bride's house about sunset. On arrival, the inner courtyard of the house is defended by the bride's friends, and a mimic conflict takes place, which ends in the victory of the *barat*. Symbolic capture having been thus effected, the bridegroom himself is seated with his face to the east on a wooden stool (*pira*) placed under a bower of *sal* leaves, having pots of oil, grain, and turmeric at the four corners, and a small pool of water in the centre. When the bride enters, she marches seven times round the bower, keeping it always on her right hand, and seats herself opposite to the bridegroom, the pool of water being between the pair. The right hands of the bride, the bridegroom, and the bride's eldest relative are tied together with thread by the officiating Brahman, who at the same time recites sacred texts (*mantras*), the purport of which is that the bride has been given by her people to the bridegroom and has been accepted by him. The priest then claims his fee, and, after receiving it, unites the thread and knots together the scarves worn by the married couple. This part of the ceremony is called *gotrantar*, 'the change of *gotra*', and is supposed to transfer the bride from her own section or exogamous group into that of her husband. It is followed by *sindurdan*, when the bridegroom takes a small cup of vermilion in his left hand and with his right hand smears the colour on the parting of the bride's hair. By the Bagdis, as by most of the aboriginal tribes of Western Bengal, *sindurdan* is deemed to be the essential and binding portion of the marriage ceremony, and they know nothing of the 'seven steps' of the Brahmanical rite.

Admission of outsiders

Like the Bauris, all sub-castes of Bagdis, except the Tentulia, admit into their circle members of any caste higher than themselves in social standing. No regular ceremony is appointed for such occasions: the new member merely pays to the caste panchayat a sum of money, varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15, to be spent on a feast, in which for the first time he openly eats with his adopted caste brethren. When admitted into the Dulia sub-caste, he is made to take the palanquin on his shoulder to signify his acceptance of the characteristic occupation of the body to which he has joined himself. The origin of this singular practice, which is entirely out of accord with the spirit of the caste system at the present day, is apparently to be sought in the lax views of the Bagdis and Bauris on the subject of sexual morality. In every other caste a woman who has an intrigue with an outsider is punished by expulsion from the caste; but Bagdis and Bauris not only allow their women to live openly with men of other castes, but receive those men into their own community when, as frequently happens, they are outcasted by their own people for eating rice cooked by their mistresses.

Religion

The religion of the Bagdis is compounded of elements borrowed from orthodox Hinduism and survivals from the mingled Animism and Nature-worship which prevails among the aborigins of Western Bengal. Siva, Vishnu, Dharmaraj (Yama), Durga, the Saktis, and the myriad names of the modern Hindu Pantheon, are worshipped in a more or less intelligent fashion under the guidance of the degraded (*patit*) Brahmans who look after the spiritual welfare of the lower castes. Alongside of these greater gods we find the Santali goddess Gosain Era and Barpahar, the 'great mountain' god (Marang Buru) of the same tribe. According to the Bagdis themselves, their favourite and characteristic deity is Manasa, the sister of the Snake-king Vasuki, the wife of Jaratkaru and mother of Astika, whose intervention saved the snake race from destruction by Janmejaya.

Manasa is worshipped by the caste with great pomp and circumstance. On the 5th and 20th of the four rainy months—Asar, Sraban, Bhadra, and Aswin (middle of June to middle of October)—rams and he-goats are sacrified, rice, sweetmeats, fruit, and flowers are offered; and on the Nagpanchami (5th of the light half of Sraban =end of August) a four-armed effigy of the goddess,

crowned by a tiara of snakes, grasping a cobra in each hand, and with her feet resting on a goose, is carried round the village with much discordant music, and finally thrown into a tank. The cult of Manasa is of course by no means confined to the Bagdis In Eastern Bengal all castes, from the Brahman to the Chandal, adore her, and no class is more strict in attending to the details of her worship than the Kulin Brahmans of Bikrampur in Dacca. Bagdis, however, regard her with peculiar respect, and say that they alone among her votaries make images in her honour. Some add that the *puja* has the effect of securing the worshippers from snake-bite, which is naturally more frequent during the rains; and this notion finds a curious echo in the promise given by Vasuki to Astika in the Mahabharata, that those who call upon his name, be they Brahmans or common folk, shall be safe from the attacks of the snake race.

On the last day of Bhadra (middle of September) the Bagdis of Manbhum and Bankura carry in procession the effigy of a female saint named Bhadu, who is said to have been the favourite daughter of a former Raja of Pachete, and to have died a virgin for the good of the people. The worship consists of songs and wild dances, in which men, women, and children take part. The story of its origin may well have some foundation in fact, it being notorious that the Rajas of Pachete, like most of the pseudo-Rajput families of Chota Nagpur, find great difficulty in arranging suitable alliances for their daughters, and often have to keep them at home unmarried until they have long passed the age of puberty. Regarded from this point of view, the legend adds one more to the numerous instances which may be cited in support of the theory propounded by Sir Alfred Lyall in his essay on the origin of Divine Myths in India.*

Disposal of the dead

Bagdis burn their dead and throw the ashes into a stream or tank. The bodies of persons who die of small-pox or cholera are either buried or exposed. Infants under three years are buried. In parts of Orissa the universal practice is to bury the dead on the left side with the head towards the north. The *sradh* ceremony is performed a month after death under the supervision of a Brahman and in general conformity with the standard Hindu ritual.

Some Bagdis eat beef and pork, and all indulge freely in flesh of other kinds, and are greatly addicted to drink. Tentulia Bagdis, however, will not eat beef, and many members of this sub-caste have become Vaishnavas and abstain from all sorts of flesh. By abstaining from beef they consider themselves to be raised above the Bauri, Muchi, and Oraon, and the beef-eating members of their own caste.

Asiatic Studies, p. 30.

(v) THE BAURI

Extract from 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal' by H. H. Risley, I.C.S.
(Volume I, Official Edition, published in 1891, *pp.* 78-82)

Traditions

BAURI, a cultivating, earth-working, and palanquin-bearing caste of Western Bengal, whose features and complexion stamp them as of non-Aryan descent, although evidence is wanting to affiliate them to any particular tribe now in existence. Their meagre folk-lore throws no light on their origin. According to one story they were degraded for attempting to steal food from the banquet of the gods; another professes to trace them back to a mythical ancestor named Bahak Rishi (the bearer of burdens), and tells how, while returning from a marriage procession, they sold the palanquin they had been hired to carry, got drunk on the proceeds, and assaulted their guru, who cursed them for the sacrilege, and condemned them to rank thenceforward among the lowest castes of the community. Another name of this ancestor is Rik Muni, the same as the eponym of the Musahars or Bhuiyas, but it would be straining conjecture to infer from this any connexion between the Bauris and the Bhuiyas.

Internal structure

The Bauris are divided into the following nine sub-castes—(1) Mallabhumia, (2) Sikharia or Gobaria, (3) Panchakoti, (4) Mola or Mulo, (5) Dhulia or Dhulo, (6) Maluā or Māluā, (7) Jhatia or Jhetia, (8) Kathuria, (9) Pathuria. Some of these may perhaps be nothing more than different local names for what was originally the same sub-caste, but this point is not really very material, by reason of the marked reluctance of the lower castes to intermarry families living at a distance. Assuming, for example, that Mola or Mulo and Mallabhumia, two sub-castes of Bauris found in the 24-Parganas and Murshidabad, are really the same as the Maluā of Māluā sub-caste common in Manbhum, it would by no means follow that the eastern and western members of this sub-caste would be willing to intermarry. And if there were no inter-marriage, the groups would rightly be treated as true sub-castes. On the whole, therefore, in spite of the suspicious similarity of some of the names, I incline to think that the nine groups enumerated above are really distinct at the present day, whatever may have been the case some generations back. As for the origin of the sub-castes, the names Mallabhumia, Malua, and perhaps Mola, denote a group originally resident in pergunnah Manbhum or in the country south of the Kasai; the Dhulia sub-caste is supposed to have come from Dhalbhum and the Sikharia from Sikharbhum, the tract between the Kasai and Barakar rivers, which includes the Pachete estate. Panchakoti again denotes the central portion of the Pachete estate. Gobaria is said to refer to a domestic custom of cleaning up the remnants of meals with cow-dung, which has somehow come to be deemed a characteristic of the Sikharia sub-caste; while Jhatia is explained as denoting a group who simply sweep away the fragments of a meal without washing the place where it had been spread.

Exogamy

The few exogamous subdivisions which we find among the Bauris have clearly been borrowed *dignitatis causa* from the higher castes, and are inoperative for matrimonial purposes, as marriage between members of the same *gotra* is not forbidden. They profess to observe the standard formula mamera, chachera, etc., and in addition to prohibit marriage between persons descended from the same ancestors within seven degrees on the male and three degrees on the female side; but the caste is extremely illiterate: there is no machinery among them for maintaining genealogies, and thus guarding against consanguineous marriages, and in actual practice such marriages are believed to be far from uncommon.

The absence of compact exogamous groups, such as we find among tribes apparently closely akin to the Bauris, may possibly be due to the latter having adopted the profession of palanquin-bearing, and thus having been brought into closer contact with Hindus than was the case with their more independent congeners. Traces of totemism, however, still survive in their reverence for the red-backed heron and the dog, and perhaps in their strong objection to touching horse-dung. The heron is looked upon as the emblem of the tribe, and may not be killed or molested on pain of expulsion from the caste. Dogs also are sacred. A Bauri will on no account kill a dog or touch a dead dog's body, and the water of a

tank in which a dog has been drowned cannot be used until an entire rainy season has washed the impurity away. 'In regard to dogs,' says Colonel Dalton, 'I was gravely informed by some of their elders that as they killed and ate cows and most other animals, they deemed it right to fix on some beast which should be as sacred to them as the cow to the Brahman, and they selected the dog, because it was a useful animal while alive, and not very nice to eat when dead—a neat reconciliation of the twinges of conscience and cravings of appetite. This ingenious explanation, however valueless in itself, shows that their own custom had become unintelligible to the Bauris themselves, and serves to illustrate the tendency to imitate Brahmanical usages.

Admission of outsiders

Like the Bagdis, Bauris admit into their caste members of any caste higher than themselves in social standing. No regular ceremony is appointed for such occasions: the new member merely pays to the caste panchayat a sum of money, varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15, to be spent on a feast, in which for the first time he openly eats with his adopted caste brethren. The origin of this singular practice, which is entirely out of accord with the spirit of the caste system at the present day, is apparently to be sought in the lax views of the Bauris and Bagdis on the subject of sexual morality. In every other caste a woman who has an intrigue with an outsider is punished by expulsion from the caste; but Bagdis and Bauris not only allow their women to live openly with men of other castes, but receive those men into their own community when, as frequently happens, they are outcasted by their own people for eating rice cooked by their mistresses.

Marriage

Marriage among the Bauris is either infant or adult, the tendency being for those who can afford it to marry their daughters as infants. Polygamy is permitted: a man is allowed to have as many wives as he can afford to maintain. Widows may marry again, and are usually expected to marry their deceased husband's younger brother. No ceremony is gone through; the bridegroom pays Re. 1-4 to the bride's father, and gives a feast to the members of the caste. Divorce is recognised. It is effected by the husband taking away from his wife the iron ring which every married woman wears, and proclaiming to the *paramanik* and panchayat the fact of his having divorced her. In some districts a wife may divorce her husband for ill-treatment, desertion, or adultery. Divorced wives may always marry again. The marriage ceremony in use among the Bauris of Western Bengal differs little from that of the Bagdis, except that there is no pool of water in the middle of the marriage bower, and the bride sits on the left of the bridegroom instead of facing him. In districts further east an attempt is made to follow the standard Hindu ritual, and the interchange of garlands is held to be the binding portion of the procedure.

Religion

Bauris profess to be Hindus of the Sakta sect, but in Western Bengal, at any rate, their connexion with Hinduism is of the slenderest kind, and their favourite objects of worship are Manasa, Bhadu, Mansingh, Barpahari, Dharmaraj, and Kudrasini. The cult of the two former deities has been described in the article on the Bagdis. Goats are sacrificed to Mansingh, and fowls to Barpahari, which is merely another name for the 'great mountain' (Marang Buru) of the Santals. Pigs, fowls, rice, sugar and ghee are offered to Kudrasini on Saturdays and Sundays at the akhra or dancing place of the village through the medium of a Bauri priest, who abstains from flesh or fish on the day preceding the sacrifice. The priest gets as his fee the fowls that are offered and the head or leg of the pig, the worshippers eat the rest. It should be mentioned here that in Western Bengal Bauris have not yet attained to the dignity of having Brahmans of their own. Their priests are men of their own caste, termed Lava or Degharia, some of whom hold *layah* land rent-free or at a nominal rent as remuneration for their services The headman of the village (*paramanik*) may also officiate as priest. The Bauris of Eastern Bengal employ a low class of Barna Brahmans. Kali and Visvakarma are their favourite deities. In most districts Bauris have adopted the Hindu practice of burning their dead; but in Bankura corpses are buried with the head to the north and face downward, the object of this attitude being to prevent the spirit from getting out and giving trouble to the living. A rude funeral ceremony is performed on the eleventh day after death, when the relations feast together and the nearest relative of the deceased has his head shaved.

Occupation

Agricultural labour and palanquin-bearing are supposed to be the original occupations of the caste, and this tradition corresponds pretty closely to the facts as we now find them. They work also as wood-cutters and masons, and in Burdwan a few have risen to be traders and money-lenders. In some respects they are more particular than would be expected, considering the low social position they hold. A Bauri who takes to curing leather, works as a syce, or keeps a liquorshop, is turned out of the caste. Comparatively few Bauris are raiyats with occupancy rights, but the majority may probably be put down as under-raiyats or landless day-labourer. They were well known as indigo-cultivators and workers in the vats in the prosperous days of Bengal indigo, and nomadic tillage of *char* lands is one of their characteristic pursuits. In Manbhum and Bankura many of them hold substantial tenures on terms of police service a fact which lends colour to the view that they are among the earliest settlers in that part of the country. Thus in Manbhum we find two *sadials*, one *digwar*, two *naib digwars*, 17 village *sardars*, and 49 *tabidars* of the caste; while in Bankura the Bauris are represented by 14 *Sardar ghatwals*, 16 *Sadials*, 8 *digwars*, 375 *tabidars*, and 554 *chakran chaukidars*.

Social status

The social rank of Bauris is very low. Members of higher castes will not take water from their hands, and they themselves eat with Bagdis, Kewats, Lohars, and the non-Aryan Kurmis of Western Bengal. They are, in fact, hardly distinguishable from the Haris of Bengal and the Ghasis of Chota Nagpur, and are despised everywhere except in Manbhum and Birbhum, where they are allowed by the Hindus to do certain menial offices which are usually done by people of higher castes. With few exceptions, they are entirely indifferent to the nice scruples regarding food, which have so important a bearing on the status of the average Hindu, for they eat beef, pork, fowls, all kinds of fish and rats, and are much addicted to strong drink. Nevertheless they pique themselves on not eating snakes and lizards, like the Oraons.

(vi) THE BHUMIJ

Extract from 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal' by H. H. Risley, I.C.S.
(Volume I, Official Edition, published in 1891, pp. 116-26)

Origin

BHUMIJ, a non-Aryan tribe of Manbhum, Singhbhum, and Western Bengal, classed by Dalton and others, mainly on linguistic grounds, as Kolarian. There can be no doubt that the Bhumij are closely allied to, if not identical with, the Mundas; I am inclined myself to believe that the Bhumij are nothing more than a branch of the Mundas, who have spread to the eastward, mingled with the Hindus, and thus for the most part severed their connexion with the parent tribe.

I have not been able to discover that the Bhumij possess any independent traditions of migrations. Those who live in proximity to Chutia Nagpur recognise no distinction between themselves and the Mundas. They

intermarry and associate and coalesce in all matters indicating identity of race; for, though it may be said that they are not much troubled with caste prejudices, there is no portion of the old Indian population which is quite free from it The Bhumij farther east have become too Hinduised to acknowledge the relationship. The Dalbhum Bhumij consider themselves autochthones, and will not admit that they are in any way connected with the Mundas, Hos, or Santals. It is pretty certain that the *zamindars* of all these estates are of the same race as their people, though the only man among them whom I found sensible enough to acknowledge this was the Raja of Baghmundi; the others all call themselves Kshattriyas or Rajputs, but they are not acknowledged as such by any true scion of that illustrious stock. In claiming to be Rajputs they do not attempt to connect themselves with any of the recognised families of the tribe, but each family has its own special legend of miraculous production. The Bhumij live in commodious, well-built houses, and have all about them the comforts to which the better class of cultivators in Bengal are accustomed. Those who live quite amongst the Bengalis have retained few of their ancient customs; none, perhaps, except the great national amusement, the gay meetings for dance and song both at their villages and at *jatras*, which are characteristic of all Kols. In appearance they are inferior to the Hos of Singbhum and to the best of the Mundas of Chutia Nagpur. They are short of stature, but strongly built, and, like the Santals, rather inclined to fleshiness. In complexion they are variable, like the Mundas, ranging from a dark chocolate to a light brown colour, they observe many of the Hindu festivals, but retain their sacred groves, in which they still sacrifice to the old gods. They have generally left off eating cow's flesh, in which their unreformed brethern in Singbhum and Chutia Nagpur indulge, but eat fowls. The Bhumij have in a great degree lost the simplicity and truthfulness of character for which their cognates are generally distinguished.

Internal structure

The sub-tribes are numerous, and vary greatly in different districts With the possible exception of the iron-smelting SHELO in Manbhum, the names of these groups seem to have reference to their supposed original settlements.

Marriage

The exogamous divisions of the tribe are totemistic, and closely resemble those met with among the Mundas. The rule of exogamy is simple. A man may not marry a woman of his own sept, nor a woman who comes within the standard formula for reckoning prohibited degrees, calculated as a rule to three generations in the descending line, but sometimes extended to five where *bhaiyadi* or mutual recognition of kinship has been maintained between the families.

The aboriginal usage of adult-marriage still holds its ground among the Bhumij, though the wealthier members of the tribe prefer to marry their daughters as infants. The extreme views of the urgent necessity of early marriage is unknown among them, and it is thought no shame for a man to have a grown-up daughter unmarried in his house. Sexual intercourse before marriage is more or less recognised, it being understood that if a girl becomes pregnant arrangements will at once be made to marry her to the father of her child. Brides are bought for a price ranging usually from Rs. 3 to Rs. 12, and the wedding may take place, according to arrangement, at the house of either party. When, as is more usual, it is celebrated at the bride's house, a square space (*marwa*) is prepared in the courtyard (*angan*) by daubing the ground with rice-water. In the centre of this space branches of *mahua* and *sidha* trees are planted, bound together with five cowrie shells (*Cyproea moneta*) and five pieces of turmeric, and at the corners are set four earthen water-vessels connected by a cotton thread, which marks the boundary of the square. Each vessel is half filled with pulse, and covered with a concave lid, in which a small lamp burns. On the arrival of the bridegroom with his following of friends, he is led at once to the *marwa* and made to sit on a bit of board (*pira*). The bride is then brought in and given a similar seat on his left hand. A sort of mimic resistance to the introduction of the bride is often offered by her more distant female relatives and friends, who receive trifling presents for allowing her to pass.

After the bride has taken her seat and certain *mantras* or mystic formulae have been pronounced by the priest, usually a Bengal Barhman, the bridegroom proceeds to light the lamps at the corners of the square. As fast as each lamp is lighted the bride blows it out, and this is repeated three, five, or seven times, as the case may be. The couple then return to their seats, and the bride is formally given to the bridegroom, appropriate *mantras* being recited at the time, and their right hands being joined together by the officiating priest. Last of all, the bridegroom smears vermilion on the bride's forehead, and his clothes are knotted to hers, the knot being kept intact for three, four, five, seven, or ten days, according to the custom of the family. At the end of that time they must rub themselves with turmeric and bathe, and the knot is solemnly untied in the presence of the bridegroom's relations. No priest is present on this occasion.

The Bhumij recognise polygamy, and in theory at least impose no limitation on the number of wives a man may have. The tribe, however, are for the most part poor, and their meagre standard of living proves an effectual bar to excessive indulgence in the luxury of polygamy. When a man has no children by his first wife, he usually marries again if he can afford to do so; and it frequently happens that the second wife is a young widow, whom he marries by the *sanga* ritual, paying a nominal bride-price and incurring far less expenditure than would be necessary in the event of his marrying a virgin.

Widow-marriage

Widow-marriage is freely permitted by the *sanga* ritual, in which a widow smears on the bride's forehead vermilion which the bridegroom has previously touched with his great toe. It is deemed right for a widow to marry her late husband's younger brother or cousin, if such an arrangement be feasible; and in the event of her marrying an outsider, she forfeits all claim to a share in her late husband's property and to the custody of any children she may have had by him. Traces of the growth of a sentiment adverse to the practice of widow-marriages may perhaps be discerned in the fact that the children of widows by their second husbands experience some difficulty in getting married, and tend rather to form a class by themselves.

Divorce

The Bhumij of Manbhum allow divorce only when a woman has been guilty of adultery. A council of relations is called, who hear the evidence and determine whether the charge has been proved. If their finding is against the woman, her husband solemnly draws from her wrist the iron ring, which is the visible sign of wedlock. Water is then poured on a *sal* leaf, and the husband tears the wet leaf in two to symbolise separation. This ceremony is called *pat pani chira*, 'the wet leaf rent,' and besides making the divorce absolute, relieves the husband from any claim by the wife for maintenance. He is himself socially impure after the ceremony until he has shaved and performed certain expiatory rites, the most important of which appears to be giving a feast to the relatives who came together to adjudicate on the case. A woman has no right to divorce her husband, and if neglected or ill-treated her only remedy is to run away with another man. Divorced wives may marry again by the *sanga* ritual, but their offspring by their second husbands are at the same social disadvantage in respect of marriage as has been noticed above in referring to the children of widows. In both cases the sentiment is unquestionably due to the influence of Hinduism in modifying the original usages of the tribe.

Succession

In matters of inheritance and succession the tribe usually affect to follow the school of Hindu law in vogue

in their neighbourhood, and hardly any vestiges of special tribal custom can now be traced. Almost all Bhumij, however, give the eldest son an extra share (*jethangs* or *bara angs*) when the property is divided; and the *ghatwali* members of the tribe follow the local custom of primogeniture, the younger sons being provided for by small maintenance grants. If a man leaves no children, his widow takes a life-interest on the property.

Religion

The religion of the Bhumij varies, within certain limits, according to the social position and territorial status of the individuals concerned. Zamindars and well-to-do tenure-holders employ Brahmans as their family priests, and offer sacrifices to Kali or Mahamaya. The mass of the people revere the sun under the names of Sing-Bonga and Dharm, as the giver of harvests to men and the cause of all changes of seasons affecting their agricultural fortunes. They also worship a host of minor gods, among whom the following deserve special mention: (1) JAHIR-BURU, worshipped in the sacred grove of the village (*jahir-than*) with offerings of goats, fowls, rice, and ghee at the Sarhul festival in the months of Baisakh (April-May) and Phalgun (January-February). The laya presides at the sacrifice, and the offerings are divided between him and the worshippers. Jahir-Buru is supposed to be capable of blasting the crops if not duly propitiated, and her worship is a necessary preliminary to the commencement of the agricultural operations of the year. (2) KARAKATA, (Kara = 'buffalo', and Kata = 'to cut') another agricultural deity, to whom buffaloes and goats are offered towards the commencement of the rains. The skin of the buffalo is taken by the worshippers, the horns form the perquisite of the laya; while the Doms, who make music at the sacrifice, are allowed to carry off the flesh. In the case of goats, the laya's share is one-third of the flesh. If Karakata is neglected, it is believed there will be a failure of the rains. The cult of this deity, however, is not so universal as that of Jahir-Buru. (3) BAGHUT or BAGH-BHUT, who protects his votaries from tigers, is worshipped in Kartick (October-November) on the night of the Amabasya or the day preceding it. The offerings are goats, fowls, ghee, rice, etc., which may be presented either in the homstead or on the high land (*tanr*) close to the village. In the former case the head of the family officiates as priest; in the latter the laya's services are enlisted, and he can claim share of the offerings. (4) GRAM-DEOTA and DEOSHALI, gods of village life, who ward off sickness and watch over the supply of water for drinking and irrigation of the crops. They are propitiated in Ashar (July-August) with offerings of goats, fowls, and rice, at which layas preside. (5) BURU, a mountain deity associated with many different hills throughout the Bhumij country, and worshipped for recovery from sickness and general prosperity on the first or second Magh. The head of the family or a laya serves as priest. (6) KUDRA and BISAYCHANDI are malignant ghosts of cannibalistic propensities, whom the layas propitiate in the interests of the community Private individuals do not worship them. (7) PANCHBAHINI and BARADELA are local deities worshipped by the Bankura Bhumij in much the same fashion as Jahir-Buru, the chief difference being that the offerings to Panchbahini are she-goats and a kind of scent called *mathaghasha* while only fowls are presented to Baradela.

Festivals

With the Bhumij, as with other non-Aryan tribes of Chota Nagpur, the Karam festival, Colonel Dalton's description of which is quoted in the article Oraon, seems to be especially popular. The Bhumij of Bankura district celebrate this feast in the latter half of the month Bhadra, corresponding roughly to the first half of September. A branch of the karam-tree (*Nauclea parvifolia*) is planted by the laya in the centre of the village dancing ground (*akhra*). At the foot of this branch is a vessel partly filled with earth, into which, on the first day of the festival, the unmarried girls of the village throw various kinds of seed grain. These are carefully tended and watered from time to time so as to germinate by the Sankranti, or last day of the month, when the girls give the sprouting blades to each other, and wear them in their hair at the dance, which usually lasts the whole of that night.

Priests

The sacerdotal arrangements of the tribe have already been incidentally referred to. The upper classes employ Brahmans of their own, and ignore the cult of the earlier gods; while the mass of the tribe are guided in their regular observances by the teachings of the layas or priests of the forest gods, and only call in the assistance of Brahmans on the comparatively rare occasions when it is deemed necessary to propitiate one of the standard Hindu deities. But the Brahman who serves the Bhumij zamindar or tenure-holder as family priest takes a higher place in the local community of Brahmans than the casual Brahman who ministers to the spiritual needs of the ordinary cultivator. The former will call himself a Rarhi Kulin, and will be received on equal terms by all other members of the sacred order; while the latter belongs to a much lower class, and associates with the comparatively degraded Brahmans who work for Kurmis and Dhobas.

Disposal of the dead

The funeral rites of the Bhumij are characteristic, and lend strong support to the opinion that the tribe is merely a branch of the Mundas. On the death of a Bhumij his body is laid with the head to the south on a funeral pyre, which is kindled by his male relatives. When the pyre is well alight, the males go home and the wife, sister, or other female relative of the deceased comes to the burning-place, carrying an earthen vessel of water. There she waits till the fire has burned down, quenches the ashes with water, and picks out and places in the vessel the fragments of bone left unconsumed. Some of these fragments are interred at the foot of a *tulsi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) in the courtyard of the dead man's house, others are taken in the vessel to the original cemetery of his family.* There a hole is dug and the vessel of bones placed inside, supported by three stones. The survivors then partake of a feast of rice, *dal*, and other vegetables prepared by the more distant relatives of the deceased. This strictly non-Aryan ritual has of late years been to some extent overlaid by observances borrowed from the regular Hindu sraddh. On the tenth day the mourners are shaved, and on the eleventh balls (*pinda*) of rice, sesamum, molasses, and plantain are offered to ancestors under the supervision of a Brahman, who receives such presents as the means of the family permit them to give. A more primitive mode of appeasing the departed spirit is met with among the Shelo Bhumij. On the eleventh day after death the chief mourner beats a bell-metal drinking-vessel with a stick, while another relation, standing by his side, calls loudly on the name of the dead. After a while a third man, unconnected with the family, and often a laya, comes forward to personate the deceased, by whose name he is addressed, and asked what he wants to eat. Acting thus as the dead man's proxy, he mentions various articles of food, which are put before him. After making a regular meal he goes away and the spirit of the deceased is believed to go with him. The relatives then finish the food prepared for the occasion.

*The theory is that the bones should be taken to the village in which the ancestors of the deceased had the status of *bhuinhars* or first clearers of the soil; but this is not invariably acted up to, and the rule is held to be sufficiently complied with if a man's bones are buried in a village where he or his ancestors have been settled for a tolerably long time. It deserves notice that the Tamarhia Bhumij of Midnapur transport the bones of their dead to the great Munda cemetery at Chokahatu, the place of mourning in pargana Tamarh of Lohardaga. No stronger proof could well be given of the identity of the Bhumij with the Mundas. The Desi Bhumij of Midnapur go to Kuchong, in Singbhum, and some of the Singbhum Bhumij to Suisa, in Bagmundi of Manbhum.

stones The earth is then filled in, and a large flat stone laid over all, on which a fowl is sacrificed to ensure the repose of the dead. The spirits of those whose bones rest in the same place are solemnly informed that another has been added to their number, and are enjoined not to quarrel, but to abide peacefully in the land of the dead.

Mention is made in the article on the Mundas of the custom by which the graves of the *bhuinhars*, or representatives of those who first cleared the soil and founded the village, are marked by an upright stone pillar in addition to the horizontal slab which covers the bones of an ordinary raiyat not descended with one of these pioneer families. Precisely the same distinction is made among the Bhumij *ghatwals* of Manbhum between village *sardars*, or holders of entire *ghatwali* tenures, and the *tabidars*, or rural constables, who make up the rank and file of the *ghatwali* force The graves of the former are invariably distinguished by an upright monolith, sometimes bearing traces of rude attempts at ornamental shaping, while the tombs of the latter consist merely of a slab laid flush with the ground.

Totems of the Bhumij of Western Bengal

With the exception of a few residents of outlying villages bordering on the Munda country of Chota Nagpore proper, the Bhumij have lost their original language (Mundari), and now speak only Bengali. They worship Hindu gods in addition to the fetishistic deities more or less common to them and the other Kolarians, but the tendency is to keep the latter rather in the background and to relegate the less formidable among them to the women and children to be worshipped in a hole-and-corner kind of way, with the assistance of a tribal hedge-priest (*Laya*), who is supposed to be specially acquainted with their ways. Some of the leading men of the tribe, who call themselves Bhuinhars, and hold large landed tenures on terms of police service, have set up as Rajputs, and keep a low class of Brahmans as their family priests. They have, as a rule, borrowed the Rajput class titles, but cannot conform with the Rajput rules of intermarriage, and marry within a narrow circle of pseudo-Rajputs like themselves

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(vii) THE KOCHH

Extract from 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal' by H H. Risley, I.C.S. (Volume I, Official Edition, published in 1891, pp. 491-500)

KOCHH, *Kochh-Mandai*, *Rajbansi*, *Paliya*, *Desi*, a large Dravidian tribe of North-Eastern and Eastern Bengal, among whom there are grounds for suspecting some admixture of Mongolian blood. The transformation of the Kochh into the Rajbansi, the name by which they are now known in Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and Kuch or Kochh Behar, is a singular illustration of the influence exercised by fiction in the making of caste. As described by Buchanan at the beginning of the century and by Hodgson some fifty years ago, the Kochh tribe was unquestionably non-Aryan and non-Hindu. Now the great majority of the Kochh inhabitants of Northern Bengal invariably describe themselves as Rajbansis or Bhanga-Kshatriyas—a designation which enables them to pose as an outlying branch of the Kshatriyas who fled to these remote districts in order to escape from the wrath of Parasu-Rama.

Alongside of the Rajbansi, but usually* distinct in respect of intermarriage and the eating of cooked food, we find the large sub-caste of PALIYA. They are further subdivided into two subordinate groups, known as SADHU or pure and BABU PALIYA. As a general rule that the main distinction between the Sadhu and Babu Paliya consists in the fact that the latter eat pork, fowls, crocodiles, lizards and the leavings of men of their own caste, and indulge freely in strong drink, while all these things are forbidden to the Sadhu Paliya Another sub-caste known in Dinajpur is DESI, who regard themselves as somewhat superior to the Paliyas. A Desi can take rice, water, sweetmeats, etc , from a Paliya man, but not from a Paliya woman; nor is there any intermarriage between the two groups.

The KANTAI Rajbansi are a smaller group found scattered in several districts of Northern Bengal, who cultivate the soil, hold various kinds of tenures, serve as gomashtas, and sometimes practise medicine The TIAR or DALAI are a fishing group mentioned by Buchanan, whose characteristic pursuit is fishing in the shallow drains or ditches connected with swamps and rice-fields.

Marriage

The Rajbansis profess to marry their daughters as infants, between the ages of four and ten years; but this custom has only recently been adopted, and it is difficult to ascertain to what extent it is really followed even among those sub-castes which profess to be pure Hindus In the more primitive groups adult-marriage still prevails, and a breach of chastity before marriage is readily condoned, though the tendency is continually towards the adoption of what is believed to be the more orthodox usage The same remark applies to the remarriage of widows. The Rajbansis in Rangpur if questioned on this point aver most positively that nothing of the sort is permitted, while their brethren in the Darjiling Terai make no secret at all of allowing a widow to remarry outside the degrees prohibited to her before her marriage, and subject to the further condition that she may not marry any of the elder relations of her late husband. Where a widow happens to be the head of the family, she enjoys the further privilege of choosing any man not within the prohibited degrees to live with her as her husband without going through any ceremony whatever. This looks like a survival, and may possibly furnish an explanation of the statement made by Buchanan* about the Pani-Kochh that 'women who happen to be unmarried after they have grown up select a husband according to their own discretion,' which by itself seems rather unlikely. If, however, we suppose the privilege to have been limited to women who had control of the property of their family, it bears a different aspect, and falls into line with several points of primitive practice in matters affecting property Curiously enough, the Rajbansis, who prohibit widow-marriage, nevertheless recognise divorce,—a fact sufficient in itself to show, if further proof were wanting, that the former prohibition cannot have been long in force among them. Such divorces are effected before a *panchayat*, at which the *purohit* and the barber of the caste, the former a Rajbansi-Brahman or Barna-Brahman, are present. The husband states his case, the wife has or is supposed to have the right of reply, and the judgment of the panchayat is given by acclamation. If, as usually happens, it is adverse to the wife, her hair is shaved close to her head by the barber and the husband turns her out of the Rajbansi community.

Religion

The precise form of Hinduism followed by the Rajbansis seems to vary in different parts of the country according to the influences to which they are subjected. In Rangpur they profess to be Vaishnavas, while in Darjiling, where Tantric ideas are perhaps more prevalent, their favourite goddess is alleged to be Kali.

*I have come across Rajbansis who said that members of the two groups intermarried, and that Rajbansi and Paliya were practically convertible terms.

**Eastern India*, III, 540.

Bisahari or Manasa, Grami, Tistu Buri, Hanuman, Bindur Tulsi, Rishi Kishtho, Pethani, Jogini, Hudum Deo, Bahastho or Bahustho, Balibhadra Thakur, and Kora-Kuri are mentioned as among their minor gods. Some curious particulars of their worship deserve mention here. When a drought has lasted long, the Rajbansi women make two images of Hudum Deo from mud or cowdung, and carry them away into the fields at night. There they strip themselves naked and dance round the images, singing obscene songs, in the belief that this will cause rain to fall. The household god, Bahastho or Bahustho, is worshipped in Baisakh (April-May) twice daily and at other times whenever the family enters a new house. A round lump of clay made smooth by smearing it with cowdung is set up at the foot of a bamboo to represent the god, and to this offerings of rice are made which are eaten by the worshippers. If this duty is neglected, disease or some similar calamity is believed to come upon the family. To Satya-Naraın, whom the Mahomedans revere under the name of Satya-Pir, fresh milk, wheat flour, plantains and sugar are offered by the Brahmans who serve the caste on an auspicious day in Jaishtha (May-June). For this god wheat flour is said to be essential, and no substitute is admitted. Balibhadra Thakur is propitiated at sowing time under the form of a yoked plough, before which the worshippers prostrate themselves and do homage as at the shrine of a regular divinity The germination of the seed is deemed to depend on the due performance of this ceremony. Seven months after child-birth, when the child is given rice to eat for the first time, Shati (probably a variant of Shasthi) is worshipped with offerings of *kantla* plantain, *atab* rice, and the leaves of the *bel* and the *tulsi*. Rude images of the goddess are made by the Mali caste in the form of cylinders of *sola* about seven inches high, roughly moulded into human form and mounted on the backs of *sola* ducks. The cult of *Kora Kuri* is confined to women and children. During the month of Paush (December-January) a small earthen pot (*ghat*) is set up in the yard, offerings of *durba* grass, plantain and turmeric are laid on it, and it is smeared with vermilion and oil.

(viii) THE LEPCHA

Extract from 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal' by H H. Risley, I.C.S.
(Volume II, Official Edition, published in 1891, *pp.* 6-14)

Origin

Lepcha, Rong, Khamba, Mon, a Mongolian tribe of Sikkim, Western Bhutan, Eastern Nepal, and Darjeeling. They are divided into two branches—Rong and Khamba. The former claim to be the original inhabitants of Sikkim, while the Khamba are believed to have immigrated some 250 years ago from the Kham province of China, whither a deputation of Lamas had been sent to choose a ruler for Sikkim.

Physical type

"In person", says Dr. Campbell, "the Lepchas are short, averaging about five feet in height. five feet six inches is tall, and four feet eight inches is a common stature among the men. The women are shorter in the usual proportion. The men are bulky for their height, but rather fleshy than sinewy. The muscular development of their limbs is inferior to that of the Magars, Gurungs, Murmis, and other Parbattiahs. They are very fair of skin, and boys and girls in health have generally a ruddy tinge of complexion. This is lost, however, in adolescence, although the fairness continues. The features are markedly Mengolian, but there is a fulness and roundness of feature accompanied by a cheerful expression and laughing eye which renders the face a most pleasing one. The total absence of beard and the fashion of parting the hair along the crown of the head adds to a somewhat womanly expression of countenance in the men, and the loose bedgown sort of jacket, with wide sleeves, which they wear, contributes still more to render it rather difficult for strangers to distinguish the sexes, especially in middle age. The men very often look like women, and the women sometimes like men. The hair is worn long by both sexes; the younger men allowing it to hang loose over the shoulders, the elders plaiting it into a tail, which sometimes reaches to the knees. The women of rank wear their hair in two, and sometimes in three tails, tying it with braids and silken cords and tassels. The Lepchas, both male and female, are dirty in person, rarely having recourse to ablution. In the cold and dry season this renders them unpleasant inmates of a close dwelling, but in the rains when they move about and are frequently wet, they are clean and sweet. The temperament of the Lepcha is eminently cheerful, and his disposition really amiable. In ordinary intercourse they are a very fascinating people, and possess an amount of intelligence and rational curiosity not to be met with among their Bhotia, Limbu, Murmi, or Gurung neighbours, and indeed rarely, if ever, to be seen among people so completely secluded from foreign intercourse as they always have been. They are wonderfully honest, theft being scarcely known among them; they rarely quarrel among themselves. I have never known them to draw their knives on one another, although they always wear them. For ordinary social purposes of talking, eating, and drinking, they have great unanimity, but for any more important purposes of resistance to oppression, the pursuit of industry or trade, their confidence in one another is at a low pitch they fly bad Government rather than resist it, and used to prefer digging for yams in the jungle and eating wretchedly innutritious vegetables to enduring any injustice or harsh treatment. They are singularly forgiving of injuries, when time is given them, after hasty loss of temper.

The Primitive rule of exogamy having thus fallen into disuse, the Lepchas supply its place by a table of prohibited degrees which does not differ materially from that expressed by the common formula Mamera, Chachera, etc., already often referred to. Intermarriage is barred only for three generations in the descending line.

Marriage

Lepcha girls usually marry between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. Men marry later owing to the difficulty of getting together the bride-price, which ranges from Rs. 40 to Rs. 100 according to the rank of the parties. The first courtship is permitted, and sexual license before marriage is tolerated. The ceremony, performed first at the bride's and then at the bridegroom's house is of a very simple character. Bride and bridegroom sit side by side on a carpet, and the Lama ties a silk scarf round the neck of each and then changes the scarves, so that the bride wears the bridegroom's and vice versa. Rice is sprinkled over their heads, they eat together, and drink marua beer out of the same cup. The proceedings end with a feast. The married couple spend three days in the husband's house, and then usually go on a month's visit to the bride's parents.

When a man is too poor to pay the bride-price, he is often allowed to marry, as it were, on credit, but the bride does not leave her father's house, and the husband goes to live with her and work for his father-in-law until the full amount has been made up.

Polyandry, though comparatively rare, is not entirely unknown among the Lepchas. As might be expected, the Tibetan form of the custom is followed, and the younger brothers share the favours of the eldest brother's wife. Polygamy is permitted, but is not practised on a large scale.

A widow may marry again, and is subject to no express restrictions in her choice of a second husband. It is considered, however, proper for her to marry her late husband's younger brother, and if she marries an outsider, this brother-in-law usually keeps the children, and in any case may claim repayment of the bride-price. The full ceremony may be employed at the marriage of a widow, but the parties usually content themselves with the mere announcement by a Lama that they have become man and wife.

If a married couple cannot agree, arbitrators (pibus) are appointed to attempt to adjust their differences. If they fail after two or three attempts, a formal divorce is effected with the concurrence of the Lama who married the pair The wife returns to her father's house, and her husband pays some compensation to her parents. Where adultery is proved, the husband has a right to divorce his wife without paying compensation to her parents, and to take away her ornaments. Physical chastisement is never inflicted, nor is the right of divorce invariably exercised. Divorced wives may marry again by the same ceremony as is in use at the marriage of a virgin

Religion

Most Lepchas at the present day profess to be Buddists, and follow in a more or less intelligent fashion the observances of the northern sect of that religion. It is clear, however, that at no very distant time their sole belief was a form of Shamanistic Animism of the same general character as that described in the article on the Limbus. Conspicuous traces of this faith still survive among them, imperfectly hidden by the thin veil of Buddhistic usage. In the belief of the average Lepcha, mountain and forest, rock and stream represent ill-defined but formidable powers who threaten mankind with a variety of physical ills, and require to be constantly appeased through the agency of Bijuas or exorcists. Not all of these powers are evil, and some are even credited with taking a kindly interest in human affairs. But savage theology, expressing doubtless the experience of primitive man as to the distribution of good and evil in the world, teaches that the good gods abide in their own place and take no heed of mankind, while the malevolent deities are in a constant state of jealous and mischievous activity. The former therefore gradually drop out of notice and fade from the memories of men, while the latter, strong in the fears they inspire, may even outlive an entire change of religion on the part of their votaries. The snow-clad giant Kinchinjanga, chief among the elemental deities of the Lepchas, who vexes men with storm and hail and sends down avalanches and torrents to wreck their fields and sweep away their homes, has been translated to the milder system of Buddhism, where he figures as the tutor of Sakya Muni himself. Eshegenpu, Palden Lhamo, Lapen-Rimbuchi, Genpu-Maling-Nagpu, and Wasungma are less easy to identify; but the fact that they receive offerings of meat and marua beer in addition to the flowers, fruit, rice, and incense sanctioned by Buddhist usage, lends some weight to the conjecture that they belong to an earlier and more barbarous system. Chirenzi or Lachen-Om-Chhup-Chhimu is said by the Lepchas to be the same as Mahadeva. His wife is Umadeva. Both are believed to have been worshipped by the Lepchas before the introduction of Buddhism.

Tibetan Lamas serve the tribe as priests, and preside at all Buddhist ceremonies. Lepchas themselves rarely become Lamas, but many of them are exorcists (Bujuas or Ojhas), and exercise considerable influence by their power of averting the ill-will of the gods and appeasing the spirits of the dead.

Disposal of the dead

The dead are usually buried, fully clothed and in a sitting position, facing towards the east. Before burial the corpse is kept sitting in the house for two or three days with food before it. The grave is lined with stones and a round cairn built on the top surmounted by a flag. Among the Rong Lepchas an Ojha is called in about a month after death to perform a simple propitiatory rite, at which a cow or a goat is killed and much marua beer is drunk. This is sometimes repeated on the first anniversary of the death. At harvest time offerings of rice, marua beer, and various kinds of food are presented by the head of the household for the benefit of ancestors in general.

The higher classes of Khamba Lepchas burn their dead, pound the fragments of the bones which remain, and throw them into a river, not into a jhora or hill stream.

Food

"The Lepchas", says Dr. Campbell, "have no caste distinctions. Those who live under the Nepal Government are obliged to conform to the Hindu laws of that State, which prohibit the killing of the cow. This they do, however, with a very bad grace, and rarely forego an opportunity of visiting Darjeeling to indulge their beef-eating propensities. They are gross feeders, eating all kinds of animal food, including the elephant, rhinoceros, and monkey, and all grains and vegetables known to us, with the addition of many roots and plants altogether excluded from our culinary list. Pork is their most favourite flesh; next to that beef, goat, and mutton. The yak is considered the best beef, the next to that the flesh of the Sikkim cow, a fine animal, and last the Bengali and common cow. All birds are included in their list of eatable game. Of the carrion of wild animals, that of the elephant is most prized. The favourite vegetable food is rice, next to it wheat, barley, maize, millet, murwa, and a fine species of yam called "Bookh".

Occupation

The Lepchas are poor agriculturists, their labours in this art being confined to the careless growing of rice, Indian corn, murwa (Seasasum Orientalis), and a few vegetables of which the brinjal, cucumber, and capsicum are the chief. Their habits are incurably erratic· they do not form permanent villages, and rarely remain longer than three years in one place, at the expiration of which they move into a new part of the forest, sometimes near, often distant, and there go through the labour of clearing a space for a house, building a new one, and preparing the ground for a crop. The latter operations consist in cutting down the smaller trees, lopping off the branches of the large ones, which are burnt, and scratching the soil with the "ban," after which, on the falling of a shower of rain, the seed is thrown into the ground.

(ix) THE LIMBU

Extract from 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal' by H. H. Risley, I.C.S.
(Volume II, Official Edition, published in 1891, *pp.* 14-20)

Traditions of origin

Limbu, a large tribe, probably of Mongolian descent, ranking next to the Khambu and above the Yakha among the three upper divisions of the Kiranti group. The name Limbu, or Das Limbu, from the ten sub-tribes (really thirteen) into which they are supposed to be divided, is used only by outsiders. Tibetans have no special name for the Limbus; they call all the tribes of the Indian side of the Himalaya by the general name Monpa or dwellers in the ravines. The Lepchas and Bhotias or Tibetans settled in Bhotan, Sikkim, and Nepal speak of the Limbus as Tsong. Lepchas call them Chang, which may be a corruption of Tsong. By other members of the Kiranti

group they are addressed by the honorific title of Subah or Suffah, a chief.

The Limbus, according to Dr. Campbell, "form a large portion of the inhabitants in the mountainous country lying between the Dud-Kosi and Kanki rivers in Nepal, and are found in smaller numbers eastwards to the Mechi river, which forms the boundary of Nepal and Sikkim They have also a tradition that five out of their thirteen sub-tribes came from Lhasa, while five others came from Benares. The former group is called the Lhasa-gotra, and the latter the Kasi-gotra; but the term gotra has in this case no bearing on marriage. All that can safely be said is that the Limbus are the oldest recorded population of the country between the Tamra Kosi and the Mechi, and their flat features, slightly oblique eyes, yellow complexion, and beardlessness may perhaps afford grounds for believing them to be the descendants of early Tibetan settlers in Nepal. They appear to have mixed little with the Hindus, but much with the Lepchas, who of late years have migrated in large numbers from Sikkim to the west.

Although used to bearing arms, and deeming themselves a military race, they do not rank among the Gorkhali regiments of the Nepalese army Their principal occupations at the present day are agriculture, grazing, and petty trade.

Internal structure

The internal structure of the tribe is extremely complicated, and can best be studied in the Appendix, where it is shown in a tabular form. The Limbus are divided into thirteen endogamous sub-tribes, each of which is again broken up into a number of exogamous septs. The rule of exogamy goes by the male side, and is supplemented by forbidding inter-marriage between persons descended in a direct line from the same parents as long as any relationship can be traced. In practice, however, while the rule forbidding marriage within the thar is most strictly observed, there seems to be much uncertainty about prohibited degrees. A further complication is introduced by the restrictions on inter-marriage arising from the mith (Limbu sailba) friendship or on fictitious brotherhood among most of the hill races.

Members of the Murni, Lepcha, and Bhotia tribes may be admitted into the Limbu tribe after being approved by the tribal council, called the Limbus thum-thum, and giving a feast to the local community. In some cases the new member is required to file a written statement to the effect that he has entered the tribe and will abide by its rules. Khambus and Yakhas, being Kirantis themselves, may be admitted into the tribe by the simpler and more direct process of adoption In any case the children of a Limbu man by a Bhotia, Lepcha, Gurung, Sunawar, Mangar, or Murmi woman, or of a Limbu woman by a man of any of these groups, are admitted without question into the Limbu community.

Religion

Where their surroundings are Hindus, they describe themselves as Saivas, and profess to worship, though with sparing and infrequent observance, Mahadeva and his consort Gauri, the deities most favoured by the lax Hinduism of Nepal. In a Buddhist neighbourhood the yoke of conformity is still more easy to bear· the Limbu has only to mutter the pious formula, 'Om mani padmo om', and to pay respect and moderate tribute to the Lamas, in order to be accepted as an average Buddhist. Beneath this veneer of conformity with whatever faith happens to have gained local acceptation, the vague shapes of their original Pantheon have survived in the form of household or forest gods, much in the same way as Dionysus and other of the Greek gods may be traced in the names and attributes of the saints who preside over the vintage, the harvest and rural festivals of various kinds in remote parts of Greece at the present day. Under such disguises, which serve to mask departures from the popular creeds, the Limbus worship a host of spiritual beings whose attributes are ill-defined, and whose very names are not easy to ascertain. Yuma, Kapoba, and Theba rank as household gods, and are propitiated once in five years, or whenever disease or loss of property threaten the family, by the slaughter, outside the house, of buffaloes, pigs or fowls. The votaries eat the sacrifice, and thus, as they express it, "dedicate the life-breath to the gods, the flesh to ourselves" No special days are set apart for the ceremony; but it cannot be performed on Sunday, as that day is sacred to Himariya Those who wholly neglect the duty are supposed to suffer in person or property, and the common hill disease of goitre is believed to be one of the special modes by which the gods manifest their displeasure Temples and idols are alike unknown, nor, so far as I can ascertain, does the imagination of the Limbus trouble itself to clothe its vague spiritual conceptions with any bodily form.

Himariya, the god of the forest, is propitiated on Sundays by offerings of sheep, goats, fowls, pigeons and Indian-corn. A stone under a tree by the roadside is smeared with vermilion and bound with thread, and this place of sacrifice is marked by consecrated rags tied to a bamboo pole

In addition to these more or less beneficent, or at least neutral, divinities, the Limbus are compassed about by a multitude of nameless evil spirits, "who require peculiar management in warding off their caprices." To appease and propitiate these is the special function of the Bijuas, a class of wandering mendicants peculiar to Sikkim and the eastern parts of Nepal. Bijuas are wholly illiterate, and travel about the country muttering prayers and incantations, dancing, singing, prescribing for the sick and casting out devils. They wear a purple robe and broad-brimmed hat, and are regarded with great awe by the people into whom they have instilled the convenient belief that their curses and blessings will surely be fulfilled, and that ill-luck will attend any one who allows a Bijua to leave his door dissatisfied.

While the Bijua acts as exorcist and devil-worshipper for all the Himalayan races, the equally illiterate Phedangma is the tribal priest of the Limbus for the higher grades of spirits, and officiates at sacrifices, marriages, and funerals He is also called in at births to foretell the destiny of the infant, and to invoke the blessings of the gods The office frequently descends from father to son, but any one may become a Phedangbo who has turn for propitiating the gods, and for this reason the occupation shows no signs of hardening into a caste.

Animism

It will be apparent from the facts stated above that the leading principle of the Limbu religion is animism, "the belief in the existence of souls or spirits of which only the powerful—those on which man feels himself dependent, and before which he stands in awe—acquire the rank of divine beings and become objects of worship."

Social status

The Limbus stand wholly outside of the Hindu caste system, and their social position can only be defined with reference to the other Himalayan races. They belong to the upper division of the Kiranti group, which inhabits the middle hills of the Himalayas, and rarely descends below an elevation of 2,000 feet. Within this division the Limbu take rank below the Khambu and above the Yakha, but this distinction is probably unknown beyond the limits of the Kiranti group, and in the eyes of society at large the three tribes occupy practically an equal position.

In the matter of food, they have very few prejudices. They eat beef, pork, and the flesh of all clean-feeding animals, and drink wine. In fact, the only restrictions on their diet appear to be those imposed on certain thars by the obligation not to eat the totem or best-eponym of the group. They will eat with all the castes of the hills except the Kami, Damai, Sarki and Gain.

(x) THE MUNDA

Extract from 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal' by H. H. Risley, I.C.S.
(Vol. II, Official Edition, published in 1891, pp. 101-105)

Origin

Munda, *Mura*, *Horo-hon*, a large Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarian, and closely akin to the Hos and Santals, and probably also to the Kandhs The name Munda is of Sanskrit origin. It means headman of a village, and is a titular or functional designation used by the members of the tribe, as well as by outsiders, as a distinctive name much in the same way as the Santals call themselves Manjhi, the Bhumij Sardar, and the Khambu of the Darjeeling hills, Jimdar. It may be added that the Kharias of Chota Nagpur call the Mundas Kora, a name closely approaching Kol.

Internal Structure

The Mundas are divided into thirteen sub-tribes, several of which, such as, Kharia-Munda, Mahili-Munda, Oraon-Munda, appear to be the result of crosses with neighbouring tribes, while others again, like Bhuinhar-Munda and Manki-Munda, have reference to the land and communal system of the tribe. The Mahili-Munda sub-tribe has the pig for its totem, and for them pork is tabooed But appetite has proved stronger than tradition, and the taboo is satisfied by throwing away the head of the animal, the rest of the carcase being deemed lawful food

Marriage

A Munda may not marry a woman of his own sept. The sept-name goes by the father's side, and inter-marriage with persons nearly related through the mother is guarded against by reckoning prohibited degrees in the manner common in Bihar. Adult marriage is still in fashion, and sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognised, but in all respectable families matches are made by the parents, and the parties themselves have very little to say in the matter. The bride-price varies from Rs. 4 to 20. *Sindurdan*, or the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead by the bridegroom and on the bridegroom's forehead by the bride, is the essential and binding portion. The practice described by Colonel Dalton of marrying the bride to a *mahua* tree and the bridegroom to a mango seems now to have been abandoned. Widows may marry again by the ritual known as *sagai*, in which *sindurdan* is performed with the left hand. Divorce is allowed at the instance of either party, and divorced women are permitted to marry again. In cases of adultery the seducer is required to pay to the husband the full amount of the bride-price.

Religion

At the head of the Munda religion stands Sing-Bonga, the Sun, a beneficent but somewhat inactive deity, who concerns himself but little with human affairs, and leaves the details of the executive government of the world to the gods in charge of particular branches or departments of nature. Nevertheless although Sing-Bonga himself does not send sickness or calamity to men, he may be invoked to avert such disasters, and in this view sacrifices of white goats or white cocks are offered to him by way of appeal from the unjust punishments believed to have been inflicted by his subordinates. Next in rank to Sing-Bonga comes Buru-Bonga, or Marang-Buru, also known as Pat-Sarna, a mountain god, whose visible habitation is usually supposed to be the highest or most remarkable hill or rock in the neighbourhood. 'In Chota Nagpur', says Colonel Dalton, 'a remarkable bluff, near the village of Lodhma, is the Marang-Buru or Maha-Buru for a wide expanse of country. Here people of all castes assemble and sacrifice—Hindus, even Mahomedans, as well as Kols. There is no visible object of worship, the sacrifices are offered on the top of the hill, a bare semi-globular mass of rock. If animals are killed, the heads are left there, and afterwards appropriated by the pahan or village priest.' Marang-Buru is regarded as the god, who presides over the rainfall, and is appealed to in times of drought, as well as when any epidemic sickness is abroad. The appropriate offering to him is a buffalo. Ikir Bonga rules over tanks, wells and large sheets of water; Garhaera is the goddess of rivers, streams and the small springs, which occur on many hill-sides in Chota Nagpur; while Nage or Nage-era is a general name applied to the minor deities or spirits, who haunt the swampy lower levels of the terraced rice-fields. All of these are believed to have a hand in spreading disease among men, and require constant propitiation to keep them out of mischief. White goats and black or brown cocks are offered to Ikir Bonga, and eggs and turmeric to the Nage. Deswali or Kara-Sarna is the god of the village, who lives with his wife Jahir Burhi or Sarhul-Sarna in the Sarna or sacred grove, a patch of the forest premeval left intact, to afford a refuge for the forest gods. Every village has its own Deswali, who is held responsible for the crops, and receives periodical worship at the agricultural festivals. His appropriate offering is a *Kara* or he-buffalo; to his wife fowls are sacrificed. Gumi is another of the Sarna deities, whose precise functions I have been unable to ascertain. Bullocks and pigs are sacrificed to him at irregular intervals. Chandor appears to be same as Chando Omol or Chanala, the moon worshipped by women, as the wife of Sing-Bonga and the mother of the stars Colonel Dalton mentions the legend that she was faithless to her husband, and he cut her in two, 'but repenting of his anger he allows her at times to shine forth in full beauty'. Goats are offered to her in the Sarna. Haprom is properly the homestead, but it is used in a wider sense to denote the group of dead ancestors, who are worshipped in the homestead by setting apart for them a small portion of every meal and with periodical offerings of fowls. They are supposed to be ever on the watch for chances of doing good or evil to their descendants, and the Munda fully realise the necessity for appeasing and keeping them in good humour.

Festivals

The festivals of the tribe are the following—(1) Sarhul or Sarjum-Baba, the spring festival corresponding to the Baha or Bah-Bonga of the Santals and Hos in Chait (March-April) when the sal tree is in bloom. Each household sacrifices a cock and makes offerings of sal flowers to the founders of the village in whose honour the festival is held. (2) Kadleta or Batauli in Asarh at the commencement of the rainy season. 'Each cultivator', says Colonel Dalton, 'sacrifices a fowl, and after some mysterious rites a wing is stripped off and inserted in the cleft of a bamboo and stuck up in the rice-field and dung-heap. If this is omitted, it is supposed that the rice will not come to maturity.' (3) Nana or Jom-Nana, the festival of new rice in Aswin when the highland rice is harvested. A white cock is sacrificed to Sing-Bonga, and the first fruits of the harvest are laid before him. Until this has been done, it would be an act of impiety to eat the new rice. (4) Kharia puja or Kolom Singh, called by the Hos Deswali Bonga or Magh Parab celebrating the harvesting of the winter rice, the main crop of the year Five fowls and various vegetables are offered to Deswali, and the god of the village at the *khalihan* or threshing floor. Among the Hos of Singbhum the festival is kept as a sort of saturnale, during which the people give themselves up to drunkenness and all kinds of debauchery. The festival, moreover, is kept by the Mundas on one day only, and

is not spread over a month or six weeks, during which time the people of different villages vie with each other in dissipation, as they do in the Kolhan.

Succession

Succession among the Mundas is governed by their own custom, which appear to have been little affected by the influence of Hindu law Property is equally divided among the sons, but no division is made until the youngest son is of age. With them, as with the Santals, daughters get no share in the inheritance; they are allotted among the sons just like the live-stock. Thus if a man dies, leaving three sons and three daughters and thirty head of cattle, on a division each son would get ten head of cattle and one sister, but should there be only one sister, they wait till she marries and divide the *pan'*, or bride-price, which usually consists of about six head of cattle.

(xi) THE SAONTAL

Extract from 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal' by H. H Risley, I.C S.
(Volume II, Official Edition, published in 1891, pp. 224-34)

Origin and traditions

Santal, *Sonthal, Saontar*, a large Dravidian tribe, classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarian, which is found in Western Bengal, Northern Orissa, Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas. According to Mr. Skrefsrud the name Santal is a corruption of Saontar, and was adopted by the tribe after their sojourn for several generations in the country about Saont in Midnapur. Before they went to Saont they are said to have been called Kharwar, the root of which, *khar*, is a variant of *hor*, 'man,' the name which all Santals use among themselves As regards the derivation of the name of the tribe from Saont, an obscure village, somewhat off the main line of their recent migrations, it may be observed that Colonel Dalton suggested a doubt whether the name of the place may not have been taken from the tribe, and this view seems to derive some support from his discovery of a small tribe of Saons in Sarguja and Keunjhar.

In point of physical characteristics the Santals may be regarded as typical examples of the pure Dravidian stock. Their complexion varies from very dark brown to peculiar, almost charcoal-like, black; the proportions of the nose approach those of the Negro, the bridge being more depressed in relation to the orbits than is the case with Hindus; the mouth is large, the lips thick and projecting; the hair coarse, black, and occasionally curly; the zygomatic arches prominent, while the proportions of the skull, approaching the dolichocephalic type, conclusively refute the hypothesis of their Mongolian descent

An attempt has indeed been made by Mr. Skrefsrud to prove from these legends that the Santals must have entered into India from the north-west, just as Colonel Dalton uses the same data in support of his opinion that the tribe came originally from Assam The one hypothesis is as tenable or as untenable as the other, and all that can be said is that there is not a fraction of substantial evidence in support of either If, however, the legends of the Santals are regarded as an account of recent migrations, their general purport will be found to be fairly in accord with actual facts The earliest settlements which Santal traditions speaks of, those in Ahiri Pipri and Chai Champa, lie on the north-west frontier of the table land of Hazaribagh and in the direct line of advance of the numerous Hindu immigrants from Behar. That the influx of Hindus has in fact driven the Santals eastward is beyond doubt, and the line which they are known to have followed in their retreat corresponds on the whole with that attributed to them in their tribal legends.

Internal structure

The internal structure of the Santal tribe is singularly complete and elaborate. There are twelve exogamous septs, (1) Hasdak, (2) Murmu, (3) Kisku, (4) Hemborm, (5) Marndi, (6) Saren, (7) Tudu, (8) Baske, (9) Besra, (10) Pauria, (11) Chore, (12) Bedea. The first seven are believed to be descended from the seven sons of Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Burhi or Ayo. The five others were added afterwards All are exogamous. In order that members of the various septs may recognize each other when they meet, each sept, except Pauria, Chore and Bedea, has certain pass-words peculiar to itself, which are supposed to be the names of the original homes of the septs in Champa or in one of the earlier settlements of the tribe. The pass-words are as follows:—(1) Hasdak-Tatijhari, Gangijauni, Kara Guja, Sohodoro; (2) Marmu-Champagarh, Bagsumbha, Naran Manjhi; (3) Kisku-Kundagarh; (4) Hembrom-Kunda, Khairigarh, Jalaghatia; (5) Marndi-Badoligarh, Jelen Sinjo, Dhano Manjhi; (6) Saren-Anbali, Barha, Pero Pargana; (7) Tudu-Simgarh, Sukrihutup, Baru Manjhi, (8) Baske-Ranga. Chunuk-Jhandu, (9) Besra—Dhokrapalania, Gulu, Phagu Manjhi.

The twelfth sept, the Bedea, was left behind and lost when the Santals went up out of Champa.

Marriage

No Santal may marry within his sept (*paris*), nor within any of the sub-septs (khunt) (shown in Appendix I) into which the sept is divided. He may marry into any other sept, including the sept to which his mother belonged

Girls are married as adults mostly to men of their own choice Sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognized, it being understood that if the girl becomes pregnant the young man is bound to marry her. Should he attempt to evade this obligation, he would be severely beaten by the Jag-manjhi, and in addition to this his father would be required to pay a heavy fine. Polygamy is not favoured by the custom of the tribe A man may take a second wife if his first wife is barren, or if his elder brother dies he may marry the widow But in either case the consent of his original wife must be obtained to the arrangement. There seem to be indications that fraternal polyandry may at some time have existed among the Santals Even now, says Mr Skrefsrud, a man's younger brother may share his wife with impunity; only they must not go about it very openly. Similarly a wife will admit her younger sister to intimate relations with her husband, and if pregnancy occure scandal is avoided by his marrying the girl as a second wife.

The following forms of marriage are recognized by the Santals and distinguished by separate names—(1) Regular marriage (*bapla* or *kiring bahu*, literally bride-purchase); (2) *Ghardi jawae;* (3) *Itut;* (4) *Nir-bolok*, (5) *Sanga;* (6) *Kiring jawae* or husband-purchase. The negotiations antecedent to a regular marriage are opened by the father of the young man, who usually employs a professional match-maker to look for a suitable girl. If the match-maker's proposals are accepted by the girl's parents, a day is fixed on which the girl, attended by two of her friends, goes to the house of the Jag-manjhi or superintendent of morals, in order to give the bridegroom's parents an opportunity of looking at her quietly. A similar visit of inspection is paid by the bride's parents to the bridegroom's house, and if everything is found

satisfactory the betrothal is concluded and an instalment of the bride-price is paid The ordinary price of a girl is Rs 3, and the bridegroom must also present a cloth (*sari*) to the girl's mother and to both her grandmothers if alive If more than this is paid, the bridegroom is entitled to receive a present of a cow from his father-in-law. For a widow or a woman who has been divorced the bride-price is only half the standard amount, the idea being, as the Santals pointedly put it, that such women are only borrowed goods, and must be given back to their first husbands in the next world As the second husband has the use of his wife only in this world, it is clearly fair that he should get her for half-price. In an early stage of the marriage ceremony both bride and bridegroom separately go through the form of marriage to a mahua tree (*Bassia latifolia*). In the case of the bride a double thread is passed three or five times from the little toe of her left foot to her left ear, and is then bound round her arm with some blades of rice and stems of *dhuba grass*. The essential and binding portion of the ritual is *sindurdan*, the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forhead and on the parting of her hair This rite, however, is supposed to have been borrowed from the Hindus.

The second mode of marriage, *ghardi jawae*, is resorted to when a girl is ugly or deformed and there is no prospect of her being asked in marriage in the ordinary way The husband is expected to live in his father-in-law's house and to serve him for five years At the end of that time he gets a pair of bullocks, some rice and some agricultural implements, and is allowed to set up a house for himself and his wife.

The third form, *itut*, is adopted by pushing young men who are not quite sure whether the girl they fancy will accept them, and take this means of compelling her to marry them. The man smears his fingers with vermilion or failing that, with common earth, and, watching his opportunity at market or on any similar occasion, marks the girl he is in love with on the forehead and claims her as his wife. Having done this, he runs away at full speed to avoid the thrashing he may expect at the hands of her relations if he is caught on the spot. In any case the girl's people will go to his village and will obtain from the headman permission to kill and eat three of the offender's or his father's goats, and a double bride-price must be paid for the girl The boy if found, the marriage, however, is legal, and if the girl still declines to live with the man, she must be divorced in full form and cannot again be married as a spinster. It is said that an *itut* marriage is often resorted to out of spite in order to subject the girl to the humiliation of being divorced.

The fourth form, *nirbolok* (*nir*, to run, and *bolok*, to enter) may be described as the female variety of *itut*. A girl who cannot get the man she wants in the regular way takes a pot of *handia* or rice-beer, enters his house and insists upon staying there. Etiquette forbids that she should be expelled by main force, but the man's mother, who naturally desires to have a voice in the selection of her daughter-in-law, may use any means short of personal violence to get her out of the house.

The fifth form, *sanga*, is used for the marriage of widows and divorced women. The bride is brought to the bridegroom's house attended by a small party of her own friends, and the binding portion of the ritual consists in the bridegroom taking a *dimbu* flower, marking it with *sindur* with his left hand, and with the same hand sticking it in the bride's back hair.

The sixth form, *kiring jawae*, is resorted to in the comparatively rare case when a girl has had a *liaison* with, and become pregnant by, a man of her sept whom she cannot marry In order that scandal may be avoided, some one is procured to accept the post of husband, and in consideration of his services he gets two bullocks, a cow and a quantity of paddy from the family of the man by whom the girl is pregnant. The headman then calls the villagers together, and in their presence declares the couple to be man and wife, and enjoins the girl to live with, and be faithful to, the husband that has been provided for her.

A widow may marry again. It is thought the right thing for her to marry her late husband's younger brother, if one survives him, and under no circumstances may she marry his elder brother Divorce is allowed at the wish of either husband or wife. If neither party is in fault, the one who wants a divorce is expected to bear the expenses The husband, for example, in such a case would not be entitled to claim a refund of the bride-price originally paid, and would also have to pay a fine and give the woman certain customary dues. If, on the other hand, it is the wife who demands a divorce without just cause, her father has to make good the bride-price in addition to a fine for her levity of behaviour The divorce is effected in the presence of the assembled villagers by the husband tearing asunder three *sal* leaves in token of separation, and upsetting a brass pot full of water.

Inheritance

In the matter of inheritance Santals follow their own custom, and know nothing of the so-called codes which govern the devolution of property among Hindus. Sons inherit in equal shares, a daughter has no claim to a portion as of right, but usually gets a cow given to her when the property is divided. Failing sons, the father takes; failing him, the brother; after them, the male agnates Failing agnates, the daughter inherits with succession to her children If a man dies leaving young sons, his widow manages the property till all the sons are old enough to divide and start separate households. She then takes up her abode with the youngest. Should the widow marry outside the family, the male agnates take the property in trust till the sons are of age, and she gets nothing If a man has male relatives, he cannot give away his property even to a son-in-law. Wills are unknown.

Religion

According to Mr. Skrefsrud traces may be discerned in the background of the Santal religion of a *faineant* Supreme Deity called Thakur, whom the Santals have long ceased to worship for the sufficient reason that he is too good to trouble himself about anybody and does neither good nor ill to mankind. Some identify him with the Sun, whom the Santals regard as a good god and worship every fifth or tenth year with sacrifices of slain goats. The popular gods of the tribe at the present day are the following:—(1) Merang Bur, the great mountain or the very high one, who now stands at the head of the Santal Pantheon, and is credited with very far-reaching powers, in virtue of which he associates both with the gods and with the demons. (2) Moreko, fire, now a single god, but formerly known to the Santals under the form of five brothers. (3) Jair Era, a sister of Moreko, the goddess of the sacred grove, set apart in every village for the august presence of the gods (4) Gosain Era, a younger sister of Moreko. (5) Pargana, cheif of the bongas or gods, and more especially master of all the witches, by reason of which latter function she is held in especial reverence. (6) Manjhi, a sort of second in command to Pargana, a personage who is supposed to be particularly active in restraining the gods from doing harm to men. The two latter are clearly deities constructed on the model of the communal and village officials whose names they bear. The idea is that the gods, like men, need supervising officials of this sort to look after them and keep them in order. All the foregoing gods have their allotted place in the sacred grove (*Jahirthan*), and are worshipped only in public. Marang Buru alone is also worshipped privately in the family.

Each family also has two special gods of its own—the Orak-bonga or household god, and the Abge-bonga or secret god. The names of the Orak-bongas are (1) Baspahar,

(2) Deswali, (3) Sas, (4) Goraya, (5) Barpahar, (6) Sarchawdı, (7) Thuntatursa. The Abge-bongas are the following—(1) Dharasore or Dharasanda, (2) Ketkomkudra, (3) Champa-denagarh, (4) Garhsinka, (5) Lilachandi, (6) Dhanghara, (7) Kudrachandı (8) Bahara, (9) Duarseri, (10) Kudraj, (11) Gosain Era, (12) Achalı, (13) Deswalı No Santal would divulge the name of his Orak-bonga and Abge-bonga to any one but his eldest son, and men are particularly careful to keep this sacred knowledge from their wives for fear lest they should acquire undue influence with the bongas, become witches, and eat up the family with impunity when the protection of its gods has been withdrawn. The names given above were disclosed to Mr. Skrefsrud by Christian Santals. When sacrifices are offered to the Orak-bongas the whole family partake of the offerings; but only men may touch the food that has been laid before the Abge-bongas. These sacrifices take place once a year No regular time is fixed, and each man performs them when it suits his convenience.

Festivals

The chief festival of the Santals is the Sohrai or harvest festival, celebrated in Posh (November-December), after the chief rice crop of the year has been got in. Public sacrifices of fowls are offered by the priest in the sacred grove; pigs, goats and fowls are sacrificed by private families, and a general saturnalia of drunkenness and sexual license prevails. Next in importance is the *Baha Puja*, kept in Phalgun (February-March) when the sal tree comes into flower. Tribal and family sacrifices are held, many victims are slain and eaten by the worshippers, every one entertains their friends, dancing goes on day and night, and the best songs and flute-music are performed A peculiar feature of this festival is a sort of water bottle in which men and women throw water at each other until they are completely drenched.

Mention may also be made of Erok-sim, the sowing festival kept in Asar (May-June); Hariar-sim, the feast of the sprouting of the rice in Bhadra (September-October), Tirgundli nauai, the offering of the first fruits of the millets *iri* (Panicum millaceum) and *gundli* (Panicum frumentacum) also in Bhadra; Janthar puja in Aghran (October-November), the first fruits of the winter rice crop; Sankrant puja on the last day of Posh, when bread and chira and molasses are offered to dead ancestors; Magh-simin in the month of Magh, when the jungle grass is cut. This is the end of the Santal year Servants are paid their wages and fresh engagements are entered into. On this occasion all the village officials, the Manjhi, Paramanik, Jag Manjhi, Jag Paramanik, Gorait Naiki and Kudam Naiki go through the form of resigning their appointments, and all the cultivators give notice of throwing up their lands. After ten days or so the manjhi or headman calls the village together and says he has changed his mind and will stay on as manjhi if the village will have him. His offer is accompanied with free drinks of rice-beer, and is carried by acclamation. One by one the other officials do the same; the ryots follow suit, and after a vast amount of beer has been consumed the affairs of the village go on as they did before The Sima-bonga or boundary gods are propitiated twice a year with sacrifices of fowls offered at the boundary of the village where these gods supposed to live. Jom-sim puja is an offering of two goats, or a goat and a sheep, to the sun. Every Santal ought to perform this sacrifice at least once in his life After a year's interval it is, or ought to be, followed by Kutamdangra, when a cow is offered to the household god, and an ox to Marang Buru and to the spirits of dead ancestors. Mak-more puja literally 'the cut five,' is a sacrifice of three goats and many fowls offered to Mereko, the god of fire, supposed to have been originally five brothers, on occasions of public calamity, such as a failure of the crops, an outbreak of epidemic disease, and the like.

(xii) THE VAISHNAVA

Extract from 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal' by H H Risley, I C.S (Volume II, Official Edition, published in 1891, *pp.* 339-48)

Vaishnaba, Baishtab, Bairagi, a religious sect based upon the worship of Vishnu under the incarnations of Rama and Krishna. Founded as a popular religion by Ramanuja in Madras, and developed in Northern India by Ramanand and Kabir, Vaishnavism owes its wide acceptance in Bengal to the teaching of Chaitanya, a Vaidik Brahman of Nadiya at the beginning of the 16th century.

Baishtam

Vaishnava, colloquially Baishtam, of Bengal, a class not very easy to define precisely, as the name Vaishnava includes (*a*) ordinary Hindus who, without deserting their original caste, worship Vishnu in preference to other gods, (*b*) ascetic members of the Vaishnava sect, commonly called Bairagi, (*c*) Jat-Baishtam, Samyogi, or Bantasi, an endogamous group formed by the conversion to Vaishnavism of members of many different castes. It will be convenient here to treat first of the last-mentioned group. The Baishtam caste includes members of several Vaishnava sects, and in theory intermarriage between these sects is prohibited. But if a man of one sect wishes to marry a woman of another sect, he has only to convert her by a simple ritual to his own sect, and the obstacles to their union are removed. Baishtams have no *gotras*, but they are divided into fifteen sections (*paribar*), supposed to be descended from the principal disciples of Chaitanya, such as Adwita-Paribar, Netyananda-Paribar, Acharya-Paribar Syam Chand, Jagadish Pandit, Gadadhar Pandit, Bakkeswar Pandit, Adhiram Gopal, etc. Although these groups are supposed to stand to the Baishtams in the place of *gotras*, marriage between persons belonging to the same *paribar* is not forbidden, and the grouping has no more effect on marriage than the *quasi*-endogamous division into sects referred to above Outsiders are freely admitted into the community, however low their caste may be, provided only that they are Hindus. Chaitanya is said to have extended this privilege even to Mahomedans, but since his time the tendency has been rather to contract the limits of the society, and no guru or mathdhari (Superintendent of a monastery) would now venture on such an act. The ceremony of initiation is simple. The guru or mathdhari, known on this occasion by the title of Bhekgosain, 'the ascetic of alms,' after worshipping Chaitanya, gives to the convert a string (*dori*), a piece of cloth (*kaupin*) just sufficient to cover his nakedness, and a *bahirbash*, a larger cloth, to wear round his loins over the *kaupin* At the same time he whispers in his ear the *mantra* or sacred word, usually a monosyllable, indicating a name or attribute of a god or goddess, which is to guide him through life and must never be divulged to any one. The novice then bows down and a small necklace of wooden beads is hung round his neck, and a *karanga* or cocoanut shell given him for the purpose of collecting alms.

Marriage

Baishtams profess to marry their daughters as infants, and this may be taken to be the rule of the caste, although in many instances it is departed from, as might be expected in a community comprising so many heterogeneous elements. Sexual intercourse before marriage is not visited by any social penalties, nor are girls who have led an immoral life turned out of the caste. Only

before they can be formally married, they must again pass through the ceremony of initiation described above. The standard Hindu ritual is not observed in marriage. A guru or gosain presents to Chaitanya flowers and sandal wood paste, and says before him offerings of *malsabhog*, a compound of rice, fruits and other articles. Hymns (*sankirtan*) in honour of Krishna and Chaitanya are then sung to an accompaniment of the *mridanga*, an elongated drum tapering towards the ends, and the *kartal* of brass cymbal. The guardian of the girl takes her right hand in his and gives it to the bridegroom, and the couple exchange small garlands of flowers and necklaces of beads. Sankirtan is sung once more, and the ceremony is over. Its essential and binding portion is the exchange of flowers or beads, technically known as *kanthi-badal*. Widows may marry again (*sanga*), and are in no way restricted in the selection of their second husband, except that they may not marry within the prohibited degrees originally forbidden to them. The ritual is the same as that described above, except that no one gives away the bride. For a widow, as for a virgin, *kanthi-badal* is held to be the binding portion of the ceremony. Divorce is permitted at the option of either party, and divorced persons of either sex may marry again.

Although Baishtams do not consider it necessary to employ Brahmans for religious or ceremonial purposes, the gurus and Goswamis who look after the religion of the caste are in fact usually members of the sacred order. But as their spiritual disciples come from low castes, and they themselves eat in their disciples' houses and take water from their hands, it follows that Baishtam Brahmans are not received on equal terms by the Brahmans who serve the higher castes, and the latter would as a rule decline to eat cooked food which had been touched by a Baishtam Brahman.

Burial

Baishtams bury their dead in a sitting posture. Each of the several sects included in the caste is supposed to have a separate burial ground of its own; but it is not an uncommon practice to bury the dead within the precincts of the homestead. No regular *sraddha* is performed; Chaitanya is worshipped, and *malsabhog* is offered seven or eight days after death, and the relations of the deceased then indulge in a feast to show that the time of mourning is over.

Mendicant Vaishnavas

The mendicant members of the Vaishnava community, as distinguished from the Jat-Baishnabs or Grihi-Baishnabs on the one hand and the governing body of Gosains on the other, are, says Dr. Wise, 'of evil repute, their ranks being recruited by those who have no relatives, by widows, by individuals too idle or depraved to lead a steady working life, and by prostitutes. Vaishnavi, or Baishtabi according to the vulgur pronunciation, has come to mean a courtesan. A few undoubtedly join from sincere and worthy motives, but their numbers are too small to produce any appreciable effect on the behaviour of their comrades. The habits of these beggars are very unsettled. They wander from village to village, and from one akhara to another, fleecing the frugal and industrious peasantry on the plea of religion, and singing songs in praise of Hari beneath the village tree, or shrine. Mendicants of both sexes smoke Indian hemp (*ganja*), and although living as brothers and sisters, are notorious for licentiousness. There is every reason for suspecting that infanticide is common, as children are never seen. In the course of their wanderings they entice away unmarried girls, widows, and even married women, on the pretext of visiting Sri Kshetra (Jagannath), Brindaban, or Benares, for which reason they are shunned by all respectable natives, who gladly give charity to be rid of them.

'The following account of an annual religious gathering in Bengal discloses the true character of these disreputable mendicants. Amid the ruins of ancient Gaur are large reservoirs of water, called Rupa and Sanatan, after the two distinguished Mahomedans converted by Chaitanya, on the banks of which the "Ras Mela," or "Prem tala," *i.e.*, real love, festival is held in the month of June. Crowds of Bairagis and Bairagins resort to this fair from all parts of Bengal, the latter being seated in long rows with their faces covered Should a Bairagi be in search of a companion, he pays the customary fee to the *faujdar* and a selection is made. He leads the female aside, raises her veil, and if satisfied takes her away, otherwise he refuses to allow another choice, unless the twenty-annas fee is again paid. It is a law with these licentious Bairagis that a man cannot put away the woman selected even for adultery, until the next year's gathering comes round.'

Kisori-Bhajana

Kisori-Bhajana, 'Maiden-worshippers,' or Sahuja, a sect of Vaishnavas concerning whose beliefs and ritual it is difficult to get any very precise information. The members seem to be aware that the equivocal name of their community lays them open to the suspicion of sexual immorality, and they are said to ward off curious inquiries by placing a *bood* or an article of common use in a conspicuous part of the house and worshipping it as a symbol of their faith The sect is supposed to be an offshoot of the Radha-Ballabhi, or according to another account, of the Spashta-Dayaka. The latter view is improbable. A spashta-Dayaka will not look upon a woman or take food from her; while the Kisori-Bhajana makes woman the chief object of worship. The sect is peculiar in having no Udasior mendicant class. The guru or pradhan initiates neophytes and conducts all religious services. The cult is said to be popular, especially with women and with the Sunri caste, and to have a large number of adherents. No distinctions of rank are recognized, and all converts, whether Brahmans or Chandals, enter upon a footing of entire equality.

According to Dr. Wise, 'at the initiation of a disciple a mantra, consisting of the word "Hang-sha," is whispered into his ear, and is believed to possess a certain mystical meaning, the first syllable typifying the air breathed, the latter the air expired. An indecent scene, in which a naked woman sits on the knee of the neophyte, is then rehearsed, as a crucial test of his having mortified the flesh and its lusts, and of his having become a worthy candidate for admission.

The chief ceremony resembling the Rasmandalis of the Maharajas of Bombay, which they have styled "carnal love meetings," is celebrated in a suitable room, where a long strip of white cloth is spread on the floor with plantain leaves laden with fish and rice, while flesh and spirits never appear.

The feast being over, songs in honour of Radha-Krishna are chanted with the effect of often causing extravagant and violent excitement, terminating in hysterical weeping and convulsions. The pradhan then selects a woman, possibly the prettiest; the pair are dusted with sandal wood powder, crowned with flowers, and the company make adoration to them as the personations of Radha and her lover Krishna. Each man present then decorates himself with garlands, perfect silence being observed, and is presumed to fall into a dreamy sensuous condition, with mind abstracted and absorbed in the contemplation of the semblance of Radha at his side.'

Jagat Mohani

Jagat Mohani, an obsecure sect founded about two centuries ago by one Jagat Mohan of Mashulia in Silhet. The morals of its members are said to be exemplary. Women are not allowed to live in the monasteries, and most Vaishnava sects, there are two classes of votaries—the Grihi and Bairagi, the former being house-houlders, and the latter wandering about the country as beggars. The latter may not eat fish or flesh, and may not smoke ganja or tobacco or drink spirits. Corpses are usually thrown into a river, not burned, and burial is only resorted to at the express

wish of a dying mahant. In such cases the patient is lowered into the grave before he actually dies, as it is considered lucky for him to die *in situ*.

Spashta Dayaka

Spashta Dayaka, said to have been founded by one Rup Ram Kabiraj, a disciple of Krishna Chandra Chakravartti of Saidabad. Although Radha Krishna is the principal object of worship, the members of sect affect a high standard of morality, and decline to take food that has been cooked by a woman. Women are admitted to the *mantra*, but not to the *bhek*. All castes including Chandals are enrolled, but a preference is shown for the pure Sudras, from whose hands a Brahman may take water. The Spashta Dayaka take alms from any Hindu, and even from Mahomedans, but reject the offerings of prostitutes and of Chamars. They may not touch flesh or fish, or eat with any one not a member of their communion. They will not eat with Bairagi Vaishnavas, but in this case the objections are said to be mutual. Their sectarian mark is a smear of ochre (*Gopi Chandan*) on the nose with two narrow lines drawn upwards to the roots of the hair. The sacred name of Hari is stamped on the temples, arms, chest, and shoulders. The dead are buried in a sitting posture, with a cloth (*Nama-bali*) stamped with the name Hari wrapped round the head: the arms are folded across the chest, a necklace is hung round the neck, and a cocoanut shell (*karanka*), a wallet and a staff (danda) are placed by the side. If the dead man has had influence in the sect, and has left behind him many disciples an akhara is built over his grave, religious rites are performed at his tomb, and his spirit is invoked for aid on occasions of trouble.

Kavi-Indra Paribar

Kavi-Indra Paribar, a small Vaishnava sect, claiming to be the Paribar or attendants of Vishnu Das Kavi Indra, one of the original sixty-four mahants who went out into the world to teach the doctrines of Chaitanya. The story is that this Vishnu Das affected great humility and made a point of eating the leavings of Chaitanya's food. One day the teacher left nothing on his plate, and the disciple seeking to abase himself had to make the best of a grain of rice which Chaitanya had spat out. This he swallowed without noticing that it was tinged with blood. A rival observed this, and seeing his opportunity put to Chaitanya the question what should be done to a disciple who tasted the blood of his guru. Chaitanya unwarily answered that he should be excommunicated, and as the judgment could not be recalled, Vishnu Das had to leave the original community and set up a dissenting society of his own. The doctrines of the Kavi Indra are much the same as those of the Vaishnavas. The office of mahant, however, is elective, not hereditary, and can only be held by a Sudra. There is no Bairagi or Udasi grade, and all the members are family men. All castes are admitted into the sect, and even Srotriya Brahmans are said to be occasionally enrolled as members.

Baola

Baola (*Sansk*. Vayula, crazed or inspired), a generic term including a number of disreputable mendicant orders which have separated from the main body of Vaishnavas, and are recruited mainly from among the lower castes. They call themselves Nitya, Chaitanya, and Hari Das Baolas, after the great Vaishnava teachers. Differing from each other in minute points of ceremonial and social observance, the Baola sects agree in regarding pilgrimage to Vaishnava shrines as a sacred duty, and reverence the gosains as their spiritual leaders. Flesh and strong drink are forbidden, but fish is deemed lawful food, and ganja is freely indulged in. Baolas never shave or cut their hair, and filthiness of person ranks as a virtue among them. Ladu-Gopal, or the child Krishna, is the favourite object of worship; but in most akharas the *charan* or wooden pattens of the founder are also worshipped. Baolas as a class are believed to be grossly immoral, and are held in very low estimation by respectable Hindus.

Darwesh-Faqir

Darwesh-Faqir, a recent and corrupt Vaishnava sect, founded in 1850 by Udaya Chand Karmakar of Dacca. They worship Krishna and distinguish their creed by the term Brahmadharma. When a novice is admitted, he receives a kaupin or loin cloth, a *Khirka* or gown reaching to the ankles, and a cocoanut shell (*kishti*) in which he is to collect alms. Like the Aghoris and some of the Baola sects, he is required to taste various disgusting substances in order to show his superiority to ordinary prejudices. Darwesh-Faqirs never cut their hair or shave, and instead of washing with water, smear themselves and their clothes with mustard oil. Celibacy is professed, but not practised, and every akhara or community of ascetics has several women attached to it, ostensibly to keep the place in order and cook the food. Nevertheless they affect great austerity and pretend to be the strictest of the Vaishnava sects. Animal life is never taken, and it is deemed sinful to break off the branches or even the leaves of a tree. Before the tombs of the founders, and on receiving a present, a very elaborate obeisance is made by kneeling, touching the ground with the forehead, and smearing the chest and face with dust.

Kartabhaja

Kartabhaja, an obscure sect, believed to have been founded early in the eighteenth century by one Aul Chand, who was considered by his followers to be an incarnation of Chaitanya Aul Chand observed no distinction of caste, and taught the worship of one god and certain moral precepts of a negative type. As Karta or spiritual head of the caste, Aul Chand was succeeded by Ram Saran Pal of Ghoshpara in Nadia, and the office is still held by members of the Pal family Next in rank to the *Karta* are the *Mahasays* or Deputies, of whom one acts as leader to every village congregration, his duty being to collect the dues for the support of the Karta, and to transmit or account for all amounts so received at stated dates. The religious ceremonies of the sect are kept secret and performed in private.

VIII

(i) THE MUHAMMADANS OF BENGAL

Extract from 'Census of India, 1901' by E. A. Gait, F.S.S.
(Vol. VI, published in 1902, pp. 165-81)

Origin of the Muhammadans of Bengal

A Muhammadan gentleman has recently published a book in which he attempts to controvert the statement made by Mr. Beverley in the Census Report for 1872 that 'the existence of Muhammadans in Bengal is due, not so much to the introduction of Moghal blood into the country, as to the conversion of the former inhabitants, for whom a rigid system of caste discipline rendered Hinduism intolerable', and to prove that they are mainly

of foreign extraction.* His argument may be summarised as follows:—

Bengal was under Muhammadan rule for more than five and a half centuries, from Bakhtyar Khilji's invasion in 1203 A.D. until the English acquired the Dewani in 1765. The Musalman rulers attracted their co-religionists from other countries. They appointed Saiads, Moghals and Afghans as their officers of State, and granted rent-free lands to men of learning and piety. In spite of numerous resumptions, numbers of such grants are still extant, chiefly in the Rarh country, and many parganas and villages still have Persian names, showing that they once formed part of estates owned by Musalmans.† Their armies were also composed of foreigners who likewise settled in the country. Bengal was, moreover, a great asylum for Muhammadan refugees from Upper India, especially during the time of the independent kings (1338 to 1576). At the downfall of the Ghori Dynasty and during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak, numerous families sought shelter in Bengal. In Akbar's reign, many religious teachers were deported to this Province. Large numbers again were attracted by the wealth and fertility of the country. Those who came remained as permanent settlers, and it is from them that the present Muhammadan population is chiefly descended. The Musalmans are far more prolific than the Hindus, and it is, therefore, not surprising that their descendants should now outnumber the indigenous population.

It was never intended by Mr. Beverley to deny that many of the leading Muhammadan families can trace their origin to foreign sources. This is admitted by all. The Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, for instance, is a Hasan-ul-Husaini Saiad, and there are in most districts several wellknown families of foreign descent who have preserved the purity of their blood by refraining from intermarriage with families of more dubious ancestry**. It is also beyond doubt that owing to the Muhammadan law of inheritance and other causes, many families of foreign origin have gradually sunk and become merged in the general mass of the population, and that the numerous soldiers of fortune and their followers who once found a livelihood in Bengal must have left children behind them whose descendants are still alive. This, however, does not in any way account for the fact that there are more than 25 millions of Muhammadans in Bengal, or explain their local distribution.

Locality	Number of Muhammadans	Proportion per 10,000 population
Punjab	14,141,122	5,261
United Province ..	4,567,295	1,796
Bombay (with Sind) ..	1,835,037	1,389
Madras	2,477,610	641
Bengal	25,495,416	3,248
North Bihar	2,221,942	1,621
‡South Bihar	744,508	965
West Bengal	1,084,820	1,317
Central Bengal ..	3,773,321	4,875
North Bengal	5,876,408	5,873
East Bengal	11,220,427	6,617

In Bihar, which first came under Muslim rule, the proportion of Muhammadans is far smaller than it is in Bengal proper, and although in the latter tract, Muhammadans are numerous in the neighbourhood of the old capitals at Gaur, Panduah, Rajmahal and Murshidabad, near which most of the land grants are found, they are far less so than in Eastern and Northern Bengal, whither the stream of immigration must have been comparatively thin and attenuated. Even near the old capitals the Muhammadan settlers always sought the higher levels, and they would never willingly have taken up their residence in the rice swamps of Noakhali, Bogra and Backergunge.

The number of old Muhammadan families is very small in East and North Bengal, and yet it is there that the Muhammadans as a class are more numerous, not only than in any other part of Bengal, but than in any other part of India. Again, the early invaders were chiefly Pathans, not Arabs, and yet the Muhammadans of Bengal who call themselves Shekh outnumber those who profess to be Pathans* in the ratio 50 to 1. The number of Moghals in this Province is quite insignificant, but that of *soi-disant* Shekha, is more than twenty times as great as the estimated population of Arabia.† Many of these 'Shekhs,' moreover, have only recently begun to claim this appellation. They were formerly known as Atraf in South and as Nasya in North Bengal; the latter word is still commonly used by outsiders, though the people concerned now prefer to describe themselves by a more pretentious name.

The small extent to which Muhammadans bulk in the population when their numbers are not added to from outside is shown by the fact that in Orissa, the last stronghold of the Afgans in this Province, whither they fled after Akbar defeated them in Bengal, and where they were granted extensive jagirs, the proportion of Muhammadans to the total population is only 2¼ per cent.

Mr. Abu A. Ghaznavi, a leading Muhammadan gentleman of Mymensingh, who has prepared an excellent account of the Muhammadans of that district, and who is a strong supporter of the theory of the foreign origin of the Muhammadans, admits that local converts bulk largely in the total. His conclusion is that "roughly speaking 20 per cent. of the present Muhammadans are lineal descendants of foreign settlers, 50 per cent. of them have an admixture of foreign blood and the remaining 30 per cent. are probably descended from Hindu and other converts". In another part of his essay, Mr. Ghaznavi makes some observations which seem to point to a larger proportion of local converts than the above estimate would indicate. He says:—

> "Besides the few families of unquestionable foreign extraction there are other families in considerable numbers who have an admixture of foreign blood in their veins. There are 22 distinct villages where most of their families reside."

There are more than 2¾ million Muhammadans in Mymensingh, and nearly 10,000 villages. The writer seems to be referring only to the Tangail subdivision of the district, but even so the Muhammadans residing in twenty-two villages can form but a microscopic proportion of the total Muhammadan population.

The Origin of the Muhammadans of Bengal by Khondkar Fuzli Rubbee; Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1895.

†Ghiyas-ud-din (1214-27), Nasir-ud-din (1426-57) and Husain Shah (1498-1521) are specially mentioned as having encouraged the settlement of noble or pious Muhammadans.

**Most families of this category are either Pathans or Saiads Very few call themselves Shekhs.

‡Excludes Keshanganj subdivision of Purnea which lies east of Mahananda.

*The persons returned as Pathans and Moghals are less than 424,000 and 19,000 respectively.

The fact that the speech of the Muhammadans differs slightly from that of the Hindus is sometimes brought forward as a proof of their foreign origin, but this is really no test. All Muhammadans look on Arabic as their sacred language and they interlard their conversation with any Persian or Arabic words they can pick up from their Mullahs or from their religious books. The grammar remains Bengali and it is only some of the vocables which are changed. The better educated converts often deliberately abandon their native language. The Garpeda Bhuiyas of Balasore furnish an illustration of this. They are descended from a Brahman and the females are still so far imbued with Hindu prejudices that they abstain from beef. But they have completely given up the use of Oriya and now speak Hindustani even in the family circle.

†According to the *Statesman's Year Book for 1901*, p. 1127, the population of Arabia is estimated to be 1,050,000.

Mr. Ghaznavi's essay was one of a series which I collected from all the districts in the Province. The almost unanimous conclusion of all other reporters in Eastern and Northern Bengal was that the great bulk of the Muhammadan population is there descended from local converts. Another writer from Mymensingh (also a Muhammadan) expresses the opinion that the local Muhammadans "are chiefly descendants of local converts," and in the report from Bogra it is stated that·

"I have on many occasions seen Muhammadans whose features are identical with those of members of the Koch caste with a decided Mongolian expression."

The survival of Hindu names and Hindu superstitions is constantly dwelt on in these reports but this subject will be adverted to in more detail further on.*

The above reports refer to the general character of the Musalman population in most parts of East and North Bengal. There are occasional exceptions, e.g., in Chittagong, where there was an old Arab settlement of traders and adventurers†. Mr. Allen notices this in his Settlement Report where he says that·

"The high cheek bones, hook noses and narrow faces of many of the inhabitants of Chittagong proclaim their Arab origin. Again the muscular, bull-necked, strong-featured and thick-bearded dweller on the *chars* is a very different creature from the fleshless, featureless, hairless inhabitant of the interior of the district. These differences are racial, the former being descendants of soldiers of the Moghal armies while the latter are probably of mixed origin."

And even in places where the general appearance of the Muhammadans most closely resembles that of their Hindu neighbours, there are often cases of atavism, where the full eye, Semitic nose, high stature and strong beard show unmistakable traces of foreign blood. It is not contended that even in Bengal Proper the ordinary Muhammadans are all of purely Indian descent, but it is certain that, of the total number, those who are wholly Indian or in which the Indian element greatly preponderates, form by far the largest proportion.

Opinion of early observers

In this connection it is important to notice the opinion of that able and close observer, Brian Hodgson. Speaking of the Koch tribe he says††:

"In a word Visva Singh with all the people of condition apostatised to Hinduism; the country was re-named Bihar; the people Rajbansi; so that none but the low and mean of this race could longer tolerate the very name of Koch, and most of them being refused a decent status under the Hindu regime, yet infected like their betters, with the disposition to change, very wisely adopted Islam in preference to helol Hinduism. Thus the mass of the Koch people became Muhammadans."

Buchanan Hamilton, an equally capable judge, was of the same opinion:

"Although the followers of the Koran form the largest proportion of the inhabitants of this district (Rangpur), there is little reason to suppose that many of them are intruders. They seem in general, from their countenances, to be descendants of the original inhabitants†."

The above extracts refer to the origin of the Muhammadans of North Bengal. Dr. Wise has dealt with the subject for Dacca and the neighbouring districts, and his remarks are so complete that I may perhaps be pardoned for giving a somewhat lengthy extract from them††:

"The enthusiastic soldiers, who, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, spread the faith of Islam among the timid races of Bengal, made forcible conversions by the sword, and penetrating the dense forests of the Eastern frontier, planted the crescent in the villages of Sylhet. Tradition still preserves the names of Adam Shahid, Shah Jalal Mujarrad, and Karfarma Sahib, as three of the most successful of these enthusiasts.

As early as A.D. 1338 a Muhammadan King ruled over the Eastern districts from Sunnargaon, and for a century and a half that city was the provisional residence of the rulers of Bengal. Although situated on the borders of the Empire, and surrounded by brave and aggressive races, Sunnargaon attracted crowds of holy men, whose mouldering tombs still mark the site of the ancient city. From it was summoned the preceptor, who trained Jalaluddin in the doctrines of his intolerant creed, and to its families of Khwand-kars, Eastern Bengal looked for its supply of Muhammadan instructors. During the five centuries and a half of Muhammadan rule in Eastern Bengal, we only hear of one wholesale persecution of the subject Hindus, and that was waged by Jalaluddin, from A.D. 1414 to 1430. The only conditions he offered were the Koran, or death, and it is said that rather than submit to such terms, many Hindus fled to Kamrup and the jungles of Assam and Kachhar, but it is nevertheless probable that more Muhammadans were added to Islam during these seventeen years than in the next three hundred.

In Muhammadan histories no mention is made of any large Muhammadan immigration from Upper India; and we know that in the reign of Akbar the climate of Bengal was considered so uncongenial to the Moghal invaders, that an order to proceed there was regarded as a sentence of banishment. The Viceroys and nobles governing Bengal amassed wealth rapidly, and returned to spend it in the luxurious places of Delhi and Agra, while only a few officers and private soldiers, having married into native families, remained and settled in their new homes While, therefore, each seat of Government, and each Military Station, was in early times more or less a centre of missionary agitation, we find another agency from across the seas working towards the same ends, uninfluenced by the policy of the Delhi Court. On the South-Eastern Frontier of Bengal, a hardy and enterprising class of Muhammadans have been settled from the earliest historical times; and long before the first European landed at Chittagong, Arab merchants carried on an extensive and lucrative trade with its inhabitants, and disseminated their religious ideas among the people How or when the dwellers on the coast became Musalman is unknown, but when Barbosa visited Bengal at the beginning of the sixteenth century, he found the inhabitants of the interior, Gentiles, subject to the King of Bengal, who was a Moor; while the seaports were inhabited by Moors and Gentiles. He also met with many foreigners, both Arabs, Persians, Abyssinians and Indians, and adds, 'Every day many Gentiles turn Moors to obtain the favour of the King and Governors.' Gaesar Frederick and Vincent Le Blane, who were in Bengal about 1570, also inform us that the island of Sandip was then

*It is sometimes denied that the prevalence of Hindu superstitions is a proof of the Hindu origin of the people who believe in them, and it is urged that this may equally well be due to the religious torpor amongst the Muhammadans which prevailed at the beginning of British rule. This might possibly explain the fact in places where Muhammadans are in the minority, but it could never do so where they form the bulk of the population. The two religions would doubtless affect each other to some extent, but a strong monotheistic religion like that of Islam would give way before a tolerant, amorphous and polytheistic creed like that of Hindus. Moreover, it is the women, who in this country are always the most conservative in religious matters, who are chiefly influenced by Hindu ideas.

†*J.A.S.B., 1873*, Pt. I, p. 287.

††*Essays on Indian Subjects*, Vol. I, p. 108.

†*Statistical Account of Rangpur*, p. 221.

‡The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, communicated by Mr. Rosley from Dr. Wise's papers to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1894, Pt. III, p. 28.

inhabited by Moors. In the sixteenth century, therefore, Chittagong was a centre from which an unceasing propagandism was carried on.

Wherever Muhammadan rule existed, slavery was developed, and during the centuries of misrule and oppression, through which Bengal passed, slavery was accepted by the Hindus as a refuge for their troubles. Bengal has for its encouragement of slavery always possessed an unenviable notoriety, and the Delhi Court obtained, not only its slaves, but also its eunuchs, from the villages of Eastern Bengal. The incursions of Assamese and Maghs, the famines, pestilences and civil wars impoverished and hardened the people and drove them in sheer desperation to sell their children as Musalman slaves. The treatment of these slaves was humane, and their position comparatively a good one, as they were allowed to marry, and their families, supported by the master, added to the number of Islam.

Stories of forcible conversion, such as the following, are however narrated by the Muhammadans themselves, without any feelings of shame or astonishment. While the Muhammadan population was still scattered, it was customary for each householder to hand an earthen water-pot (*badana*) from his thatched roof, as a sign of his religious belief. One day a Maulavi, after some years' absence, went to visit a disciple, who lived in the centre of a Hindu village, but could not find the "badana". On enquiry he was told that the Musalman villager had renounced his faith and joined an outcast tribe. On his return to the city, the circumstances being reported to the Nawab, a detachment of troops was ordered out, the village surrounded, and every person in it compelled to become Muhammadan.

Another class of Hindus voluntarily turned Muhammadans, as the only means of escaping punishment for murder or adultery, as this step was considered full atonement for either crime.*

In later times this compulsory system was still further extended. The tyrannical Murshid Kuli Khan enforced a law that any Amal, or zamindar, failing to pay the revenue that was due, or being unable to make good the loss, should, with his wife and children, be compelled to become Muhammadans. Furthermore, it was the common law that any Hindu forfeiting his caste by a breach of regulations could only be reinstated by the Muhammadan Government, and if it refused to interfere, the delinquent remained and outcast, ultimately taking shelter in the ranks of the Faithful."

Anthropometrical conclusions

305. But the most convincing testimony is that afforded by the exact measurements carried out by Mr. Risley. The average Cephalic index (proportion of breadth of head to length) of 185 Muhammadans of East Bengal is almost identical with that of 67 Chandals. The nasal index (proportion of breadth of nose to height) of the Muhammadans was greater than that of the Chandals but not very different from that of the Chandals' half-brothers, the Pods, and in any case a broad nose is characteristic of the Dravidian rather than of the Aryan and Semitic types. These measurements show clearly that the foreign element amongst the Muhammadans of East Bengal is very small. The author of the book already referred to has protested strongly against the manner in which the subjects for measurement were chosen, i.e., against the selection of ordinary cultivators and the exclusion of all Muhammadans of birth, but his protest seems to be based on a misunderstanding. The object of the measurements was to ascertain the affinities of the low class Muhammadans of East Bengal who form the great bulk of the Muhammadan population of that part of the Province. There is no question as to the foreign origin of many of those of the better class; the difference between the coarse features and dark complexion of the ordinary villagers and the fair skin, and fine features of some of the gentry is apparent to all, and it was precisely for this reason that instructions were given to exclude the latter from the operations of the Anthropometric survey.* There have been no measurements of the Muhammadans of North Bengal, but there seems no reason to doubt that, if they could be taken, they would fully confirm the popular view that they are for the most part very closely allied to the Rajbansis amongst whom they live and whom they closely resemble in feature.

Bernier, Vol. I, 144; *Voyages de Le Goowz*, p. 157.

Estimate of proportion of foreign blood amongst the Muhammadans of Bengal

306. It seems to me that there can be no doubt as to the local origin of most of the Muhammadans of East and North Bengal. In other parts of the Province also the general opinion is that the lower classes of Muhammadans are recruited mainly from local converts. It is impossible to form an exact estimate of the relative strength of the two elements, the Indian and the foreign, but it may be said generally that almost the whole of the functional groups, such as Jolaha and Dhunia, throughout the Province, the great majority, probably half, in Bihar are of Indian origin. The foreign element must be looked for chiefly in the ranks of the Saiads, Pathans and Moghals

Race		Number
Saiad	..	236,468
Pathan	..	423,740
Moghal	..	18,678
One-tenth of Shekhs in Bengal proper	..	1,952,722
Half of Shekhs in rest of Bengal ..	..	1,092,976
Total	..	3,724,584

Even here there are many who are descended from Hindus, and it will be seen in the chapter on 'Caste' that high caste converts are often allowed to assume these titles and, in some cases, to intermarry with those who are really of foreign descent. Their number, however, is possibly only a small proportion of the total and may be neglected. If the above estimates be taken as a basis, it would appear that the strength of the foreign element amongst the Muhammadans of Bengal cannot, at the most, exceed four millions, or say, one-sixth of the total number of persons who profess the faith of Islam.

Classes from which converts chiefly come

307. It has already been noted that the affinities of the Muhammadans of East Bengal seem to be with the Pods and Chandals and those of North Bengal with the Rajbansis and Koches. The conclusion is based, not only on their striking physical resemblance to their neighbours, but also on the fact that the proportion of Hindus of other castes in these parts of the country is, and always has been, very small.† The main castes are the Rajbansis (including Koches) in North Bengal and the Chandals and other castes of non-Aryan origin in East Bengal, so that even if the different groups yielded converts in equal proportions, the absolute number of converts from such castes would be much greater than from others. But, except in the case of forcible conversion, it is not likely that the proportions were at all equal. The Musalman religion, with its doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God, must necessarily have presented far greater

*It would be most interesting if a second series of measurements could be taken for the better classes of Muhammadans. Nothing would more clearly bring out the difference between their origin and that of their co-religionists of lower rank.

†The Koches are generally supposed to have spread in any numbers only as far westwards as the Mahananda which runs through the Purnea district. East of that river, where the bulk of the population is Koch, no less than two-thirds of the population are Muhammadans, while to the west of it where the Koch element is weak, less than one-third of the population was returned under this religion. This too in spite of the fact that the old Muhammadan capital in Purnea lay in the centre of the latter tract.

attractions to the Chandals and Koches, who were regarded as outcastes by the Hindus, than to the Brahmans, Baidyas, and Kayasthas, who in the Hindu caste system enjoy a position far above their fellows. The convert to Islam could not of course expect to rank with the higher classes of Muhammadans, but he would escape from the degradation which Hinduism imposes on him; he would no longer be scorned as a social leper; the mosque would be open to him; the Mullah would perform his religious ceremonies, and, when he died, he would be accorded a decent burial. The experience of the Christian missionaries in Bengal at the present day points to the same conclusion. Converts from the higher Hindu castes are rare, and it is amongst the non-Aryan tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau and North Bengal, and amongst the Chandals of Bakerganj, that the greatest success is met with.

It is not contended that the higher castes did not contribute their quota, but it was undoubtedly a comparatively small one, *and obtained usually by force or accident, rather than by a voluntary adhesion to the tenets of the Koran. This seems clearly indicated by the history of Muhammadan families of known Hindu origin. The Piralis, for example, became Muhammadans because they were out-casted on account of having been forced to taste (or smell) forbidden food cooked by a Muhammadan, and they still retain many Hindu beliefs and customs.† The Rajas of Kharagpur were originally Khetauris, and only became Muhammadans because, after being defeated by one of Akbar's generals, the acceptance of Islam was made a condition of being allowed to retain the family estates.‡ The present Raja of Parsouni in Darbhanga is descended from Raja Purdil Singh, who rebelled against the Emperor and became a Muhammadan by way of expiation.§ The family of Asad Ali Khan, of Baranthan in Chittagong, is by origin a branch of the Srijukta family of Naopara. Their ancestor, Syam Rai Chaudhuri, was deprived of his caste by being forced to smell beef and was fain to become a Muhammadan. Jadu, the son of Raja Kans, the only Hindu King of Bengal, embraced the Muhammadan religion in order to be allowed to succeed his father. In Bakerganj many Hindus became Musalmans after the Maghs had passed through their houses and so caused them to be outcasted.**

Methods of conversion

308. This leads to the question how far the conversion of Hindus generally was voluntary and how far it was due to force. The Moghals were as a rule, tolerant in religious matters, but the Afghans who preceded them were often very fanatical. It does not appear, however, that the Afghan rulers of Bengal often used force to propagate their faith, and the only organised persecution of the Hindus is that of Jalaluddin, mentioned by Dr. Wise, who is said to have offered the Koran or death, and who must have effected wholsale conversions.* But although there was no general attack on the Hindu religion, there are numerous traditions of conversions on a large scale by enthusiastic freelances, such as the renowned Shah Jalal of Sylhet. In Mandaran thana in the Arambagh subdivision of Hooghly, where the Muhammadan population preponderates over the Hindu, there is a tradition that Muhammad Ismail Shah Ghazi defeated the local Raja and forcibly converted the people to Islam. These traditions are not confirmed by history, but history tells us very little of what went on in Bengal during the reigns of the independent kings, and, when even the names of some of them are known to us only from the inscriptions on their coins, while there is no record whatever of many of the local satraps, it is not to be expected that, even if forcible conversions were common, there would be any written account of them. There must doubtless, here and there, have been ruthless fanatics like the notorious Tippu Sabib of more recent times, who forcibly circumcised many of his Hindu subjects and perpetrated many acts of the grossest oppression, and the fact that Muhammadan mosques were often constructed of stones taken from Hindu temples, clearly shows that, at some times and in some places, the Hindus were subjected to persecution at the hands of their Musalman conquerors. Several cases in which persons belonging to the higher castes were forced to become Muhammadans have been quoted above, and these are doubtless typical of many others. We read, for instance, in the accounts of Chaitanya's life, that two of his leading disciples were Brahmans who had been compelled to embrace the faith of Islam.

In spite, however, of the fact that cases of forcible conversion were by no means rare, it seems probable that very many of the ancestors of the Bengal Muhammadans voluntarily gave in their adhesion to Islam. The advantages which that religion offered to persons held in low esteem by the Hindus, have already been pointed out, and under Muslim rule there was no lack of pious Pirs and Fakirs who devoted their lives to gaining converts to the faith. There were special reasons which, during the early years of the Muhammadan supremacy, made conversion comparatively easy. Although the days when Buddhism was a glowing faith had long since passed, the people of Bengal were still to a great extent Buddhistic, and when Bakhtyar Khilji conquered Bihar and massacred the Buddhist monks assembled at Odontapuri, the common people, who were already lukewarm, deprived of their priests and teachers, were easily attracted from their old form of belief, some to Hinduism and others to the creed of Muhammad.†

The higher castes probably found their way back to Hinduism, while the non-Aryan tribes who had, in all probability, never been Hindus, preferred the greater attractions of Islam.

309. The dislike which educated Muhammadans have for the theory that most of the local converts in Eastern and Northern Bengal are of Chandal and Koch origin seems to be due to the influence of Hindu ideas regarding social status, according to which these tribes occupy a very degraded position. This, however, is merely due to the fact that they are of known non-Aryan origin. If instead of the British, the Hindus had succeeded the Moghals as the paramount power in India, and the Muhammadan faith had gradually grown weak and its votaries

*It will be seen, moreover, further on, that the converts from the higher castes do not usually assume the designation of Shekh.

†Some only of the Piralis are Muhammadans. Others have succeeded to a certain extent in recovering their original caste and have remained Hindus. They are named after Pir Ali, the dewan of Khan Jahan Ali or Khanja Ali, who ruled in the south of Jessore about four centuries ago. Pir Ali, whose proper name was Muhammad Tahir, was a Brahman apostate, and, like all renegades, he probably proved a worse persecutor of his original faith than others who were Muhammadans by birth. Very little is known of Pir Ali, but a good deal of information regarding his master will be found in Sir James Westland's 'Jessore', pp. 11-22.

‡*Statistical Account of Monghyr*, p. 179.

§It would be interesting to carry this enquiry further and to trace the cause of conversion in other families of known Hindu origin, such as the Dewan families of Pargana Sarail in Tippera, and of Haibatnagar and Jangalbari in Mymensingh, who were formerly Brahmans, the Pathans of Majhouli in Darbhanga, who sprang from the family of the Raja of Narhan, etc. Amongst early Brahman converts may be mentioned Murshid Kuli Khan and the dreaded inconoclast, Kala Pahar.

**Beveridge's *History of Backergunge*, p. 340.

*Dr. Wise, as we have seen, conjectures that there were more converts to Islam during the seventeen years of this crusade than in the next three hundred.

†As noted elsewhere, the Pods and Chandals were probably the dominant tribes in the kingdom of Paundra, Vardhana and to this day traces of the Buddhist faith can still be found in the working religion of the Pods. Amongst the Koches also, traces of Buddhist influence still survived when Ralph Fitch, visited the country in the 16th century. (*J.A.S.B.*, 1873, Part I, p. 240.)

had attorned to Hinduism, the Moghals and Pathans would have been given much the same rank as that now accorded to the Chandals and Koches. These tribes were formerly dominant, and it is only because they have lost their political supremacy and have fallen under the yoke of the Brahmans, that they have sunk to their present low position.* In the days of their supremacy they were accorded Kshattriya rank, and it is certain that, if they had maintained their independence, they would no more have been regarded as low castes today, than are the descendants of the Moghal conquerors of Delhi. They are in fact allied by race to the Moghals, but while they entered India from the north-east, the latter did so from the north-west, and came earlier under the influence of the greatest proselytising religion, next to Buddhism, that Asia has yet seen. The Moghals are converts, just as much as are the Chandals. It is only a question of time and place. The Christian religion prides itself as much on converts from one race as on those from another, and except for the influence of Hindu ideas it is not clear why the Muhammadans should not do so too.

Explanation of relatively rapid growth of Muhammadan population

310. We have already seen that the Muhammadans are increasing more rapidly than the Hindus, and the question arises as to the reasons why this should be so. I have made particular enquiries as to the number of conversions at the present day and the general opinion is that it is not very great.† Occasionally an eloquent Mullah obtains a few genuine converts but, as a rule, the persons who cross over from the one religion to the other do so for material, and not for religious reasons, e.g., a Muhammadan takes a Hindu widow as his second wife, or a Hindu widow is detected in an intrigue with a Muhammadan and, being outcasted, is fain to seek an asylum in the ranks of Islam, or a Hindu falls in love with a Muhammadan girl and has to adopt her religion before he can marry her. There are no doubt occasional instances of a genuine change of faith, but these form only a small minority. I have endeavoured to collect information regarding recent cases of conversion and the causes which are assigned for them, and the result is given in Appendix II. The most noticeable feature disclosed by the various reports is the very small number of such cases which have come to notice and, unless the information received is very defective, it is clear that the main explanation of the relatively more rapid growth of the Muhammadan population must be its greater fecundity. One great reason for this is that the Muhammadan widow remarries more readily than her Hindu sister. The higher Hindu castes throughout the Province, and in Bengal Proper most of the other castes also, forbid their widows to marry a second time. The statistics of age and civil condition show that of every 100 Hindu women between the ages of 15 and 40, more than 16 are widows, whereas amongst the Musalmans the number is only 12.* There is also less inequality in the ages of husband and wife than is often the case amongst Hindus. The Muhammadan again has a more nutritious dietary than the Hindu and his fecundity is proportionately increased. Moreover, in Eastern Bengal at least, he is usually better off. The Hindu has scruples about leaving his home, and will rather stay on there and suffer some privation, owing to his holding being too small to meet the needs of a growing family, rather than move elsewhere. The Muhammadan has no such prejudices and it is he who occupies the chars of the great rivers of East Bengal and extracts bounteous crops from the fertile alluvial soil. Even in India, the growth of the population is regulated to a great extent by the material condition of the people, and there can be no doubt that the comparatively rapid increase of the Muhammadans is in part attributable to their being as a class in better circumstances than their Hindu neighbours.

Rank and designation of converted Hindus

311. In Bihar a converted Hindu of the Brahman or Kayasth castes is usually allowed to call himself Shekh and to associate and intermarry with genuine Shekhs. A Babhan or Rajput in the same circumstances, becomes a Pathan, but the lower castes have to content themselves with the title Nau-Muslim and it is only after the lapse of some years that they are gradually recognised as Shekh. In Mymensingh high caste converts are given the title of Khan and call themselves Pathans.

Amongst the earlier converts, and especially in the functional groups, Hindu names and titles are still very common. Names such as Kali Shekh, Kalachand Shekh, Braja Shekh or Gopal Mandal are constantly met with. When a Mullah effects a conversion at the present day, he usually gives the neophyte a new name, but it is often chosen in such a way as to give some indication of the old one; Rajani for example becomes Riazuddin. This reminds one of the way in which a Muhammadan of low social position gradually assumes a more high sounding designation as he rises in life, which has given rise to the saying—

"Age thake Ulla Tulla Sheshe hay Uddin,

Taler Mamud upare jay kapal phere Jaddin."

The saying can best be illustrated by the successive changes of name of a hypothetical Meher Ullah, who becomes first Meheruddin, then Meheruddin Muhammad and then Muhammad Meheruddin. He will probably at this stage prefix Munshi, then add Ahmad, and finally blossom into Maulavi Muhammad Meheruddin Ahmad. In North Bengal a well-to-do Nasya calls himself Sarkar, and if he continues to prosper, he becomes in turn Paramanik, Chaudhuri and Munshi, and eventually, if his circumstances are sufficiently good, he assumes the title of Maulavi.

Muhammadan Sects

312. The two main sects of Muhammadans are of course the Sunnis and the Shiahs. The former accept the authority of all the successors of Muhammad, whereas the Shiahs look upon the first three, Abu Bakr, Omar, and Osman, as interlopers, and regard Ali Muhammad's son-in-law, as the first true Khalifa. They also greatly reverence his martyred sons, Hasan and Hussain. Sect was not returned at the Census, but it is known that, with the exception of those of Moghal origin, the great majority of Bengal Muhammadans consider themselves Sunnis, although at the same time they exalt Hasan and Husain and observe the Ramzan as strictly as the Shiahs. The religious writings of the Sunnis consist not only of

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*The present depressed condition of these castes is due to political reasons. There is nothing inherently low in them, and at one time they enjoyed a considerable amount of civilisation. Speaking of the Bhars, who once ruled on the north bank of the Ganges from Monghyr to Oudh, and whose skill is evidenced by the remains of numerous embankments, tanks and forts, Sherring points out that they were not by any means a Barbarous race. He adds: The more I investigate the matter the stronger do my convictions become that the Hindus have learnt much from the aboriginal races, but that, in the course of ages, these races have been so completely subdued, and treated with such extreme rigour and scorn, that in the present condition of abject debasement in which we find them. We have no adequate means of judging of their original genious and power. (*Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, p. 363.) The Bhars have for the most part disappeared owing to absorption into other social groups (e.g., the Pasi?). Those still known by the old tribal name occupy a very degraded position and are frequently swineherds like the Kaoras.

†There are a few exceptions. The reporters from Midnapur, Champaran and Monghyr are of opinion that considerable progress is being made.

*It is not only that the actual proportion of widows is greater amongst the Hindus, but also that when a widow has an intrigue and becomes pregnant, if a Hindu, she generally commits abortion; whereas if she is a Muhammadan, she welcomes the prospect of a child as an inducement to her paramour to take her into his zenana.

the Koran, but also of the Hadis or traditional sayings of Muhammad not embodied in the Koran. These are in themselves hard to understand, but there are four recognized glossographers, and the followers of their commentaries are called after them, being known respectively as Hanafi, Shafai, Maliki and Hambali. The difference between these sects is very slight, but the main characteristic of the Hanafis, which is practically the only one known in Bengal, is that the traditions are freely interpreted in the light of analogical reasoning, whereas the others take their stand against any modification of the actual words of Muhammad. Some, who interpret the traditions for themselves, without following any particular Imam, call themselves Ahli Hadis, 'People of the tradition,' or Ghair Mukallid, 'those who do not wear the collar' (of any Imam).

The Wahabbi Movement—Shariat Ullah and Dudhu Miyan

313. In the 17th Century a new sect of Muhammadan purists arose in Arabia who rejected the glosses of the Imams and denied the authority of the Sultan, made comparatively light of the authority of Muhammad, forbade the offering of prayers to any prophet or saint, and insisted on the necessity for waging war against all infidels. They were called Wahabbis after their founder, Muhammad Wahab of Nejd. Their doctrines were introduced into India by Saiad Ahmad Shah of Rai Bareilli, who proclaimed a jihad or holy war against the Sikhs in 1826, and founded the colony of fanatics on the North-West Frontier. Saiad Ahmad and his disciple, Maulavi Muhammad Ismail, gained many converts who, in this Province, made Patna their headquarters, whence they sent out emissaries to propagate their doctrines all over Bengal and Bihar.

Before noticing them, however, we may refer to a movement, similar but independent, in East Bengal which was originated by Haji Shariat Ullah, the son of a Jolaha of Faridpur, who returned about 1820 A.D. from Mecca, where he had been a disciple of the Wahabbis, and disseminated the teaching of that sect in Faridpur and Dacca.* Amongst other things he prohibited the performance of Hindu rites and the joining in Hindu religious ceremonies, the preparation of Tazias (models of the tomb of Hasan and Husain) and the praying to pirs (saints) and prophets. He also held that India was Daru-l-harb (the mansion of war), where the observance of the Friday prayers is unlawful and the waging of war against infidels is a religious necessity.† He gained many followers, chiefly amongst the lowest classes. His son Dudhu Miyan, who succeeded him, was even more successful and acquired a paramount influence amongst the Muhammadan cultivators and craftsmen of Dacca, Bakerganj, Faridpur, Noakhali and Pabna. He partitioned the country into circles and appointed an agent to each to keep his sect together. He endeavoured to force all Muhammadans to join him, and made a determined stand against the levy of illegal cesses by landlords, and especially against contributions to the idol of Durga. He made himself notorious for his highhanded proceedings, was repeatedly charged with criminal offences and, on one occasion at least, was convicted. He died in 1860.

*This note, so far as it refers to religious movements in East Bengal, is based mainly on Dr. Wise's posthumous paper on "The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal," contributed by Mr. Risley to the J. A. S. R. for 1894. The few modifications that I have made are the outcome of further enquiries made on the basis of what Dr. Wise wrote. Isolated efforts of Muhammadan Maulavis to combat Hindu superstitions are constantly coming to notice. They may meet with success for a time, but the learnings to Hindu superstitions and symbolism are so deeprooted in the hearts of low caste converts from Hinduism that, when the movement has spent itself, they frequently relapse and revive their old idolatrous practice.

†The modern followers of this sect deny that they hold India to be Daru-l-harb, but it is impossible to say if this is really the case.

Karamat Ali

314. Concurrently with this movement other reformers were spreading the doctrines of the Patna School, the most successful of whom was Maulana Karamat Ali of Jaunpur. He made two important modifications in the tenets of his leaders. In the first place he did not altogether reject the glosses on the Hadis. He recognised that there were imperfections and contradictions, but he held that they were not sufficient to justify the formation of a new sect. Consequently, he and his followers are generally regarded as belonging to the Hanafi sect. Secondly, in his later years at least, he declared that India under English rule was not Daru-l-harb, and consequently that infidels are not here a legitimate object of attack and the Friday prayers are lawful. He strongly denounced the various Hindu superstitions common amongst the people, and especially the offering of Shirnis or cakes to the spirits of ancestors on the Shab-i-barat. He also prohibited the use of music and the preparation of Tazias. On the other hand, he held that holy pirs possessed a limited power to intercession with God and encouraged the making of offerings at their tombs. Karamat Ali died in 1874. His mission was ably carried on by his son Hafiz Ahmad, who preached all over East and North Bengal and died only about three years ago. There are numerous other preachers of the same doctrines, of whom Shah Abu Bakr, of Furfura in the Hooghly district, is one of the most famous. The Hazrat of Banaudhia in Murshidabad is also well known; but he owes his influence less to his intellectual qualifications than to his reputation as a saint endowed with miraculous powers.

Sect Nomenclature

315. These two reformed sects are collectively known as Farazi,* 'followers of the law,' Namaz Hafiz, 'one who remembers his prayers,' Hidayati, 'Guides to salvation,' or Shara, 'followers of the precepts of Muhammad' as distinguished from the Sabiki, 'old', Berabi 'without a guide', Bedaiyati or Beshara, by which terms the unreformed Muhammadans are generally known. The distinctive name of the followers of Karamat Ali and his successors is Ta'aiyuni, 'those who appoint,' from their practice of appointing from their number a leader who decides religious questions and takes the place of a Kazi, thereby making the observance of the Friday prayers lawful. The followers of Dudhu Miyan are called Wahabbis by the Ta'aiyunis, but the name is held in bad odour, and they themselves prefer the appellations of Muhammadi, Ahli-hadis or Rafi-yadain, the last name being given with reference to their practice of raising their hands to their ears when praying, whereas the ordinary sunnis fold their arms in front and the Shiahs allow them to hang down.† They are also sometimes called Amini, because they pronounce Amen in a loud voice like the Shafai sect, and not in an undertone like the followers of Abu Hanifa. La-Mazhabi, 'no doctrine,' is another designation given them, because they reject all doctrines except those contained in the Koran.

Present supremacy of Karamat Ali's Sect

316. Since Dudhu Miyan's death his sect has been gradually dwindling in numbers, and at the present time the followers of Karamat Ali greatly outnumber them all over Eastern Bengal. In Khulna it is estimated that only 1 per cent. of the Muhammadans are of the Rafi-yadain persuasion, and it is only in Faridpur and Bogra that this sect still holds its own. Dudhu Miyan's son, Saijuddin Khan Bahadur, still has great influence in Faridpur, especially amongst the cultivators and Jolahas in the south of the district. In Bogra the number of this sect is said to be small, but growing. It is reported from that district that they are not very well affected towards Government, and that every family sets aside a

*This term is sometimes, said to be applicable more particularly to Dudhu Miyan's party.

†The sects, other than that of Dudhu Miyan, are sometimes known collectively as the 'Adam rafa', or those who do not raise their hands.

handful of rice daily for religious objects. This is collected by the local head of the community, and it is suspected that the proceeds are used for promoting a Jihad.

Reformers in Bihar

317. Owing, it may be, to the Wahabbi trials, the reformers in Bihar have not hitherto gained the success achieved in Bengal, but at the present time considerable activity is being shown by the leaders of the Ahi-i-Hadis, as the modern representatives of the Wahabbis prefer to style themselves. Patna seems to be still the headquarters of the sect, but unfortunately I am without information regarding that district. In the other districts of South Bihar the number of its adherents is still very small. In Gaya it is reported that the only Wahabbis are policemen from Patna. The movement in North Bihar was inaugurated by Maulavi Nazir Husain, a native of Monghyr now resident in Delhi, and others. The tenets of the sect appear to be intermediate between those of the two branches of the reformed church in Bengal proper. As regards the question whether India is Daru-l-harb or Daru-l-Islam opinion appears to be divided, but Friday prayers are enjoined. The hands are raised in prayer, and the 'Amen' is pronounced in a loud voice. The use of music, the celebration of the Muharram festival, the offering of the shirni to the names of ancestors, and the veneration of pirs are strictly forbidden.* In Muzaffarpur the movement at first gained ground rapidly but at present it is making slow progress. In Darbhanga and Champaran it is still spreading, but in the latter district it is estimated that the total number of its adherents is still less than a thousand. In Saran the amount of success hitherto achieved is very small. In the Sonthal Parganas the reformed doctrines are being energetically propagated amongst the local Muhammadans and with a considerable amount of success. In all cases, it is the Ajlaf or lower class of Muhammadans who are most attracted by the preaching of the reformers; the better classes generally hold aloof.

Disputes between rival sects

318. The propagation of these new doctrines frequently leads to much illfeeling between the adherents of the different sects, and there is often danger of a breach of the peace It is reported from Champaran that the disputes between the Mukallids and Ghair Mukallids would more than once have ended in bloodshed but for fear of law, while in Faridpur it was thought necessary a few years ago to direct a preacher of Karamat Ali's persuasion to leave the neighbourhood of Sibchar, the headquarters of the Dudhu Mivan sect, in order to prevent a breach of the peace between the two parties. In the Nilphamari subdivision a Maulavi from Peshawar was sentenced to imprisonment a few years ago for abetting a riot with the object of preventing the carrying of Tazias in the celebration of the Moharram. As an illustration of the way in which these religious discussions are carried on I give below an extract from a report received from the Magistrate of Borga:

"A sort of Bahaj (religious controversy) took place recently at Jamalganj between the Hanafis and the Rafi-yadains which ended with the use of most filthy language by both parties. Since then each party is trying to outbid the other. Two Madrasas have been started in the locality, one by the Hanafis and the other by the Rafi-yadains. In November last a Muhammadan reformer, Munshi Meherulla of Jessore, was invited by the Hanafis to deliver lectures on the superiority of the Muhammadan religion in general, and more especially on that of the Hanafi doctrine. The feeling of the two sections had by that time grown so bitter that they both applied to me for protection. The Munshi, however, delivered excellent lectures on the necessity for reform of the Musalman community and give offence to none. Now and then he threw a word at the Hindus telling them that the Muhammadan religion does not inculcate the duty of making war for the spread of religion or of killing the Kaffir if he would not accept 'the true faith'. I mention this as it indicates that the present reformers of the community are actuated by a conciliatory spirit."

*The veneration of Pirs and also of Muhammad himself is denounced as shirk, i.e., as ascribing to them a partnership with the Deity, or powers which belong to God alone.

Unreformed Muhammadans

319. The unreformed Muhammadans of the lower and uneducated classes are deeply infected with Hindu superstitions, and their knowledge of the faith they profess seldom extends beyond the three cardinal doctrines of the Unity of God, the Mission of Muhammad, and the truth of the Koran, and they have a very faint idea of the differences between their religion and that of the Hindus. Sometimes they believe that they are descended from Abel (Habil) while the Hindus owe their origin to Cain (Kabil). Kabil they say killed Habil and dug a grave for him with a crow's beak *

Hindu Superstitions

320. Before the recent crusade against idolatry it was regular practice of low class Muhammadans to join in the Durga Puja and other Hindu religious festivals, and although they have been purged of many superstitions, many still remain In particular they are very careful about omens of auspicious days Dates for weddings are often fixed after consulting a Hindu astrologer; bamboos are not cut, nor the building of new houses commenced, on certain days of the week, and journeys are often undertaken only after referring to the Hindu Almanac to see if the proposed day is auspicious. When disease is prevalent Sitala and Rakshya Kali are worshipped. Dharmaraj, Manasa and Bishahari are also venerated by many ignorant Muhammadans.† Sasthi is worshipped when a child is born. Even now in some parts of Bengal they observe the Durga Puja and buy new clothes for the festival like the Hindus. In Bihar they join in the worship of the sun, and when a child is born they light a fire and place cactus and a sword at the door to prevent the demon Jawan from entering and killing the infant. At marriage the bridegroom often follows the Hindu practice of smearing the bride's forehead with vermilion.‡ In the Sonthal Parganas Muhammadans are often seen to carry sacred water to the shrine of Baidyanath and, as they may not enter the shrine, pour it as a libation on the outside verandah. Offerings are made to the Gramya devata before sowing or transplanting rice seedlings, and exorcism is resorted to in case of sickness. Ghosts are propitiated by offerings of black fowls and pigeons before a figure drawn in vermilion on a plantain leaf. These practices are gradually disappearing, but they die hard, and amulets containing a text from the Koran are commonly worn, even by the Mullahs who inveigh against these survivals of Hindu beliefs.

Adoration of Pirs

321. Apart from Hindu superstitions there are certain forms of worship common amongst Muhammadans which are not based on the Koran. The most common of these is the adoration of departed Pirs. It should be explained that the priesthood of Islam is two-fold. The law and the dogmas are expounded by the Mullah or learned teacher;

*There are some verses which give expression to this belief, but I have been able to obtain only the first two lines·—

Habiler pharjjam jara.
Islam haila tara.

It may be interesting to mention here that some of the Bunás of Nadia and Jessore believe that Balaram and Allah are identical.

They say Mukh Makkah, Dil Koran
Harer upar Cham
Taite beleche Balaram.

†Goats are often made over to Hindus who perform the sacrifice on their behalf.

‡Sometimes sandalwood paste is used instead of vermilion.

the spiritual submission to, and communion with, the deity is inculcated by the Pir or spiritual guide. These are four famous Pirs—

(1) Abdul Kadir Jalani,

(2) Abu Ishak Shami of Chisht,

(3) Mohiudin Naksh-band,

(4) Abdul Kadir Sohar-Wardi,

who are universally revered throughout the Muslim world, and all subsequent Pirs belonged to one or other of their spiritual systems * They trace back their line of spiritual guides in an unbroken series to the Prophet, who is styled the fountain head of all Pirs. With the exception of the Ahl-i-Hadis or Wahabbis, almost all Muhammadans of the Sunni sect go through the ceremony of initiation by a Pir. The disciple or Murid† places his hands in the hands of the spiritual guide and declares his belief in the Muhammadan creed, the unity of God, the mission of the Prophet, the truth of the Koran, the existence of angels and the day of resurrection, he then promises to live a virtuous life and to abstain from sin; he calls on the guide and his spiritual predecessors up to the Prophet to witness his declaration, and concludes by affirming that he has become a member of the particular spiritual communion to which his Pir belongs. The disciple must thenceforth think of his Pir and of the vows he has made at least once daily, and he is visited at intervals by the latter who comes to rekindle his zeal.

Sometimes Pirs of exceptional sanctity are credited with supernatural powers. Asgar Ali Shah in Muzaffarpur has this reputation, and many persons, Hindus as well as Muhammadans, the educated as well as the ignorant, when afflicted with illness or other calamities, wait upon him for relief. His suppliants offer him money and food, but he seldom accepts their presents. He spends most of his time in a state of abstraction.

When a holy Pir departs from this life, he is popularly believed to be still present in spirit and to offer his daily prayers at Mecca or Medina, and his dargah or tomb becomes a place of pilgrimage to which persons resort for the cure of disease, or the exorcism of evil spirits, or to obtain the fulfilment of some cherished wish, such as the birth of a child, or success in pending litigation ‡ The educated stoutly deny that Pirs are worshipped, and say that they are merely asked to intercede with God, but amongst the lower classes it is very doubtful if this distinction is clearly recognised, even if it actually exists.

Notes on some famous Pirs

322. Of Indian Pirs the greatest is perhaps Hazrat Moinuddin Chisti, who was born in Persia in 1140 A.D. and came to India under the orders of the Prophet, who appeared to him and told him to spread the faith in this country. He died at Ajmir in 1234 and his *dargah* there is visited by pilgrims from all parts of India. According to Ferishta, Akbar himself often visited this shrine on foot The late Raja of Tikari, Ram Bahadur Singh (a Hindu), paid it annual visits and made valuable offerings. He firmly believed that the Tikari Raj was a gift to his family from this Pir, and that it was by his favour that he won his law-suits, faith which was once severely shaken when the decision in an important case was given against him. In Bengal, almost every district has its dargah, where vows are registered and offerings made, by Hindus as well as Muhammadans, in the hope of gaining some material benefit, or of being cured from disease. The offerings usually consist of sweetmeats, but sometimes clay figures of horses are given and, on special occasions, goats and fowls are sacrificed.* These offerings are usually the perquisite of the Mujawir, or custodian of the tomb, who is generally a fakir. A few of the more famous of these Pirs are noted below:

(1) *Machandali Saif*—Tomb near Ganga in the 24-Parganas. There is a story that one day a barber was shaving this saint when he suddenly disappeared. He returned shortly afterwards dripping with perspiration, and on being questioned explained that a ship had run aground, and as the crew had appealed to him, he had gone to pull it into deep water. The barber laughed incredulously, whereupon he and all his family died forthwith.

(2) *Khan Jahan Ali*—Dargah at Rambhiovpur in the Bagirhat subdivision of Khulna. Miraculous cures are said to be effected at his tomb, and there is a special yearly festival when people come to make offerings. Khan Jahan is mentioned in Sir James Westland's Account of Jessore as a great local magnate, but the account there given of him does not indicate that during his lifetime he possessed any specially large stock of sanctity. According to tradition he became pious in his old age and entered his tomb, while still alive, to escape from a punitive force sent against him by Jahangir.

(3) *Shah Sultan.*—Dargah at Mahathan in Bogra. The story goes that a fakir appeared before Parasuram, the last Hindu King of Mahasthan, riding upon a fish. He prayed for a piece of land large enough for him to spread a mat, on which to sit and pray. The king granted his request, whereupon the mat began to grow miraculously, and gradually spread over the greater part of the kingdom. He eventually dethroned Parasuram and established a Muhammadan Kingdom. Parasuram's daughter drowned herself in the Karatoya to escape being married to the fakir, who was now known as Shah Sultan, and the place where she did so is still called Siladebi's Ghat in remembrance of her A fair is held at the Dargah every year and is attended by large numbers both of Hindus and of Muhammadans. To the Hindus, however, a dip in the sacred river at Siladebi's Ghat seems to be the chief attraction

(4) *Pir Badar* of Chittagong is the guardian saint of sailors. He is invoked by the boating classes, Hindu as well as Muhammadan, when they start on a journey by sea or river as follows:

Amara achhi polapan.
Gaji achhe nikhaman.
Shire Ganga dariya. Panch Pir.
Badar Badar Badar.

Which may be translated thus:

"We are but children, the Ghazi is our protector, the Ganges river is on our head. Oh Five Saints, Oh Badar Badar, Badar."

This Pir, who is said to have arrived at Chittagong floating upon a stone slab, is mentioned by Dr. Wise, according to whom he is no other than one Badruddin, who was

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*As with the Bishops of the Christian Church there is a regular system of ordination, and every Pir traces his spiritual descent from the Prophet himself through one or other of the four great Pirs mentioned above. There seems to be but little difference in the cults originating with these Pirs, except the followers of Abu Ishak of Chisht make use of music and singing and keep the image of their spiritual guide before the minds eye. These practices are forbidden by the others.

†The reformed sects object to the words Pir and Murid. and replace them by Ustad and Shagird which do not connote the same degree of submission on the part of the disciple.

‡A propos of this adoration of Pirs and the wonderful acts attributed to them, there is a Persian proverb, "The Pirs don't fly; their disciples make them fly."

*Mr. O'Malley writing of the Gaya dargahs says:— The tombs of these Pirs are visited in great numbers by the pious; sweetmeats are offered, passages of the Koran recited and some offering, such as a sheet for the tomb, is made. Sometimes to the sound of music halkal takes place, i.e., one of the audience becomes suddenly inspired and professes to have been transported to the presence of God or of the Pir. He becomes ecstatic and loudly cries "Hakk hai." Shaking his body and head he rises to his feet and dances fantastically. The whole assembly rises in his honour, the fanatic repeats his cry, and when exhausted sits down. The audience sits down with him and waits till the divine afflatus inspires someone else.

for many years a resident of Chittagong, died in 1440, and was buried in the Chhota Dargah of Bihar. The local story of his arrival is that Chittagong was at the time the abode of fairies and hobgoblins, and that no one could live there. The saint begged a space for his lamp. This was granted and when he lit it, its magic power was so great that the spirits were frightened away. An old Portuguese resident of Chittagong who died recently used to aver that the saint was a Portuguese sailor, the only survivor from a shipwreck, who floated ashore on a raft and became a Muhammadan. There is a hillock in front of the Commissioner's house which is reputed to be the place where Pir Badar lit his lamp, and here candles are burnt nightly, the cost being met by contributions from Hindus, and even Feringis, as well as from Muhammadans.*

(5) *Shah Ahmud Gaisu Daraz.*—Dargah at Kharampur near Akhaura in Tippera. He fought on the side of Shah Jalal (whose shrine is in Sylhet town) against Gaur Gobind, the Hindu King of Sylhet, and was killed in the battle. His severed head and one of his wooden shoes were found by a Kaibartta, who was fishing in the river and, to the latter's great astonishment, the head began to speak. The Kaibartta embraced the Muhammadan faith and erected a tomb to the saint, of which his descendants are still the Khadims or custodians. A former Maharaja of Hill Tippera (a Hindu) made a grant of rent-free land for the maintenance of the Shrine, and offerings of cattle, money and sweetmeats are constantly made there by all classes of people. Many miraculous cures are said to have resulted from the appeals made to this holy man.

(6) *Khawaja Mirza Halim.*—Shrine at Mehsi in Champaran. Many miraculous feats are attributed to this saint, such as drawing enough milk from a cow, which had never been in calf, to satisfy the thirst of his many followers. There is a datepalm near the Dargah, and it is said that when a Kalwar once attempted to tap it, in order to obtain the juice for the manufacture of intoxicating drink (which is forbidden to Muhammadans), blood flowed from the tree.

There is a tradition that there was formerly an inscribed stone at the gate of the tomb with the magic aid of which thieves could be unerringly detected and the stolen property recovered. Jung Bahadur, says the legend, removed this stone to Nepal, and when the saint remonstrated, he promised to erect a cenotaph in his memory. The original Dargah is a great place of pilgrimage and an annual fair is held there at which some thousands attend. It is visited by persons for all sorts of purposes, but mainly by those who desire to be blessed with children or who are suffering from some lingering disease.

(7) One of the most modern saints is Patuki Sain who lived near the Court House at Motihari and died only 30 or 40 years ago. He was illiterate and in his lifetime had no great reputation. It was only after his death that he achieved the reputation of holiness; a striking illustration of the proverb—

Barha to Mir
Ghata to Fakir
Mard to Pir.

"If he grew rich, he became a chief, if poor, a beggar, and if he died, he blossomed into a saint."

The tomb of this Pir was erected by a Hindu money-lender of the Kalwar caste, and his reputation is already so great that about half the residents of the town believe in his miraculous powers and pray for his assistance. His aid is especially invoked by litigants in the Courts, and their offerings form a considerable addition to the income of the custodian, an orderly peon of the District Magistrate's establishment. The Marwaris make an annual offering to this saint and his aid is also sought by the women of the town, who visit his tomb in a body with a band playing various musical instruments.

Space forbids a further enumeration of the numerous local Pirs, but there are many others of considerable renown, such as Hazrat Makhadum Sharifuddin of Bihar town, the author of 'Maktubat Sadi', and Hazrat Makhdum Shah Abul Fateh of Tangaul in Hajipur who, amongst other feats, threw his nephew into a river, while in a fit of abstraction, and recovered him unhurt six years later, when he came to his senses and was told what he had done. On another occasion he made a river change its course for several miles in order to obtain a drink of water.

*Mr. R. C. Hamilton, C.S., is disposed to identify Pir Badar with Khwaja Khizr. Badar in Chittagong is a religious exclamation used to invoke a blessing. This identification, he says, explains why the name of Khwaja Khizr is not locally known.

Mythical persons: Khwaja Khizr

323. Closely allied to the adoration of Pirs is the homage paid to certain mythical persons, amongst whom Khwaja Khizr stands pre-eminent. This personage appears to have been a pre-Islamic hero of the Arabs* and is said by many to be the 'servant of God' mentioned in the Koran, whom Moses found by following in the track of a tried fish which miraculously came to life, and who rebuked Moses on several occasions for his undue curiosity.† However this may be, Khwaja Khizr is believed at the present day to reside in the seas and rivers of India, and to protect mariners from shipwreck.‡ He is invoked by them, and is also propitiated by the more ignorant Muhammadans, at marriages and during the rainy season, by the launching in rivers and tanks of beras or small paper boats, decorated with flowers and lit up with candles. Food is also distributed to the destitute in his name, or left on the bank to be picked up by the first beggar who passes.

Ghazi Miyan and Zindah Ghazi

324. Ghazi Miyan is generally said to be the nephew of Mahmud of Ghazni and to have died, fighting against the infidel, after performing prodigies of valour. He is called the Prince of Martyrs and his tomb at Bahraich is visited by crowds of pilgrims. Large numbers of the Dafali, Kunjra and similar low Muhammadan castes of Bihar go to visit this tomb. As usual, there are comparatively few of his worshippers who can give an account of him and some of the stories received are very vague. According to one reporter he perished in a fire on the eve of his wedding. Zindah Ghazi, from Zindik-i-Ghazi 'conqueror of infidels,' rides on a tiger in the Sundarbans,§ and is the patron saint of wood-cutters whom he is supposed to protect from tigers, and crocodiles. He is sometimes identified with Ghazi Miyan and sometimes with

*Some say he was a prophet or Paighambar born a thousand years before Muhammad.

†Sura Kahf, Chapter XVIII. The Hindus of Upper India call Khwaja Khizr, Raja Kidar, which clearly connects him with Alkhedr who, according to Sale, is also identified with the same 'servant of God'. He is often confounded with Phineas, Elias and St. George, and his soul is supposed to have passed through them all by metempsychosis. He is supposed to have become immortal by finding out, and drinking of, the water of life The name Khizr or 'evergreen' was given him because every spot he sat on became covered with green grass. Part of these fictions were taken from the Jews who fancy that Phineas was Elias. (Sale's Koran, Vol. II, page 121.) According to Dr. Wise, Alkhedr is no other than Alexander the Great, but this seems incorrect. There is a legend that Alexander the Great wanted to drink the water of everlasting life and was conducted to the spring by Khwaja Khizr, but finding it surrounded by a crowd of decrepit old men, who, though still alive, could not stir, he was disgusted at the sight and returned to the upper world without tasting the water.

‡His special connection with water is due to his having wandered all over the waters of the world in search of the water of everlasting life.

§In Nadia there is a Pir Sher Ali who is reputed to ride on tigers.

Ghazi Madar. One Muhammadan gentleman tells me he is Badiruddin Shah Madar who died in A.H. 840 fighting against infidels.* Songs are sung in his honour and offerings are made after a safe return from a journey. Hindu women often make vows to have songs sung to him if their children reach a certain age. His shrine is believed to be on a mountain called Madaria in the Himalayas.

Satya Pir

325. Satya Pir or Satya Narayan, as he is often called by Hindus, is an indefinite entity whose origin it is most difficult to trace. He is worshipped both by Hindus and Muhammadans and is supposed to have the special power of conferring happiness. According to one tradition he was an inhabitant of Bagdad of the name of Mansar Hallak. He uttered the words 'I am the truth', whereupon he was killed for blasphemy, but his blood then repeated the words. His body was burnt but his ashes continued to cry 'I am the truth'.

Shekh Sadu

326. According to Dr. Wise, Shekh Sadu was Maulavi of a Mosque at Amroha in Rohilkand. Mr. O'Malley tells me that in Gaya he is supposed to have been a student at Ganj Moradabad The story runs that he found a lamp with four wicks and, on lighting them, four genii appeared and announced that they were the slaves of the lamp, and at his service. He used them for the purpose of debauchery, but was eventually killed through the intervention of another genius and was buried at Amroha The spirit of the Shekh is worshipped all over Bihar, especially in Gaya. People, chiefly women, are often possessed by him, and when this happens, they shout out extracts from the Koran or, if illiterate, a string of gibberish which passes muster for Arabic amongst their equally ignorant neighbours. When this happens, sacrifices of goats and fowls are offered to the Shekh to appease him. People liable to be possessed are supposed to have supernatural powers and are often summoned in cases of illness or trouble to find out the cure. The usual answer is that a sacrifice of a goat or cock must be offered to Shekh Sadu.

Sultan Shahid

327. The last of these mythical persons deserving of mention is Sultan Shahid who is reported only from Gaya. He is worshipped all over the district by low class Muhammadans and also by Hindus of the lower castes. He is variously said to be the body-guard and paramour of Debi, and in any case, he seems to be very closely connected with that goddess. A 'pindi' or small alter is invariably erected to him near the temples of Debi, and cocks are offered to him before her worship is commenced.

The Panch Pir

328. This discussion of some of the less orthodox aspects of Muhammadanism would not be complete without a reference to the elusive 'Panch Pir.' The place of worship is usually a small tomb with five domes, or a simple mound at the foot of a Pipal (ficus religiosa) or banyan tree (Ficus Indica). Offerings of goats, cocks, sweetmeats, etc., are made in order to obtain children, or get rid of some incurable disease, or to ensure success in business, etc. In the minds of the ignorant the expression is usually associated with some of the best known Pirs and mythical personages, such as Ghazi Miyan, Pir Badar, Zindah Ghazi, Shekh Farid, Khwaja Khizr, and even Shekh Sadu. The actual persons vary from place to place, but the veneration for the Panch Pir is universal, not only amongst the Muhammadans but also as we shall presently see amongst Kalwars, Halwais, Telis, Bhuiyas and many other castes of Hindus in Bihar.

Amongst the educated the term is sometimes taken as referring to the 'Panj tani pak,' or five holy persons, who, according to the Shiahs, are Muhammad, Ali Fatima, Hasan and Husain, while many Sunnis interpret the same expression as meaning Muhammad and the first four Khalifas, who they call the Char Yar or four friends of the Prophet. It seems very probable that the idea of the Panch Pir may have arisen from a misunderstanding of the words "Panj tani pak". Dr. Wise conjectured that the word 'five' is used vaguely as indicating an indefinite number, in the same way as 'half-a-dozen' is sometimes used in English, but if so, it is not clear why there should be a collective tomb for these Pirs in addition to their individual shrines, nor why there should invariably be a representation of exactly five separate tombs. According to Mr. Ghaznavi the words are more a mode of expression than indicative of any real cult, and are applied to a man who does not know his own mind and is constantly following new doctrines. This, however, seems at variance with the fact that the Panch Pir are specifically worshipped.

*Other legends are given by Dr. Wise in the Essay already mentioned.

(ii) THE SARAK

Extract from Census of India, 1901, *by E. A. Gait, F.S.S.*
(*Volume VI, published in* 1902, *pp.* 427-30)

The Saraks are an archaic community of such special interest that I may perhaps be pardoned for giving a somewhat more detailed account of them than has been thought necessary in the case of other castes. They are described by Mr. Risley as 'a small caste of Chota Nagpur who seem to be a Hinduised remnant of the early Jain people, to whom local legends ascribe the ruined temples, the defaced images, and even the abandoned copper mines of that part of Bengal'. The recent census shows that the caste is much more widely distributed than was apparent from the statistics of earlier enumerations, but it is doubtful whether even the present figures represents its full strength—

Burdwan	...	819
Birbhum	...	87
Bankura	...	1,972
Midnapur	...	436
Hooghly	...	165
Sonthal Parganas	...	982
Cuttack	...	176
Balasore	...	5
Puri	...	150
Hazaribagh	...	26
Ranchi	...	1,942
Manbhum	...	10,496
Orissa States	...	129
Total	...	17,385

In many parts the Saraks have taken to weaving and are popularly known as Saraki Tanti, and they have thus doubtless sometimes been entered at the census as Tanti and not by their proper caste name. In the Pipli thana of Puri, a local reporter has estimated that there are a thousand Saraks, but only 150 have been returned at the census.

The word Sarak is doubtless derive from Sravaka, the Sanskrit word for 'a hearer'. Amongst the Jains the term was used to indicate the laymen or persons who engaged in secular pursuits as distinguished from the Yatis, the monks and ascetics, and it still survives as the name of a group which is rapidly becoming a regular caste of the usual type (Saraogi). The Buddhists used the same word to designate the second class of monks, who mainly occupied the monasteries; the highest class or Arhans usually lived solitary lives as hermits, while the great majority of the Bhikshus, or lowest class of monks, led a vagrant life of mendicancy, only resorting to the monasteries in times of difficulty or distress. The origin of the caste is ascribed in the *Brahmavaivartta Puran* to the union of a Jolaha man with a woman of the Kuvinda, or weaver caste. This, however, merely shows that at the time when this *Puran* was composed, or when the passage was interpolated,* the Saraks had already taken to weaving as a means of livelihood. Mr. Risley says that the Saraks of Manbhum, though now Hindus, retain traditions of having formerly been Jains.

Saraks of West Bengal and Chota Nagpur

It is now reported from Manbhum and Ranchi that they claim formerly to have been Agarwals who venerated Pareshnath and inhabited the country on the bank of the river Saraju which flows into the Ganges near Ghazipur, in the United Provinces, where they lived by trade and money-lending. They cannot explain why they left their original home, but in Manbhum they say that they first settled near Dhalbhum in the estate of a certain Man Raja. They subsequently moved in a body to Pachet, in consequence of an outrage contemplated by Man Raja on a girl belonging to their caste. In Ranchi it is believed that their first settlement was at Ogra near Puri, whence they subsequently migrated to Chota Nagpur. In Burdwan and Birbhum there is a tradition that they originally came from Gujrat, but in the former district the popular belief is that they were brought thither as sculptors and masons for the construction of stone temples and houses, the remains of which are still visible on the bank of the Barakar. They themselves say that their ancestors were traders and revered Pareshnath, but at the present time, as in Birbhum, Bankura, and Manbhum, they call themselves Hindus. The Saraks of this part of the country are served by Brahmans, who in some parts are, and in others are not, held to be degraded by acting as their priests. In Manbhum it is said that they were not served by Brahmans of any kind until they were provided with a priest by a former Raja of Pachet, as a reward for a service rendered to him by a Sarak, who concealed him when his country was invaded by the Bargis, *i.e.*, the Marathas. There are seven *gotras*, or exogamous groups† —Adi or Adya Deb, Dharma Deb, Rishi Deb, Sandilya, Kashyapa, Ananta, and Bharadvaja. In Birbhum Gautam and Vyasa are also given as the names of *gotras*, and in Ranchi Batsava is added. They are also divided into our *thaks* or sub-castes based on locality, viz.—

(1) Panchkotia, or inhabitants of the Pachet estate in Manbhum,

(2) Nadipariya, or Saraks residing on the right bank of the Damodar in Manbhum,

(3) Birbhumiya, or residents of Birbhum, and

(4) Tamariya, or residents of pargana Tamar in Ranchi.

There is a fifth sub-caste based on occupation, viz., the Saraki Tantis or Tanti Saraks of the Vishnupur subdivision of Bankura, who live by weaving and are held to be degraded. The latter, again, have four subdivisions—Asvini Tanti, Patra, Uttarkuli, and Mandarani. In the Sonthal Parganas the sub-castes are Phul Saraki, Sikharia, Kandala and Saraki Tanti Except for the few traditions mentioned above, the names of some of their *gotras*, and the extreme tenderness for animal life mentioned by Mr. Risley, which not only makes them strict vegetarians, but even leads them to eschew altogether the use of the word 'cut,' there is little to distinguish the Saraks of West Bengal, Manbhum, and Ranchi, from the ordinary Hindus amongst whom they live.* In Ranchi the Saraks specially venerate Syama Chand, whose ownership is performed by a Brahman. All fines imposed for caste offences are set aside for the worship of this godling.

Saraks of Orissa

In Orissa the Saraks are weavers, and are often known as Saraki Tanti, but they are accorded somewhat higher rank than the ordinary Tantis. There are here four main settlements, viz., in the Tigaria and Baramba States, in the Banki thana in Cuttack, and in the Pipli thana of Puri. The Puri Saraks have lost all connection with the others, and do not intermarry with them. Though they are not served by Brahmans, they call themselves Hindus. They have no traditions regarding their origin, but like all other Saraks are strict vegetarians. The Saraks of Baramba, Tigaria and Banki are closely connected and still intermarry. Those of Baramba were shown as Buddhists at the census. The others also say that they are Buddhists, but at the census they were entered as Hindus. The tradition current amongst both communities is that their ancestors came from Burdwan to worship at the temple at Puri, and that the Raja of Orissa (the Thakur Raja of Puri), who was himself a Buddhist, took much interest in them and settled them near his palace on some land which he assigned to them for their maintenance. This tradition is, to some extent, confirmed by their titles, some of which, such as Chand, Dutta, Kar, and Nandi, are more common in Bengal than in Orissa. There are various references in their religious writings to Bardhaman which probably stands for Burdwan. The use of the word Sarak by a Buddhist community seems to indicate that they were originally a sectarian group that has hardened into a caste, and Babu Jamini Mohan Das, who has collected for me most of the information regarding the Orissa Saraks, says that they are in many respects similar, to the Dasnami Sannyasis of Cuttack, a caste of known sectarian origin, which will presently be referred to. A parallel caste of Buddhist monks abandoning celibacy and forming domestic ties is furnished by the Banhras of Nepal who will be described further on in the notes on Nepal castes.

These Buddhist Saraks profess to have four gotras, viz., Adi Deb, commonly called Ayi Deb, Krishna Deb, Hema Deb, and another which has not yet been ascertained, but may possibly be Dharma Deb.

They assemble once a year (on the Magh Saptami) at the celebrated cave temples of Khandagiri to offer homage to the idols there and to confer on religious matters.†

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*Jolaha is a word of Muhammadan importation, and is derived from the Arabic Johala, plural of Jahil, ignorant.

†In Dumka the *gotra* does not operate as a bar on marriage. They perform their saradh on the 11th day and not on the 30th as elsewhere.

*In Manbhum they abstain from felling or from eating the fruit of the *dahuk* (Artocarpus Lacucha) and *dumur* (Ficus Glomerata) trees. The word 'cut' is also taboo to the Baishnabs of Bengal, and there is a well known story of the imbroglio that arose between a girl and her guru owing to her having to avoid the use of this word. The Saraks will not eat onions.

†These temples are situated midway between Puri and Cuttack, about 12 miles west of the high road, and have been fully described by Hunter. They are of undoubted Buddhistic origin, and represent various phases of Buddhist life, from the small rock cells of the early Buddhist missionaries to the elaborate Queen's palace, of later times, when Buddhism had become the State religion. They cover a period from about 200 B.C. to 474 A.D., when the Kesari or Lion dynasty rose to power.

They also worship an idol called Chaturbhuja* whom they identify with Buddha, especially on the Baisakh Chaturdasi, or day preceding the full moon, which they say is in anniversary of Buddha's wedding.† The offering consists of edible fruits, rice, etc Cooked food is never offered. The only offerings at Hindu temples of which they will partake are those made to Jagannath at Puri, which, as is well known, is often said to be of Buddhistic origin. All their ceremonial observances are commenced with the recitation of the formula. Ahinsa Parama Dharma.

They say that they follow the precepts of the Sisu Veda, but cannot tell what doctrines are therein inculcated.

Girls are married between the ages of 7 and 11, and boys between 15 and 20. They say that widow-marriage is forbidden in their Shastras, but of late it has crept in. Marriages and other ceremonies are performed by any one of the caste who can read the *Mantras* and is allowed to call himself Acharya.†† The only occasion when Brahmans are employed is at the *Hom* ceremony. At marriage the proceedings commence with the following ceremonies:

(1) Abahana, or welcome to Buddha Deva.

(2) Puja to Ganapati and Varuna.

(3) Naibedya, or offering to Buddha and the ten Dikpals, or guardian deities of the ten directions.§ the ancestors of the bride and bridegroom.

(4) Gandhadhibasa, welcome to the bride and bridegroom.

*In the Vishnupur Circular cards, which date from about the tenth century and which have recently been described by Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri, the figure representing Buddha is four armed. The Narayana Chaturbhuja described in Mr. Westmacott's "Traces of Buddhism in Dinajpur" (*J. A. S. B.*, 1875, p. 189), may also be a representation of Buddha. On the other hand, the image actually worshipped on the occasion mentioned in the text (in Tigaria at least) has only two arms, and is undoubtedly a representation of Buddha.

†The full moon day of Baisakh is looked on by Buddhists generally as their most sacred day, being the anniversary not only of the birth but also of the enlightenment and the *pari-nirvana* of Gautama Buddha.

††This is the title still borne in Nepal by the Buddhist priests of the Newars. According to one account the sister's son is preferred as priest if he possesses the requisite qualifications.

§Indra, Agni, Jam, Nairit, Varuna, Vaigu, Kubir, Sib, Brahma and Ananta.

(5) Worship of 18 Matrigan, including 12 deified women* and six essential human virtues.†

(6) Nandimukhi Sraddha, or offerings to the spirits of the ancestors of the bride and bridegroom.

Then follows the *Kanya Dan*, or bestowal of the daughter in marriage. A compound of milk, curds, honey, molasses, and *ghi* is next offered to Buddha, and eaten by the bride and bridegroom; this is called *Madhuparka panchamrita*. After this comes the binding part of the ceremony, the joining of hands, or *hastogrunthi*, and the father then makes over the bride to her husband's care (*samarpan*). The *Hom* ceremony is now performed by a Brahman called in for the purpose, and the Acharya concludes the proceedings by calling upon Buddha to shower his blessings on the young couple. In confirmation of the tradition amongst the Ranchi Saraks that their ancestors were once settled in Orissa, it may be mentioned that their marriage ceremony is very similar to the above, except that the preliminary welcome to Buddha is dispensed with.

The sradh is performed on the 11th day. The rules prohibiting the eating of animal food and the taboo of the word meaning 'cut' are as strict amongst these Buddhist Saraks as amongst those of Burdwan. The caste organisation is very complete and is much the same as that of the *hatua* or trading castes of the Orissa. At the head is the Mahapatra, who decides various social and caste questions with the aid of his Paramanik or Assistant, Thanpati or peon, and Pakha or page. In important matters the decision rests with the community, who are called together by the Mahapatra and deliberate under his guidance. All fines that may be imposed go towards meeting the cost of the *Bauddha Puja* in Baisakh. The Thanpati presides at this *puja*; if he is impure owing to a death or birth in his family, the Pakha takes his place. At caste feasts the Mahapatra is always served first. At marriages the Mahapatra and Paramanik are each given a piece of cloth, and the Thanpati and Pakha both receive ten betelnuts. The rank of all these caste officials is hereditary. Some of the Saraks are in possession of old palm-leaf records, but they know very little regarding their contents.††

*Gauri, Padma, Sachi, Medha, Sabitri, Bijaya, Jaya, Debasena, Swaha, Swadha, Matri, and Lokmatri. Amongst the Hindus of Bengal only sixteen Matrikas are worshipped, the omissions being Matri and Lokmatri, both of which are general terms with no definite application. I am informed that the Brahmans of Orissa, like the Sarakas, take eighteen as the number of Matrikas.

†Dhriti (patience), Pushti (nourishment), Kshama (forgiveness), Tushti (contentment), Atma (soul), and Adhisthatri Debata (guardian deity).

††I have since procured one of these manuscripts through Babu Jamini Mohan Das and made it over to Mahamahopadhyaya H. P. Sastri for critical examination. The marriage ceremony as therein described differs in some respects from that mentioned in the text.

IX

(i) THE INSIGNIA OF HINDU SECTS

[Extract from the Census Report of Bengal, 1911, *by L. S. S. O'Malley, pp.* 252-55*]*

'Tilaks' or sectarian marks

574. The Hindu sects are distinguished by a number of different *tilaks,* i.e , marks worn on the forehead or elsewhere. The mark is applied, with sandalwood paste or any of the other substances prescribed for the purpose, on the following 12 parts of the body: the forehead, the neck, the two arms, the chest, the navel, the right and left sides, the lobes of the ears, the head and the back. The wearing of the *tilak* appears to be a custom dating back to the time of the Vedic Aryans and to be as old as the *hom* ceremony itself. At the end of that ceremony the celebrant was enjoined to put marks on his forehead, on the lower part of the neck, on the top of his arms, and on the lower part of his breast They were to be made with ashes and *ghi*, mixed together on the sacrificial ladle, and applied with the fore-finger. Their virtue and

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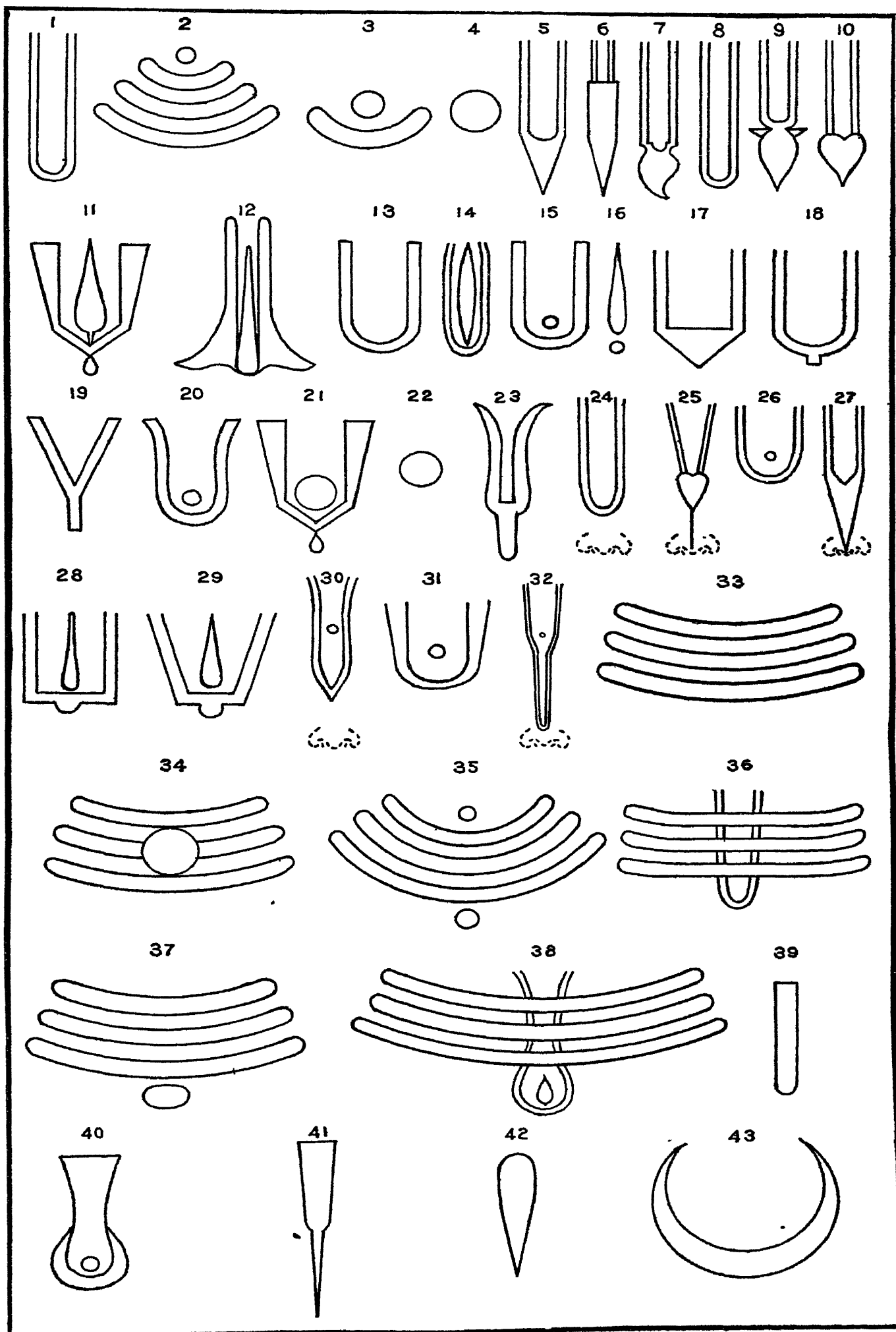
necessity were pointed out by Raghunandan, the great law-giver of Bengal, who quoted a passage from the *Mahabharata* to the effect that, after bathing, the *tilak* was to be affixed with mud, and after *hom* with ashes, in order to save one from such sins as the sight of Chandals and others. He also referred to a passage in the *Brahma Purana* saying that without the *tilak* gifts of cows, offerings to fire, the recital of holy texts, libations of water to the Manes, were all worthless. According to this *Purana*, a vertical mark was to be made with mud and three horizontal marks with ashes, but a Dwija or twice-born might make his *tilak* with sandal paste. The *Brahmanda Purana* further distinguished between the effect produced by the different fingers used for making the mark. The thumb was said to ensure good health, the middle finger longevity, the ring-finger wealth, and the fore-finger emancipation. Four different kinds of *tilaks* were prescribed for the four *varnas*. The Brahman's *tilak* was known as Urdhapundra, which is defined as consisting of two vertical lines joining at the lower end; in Bengal the angle between them is now-a-days generally rounded as shown in figure No. 1. The Kshattriya had to have a Tripundra, the Vaisya an Ardhachandra or half moon, and the Sudra a Bartul or circular mark, as shown in figures 2-4 In spite of the fact that the Urdhapundra was intended for Brahmans, the Vaishnavas generally wear it in one form or another, while the Saivas prefer the Tripundra.

VAISHNAVA 'TILAKS'

575. The Vaishnavas are strict about the wearing of the tilak: a devout Vaishnava, in fact, rarely omits to mark all 12 parts of the body. In addition to vertical marks, figures of the conch-shell (*sankh*), wheel (*chakra*), club (*gada*) and lotus (*padma*), which Vishnu holds in his four hands, are marked on other parts of the body: the various names of Radha and Krishna are also stamped on them. The four emblems and the names are frequently carved on wooden stamps, with which they are marked on the body. The Vaishnava forehead mark is also called Harimandira. The lower part of this mark is said to represent a door-sill, and the vertical lines the sides of a door; hence the name Harimandira. According to a Vaishnava authority, the *Haribhaktibilasa* (composed in 1562 A D.), Harimandira is really the abode of God, for the open space represents Vishnu and the two side lines Brahma and Siva.

Bengal

Six forehead marks commonly worn by Bengal Vaishnavas are shown in figures 5-10. Numbers 5 and 6 are worn by followers of Nityananda Prabhu and Nos. 7 and 10 by followers of Adyaita Prabhu. Number 8, which is called *Nupur* (foot ornament), is worn by followers of Gadadhar Prabhu, and No. 9 by followers of Acharyya Prabhu. Each of these *tilaks* is supposed to consist of two parts, the upper part representing the Urdhapundra, and the lower part, a leaf, a flower or an ornament; and they are named accordingly, e.g., as Bansapatra or bamboo leaf, Batapatra or banyan-tree leaf, and Tilapushpa or *til* flower.

Bihar

The different Vaishnava sects of Bihar have also distinctive tilaks, mostly variants of the Urdhapundra and many suggesting the shape of the trident. The Ramanujas, who are the largest sect in Bihar, are generally distinguished by that numbered 11: the outside lines are white, the inner symbol red or yellow: this symbol is called Sri. The Ramanandis have the same mark, except that the symbol in the centre is white. A white *tilak* is worn by the Lashkaris, who are so called because they are supposed to join in battle for their faith if called upon. Some Vaishnavas have simply a red Sri, without vertical lines on either side. A peculiar variety of Ramanuja *tilak* is No 12, which is called Bargain and is prevalent among the Babhans (Bhumihar Brahmans) of Tirhut. The usual Ballabhacharya *tilak* is numbered 13, it is used more especially by the Agarwalas. That of the Madhavacharyas, which bears the number 14, has the inner line black and the outer lines white. The Gayawals of Gaya favour this mark, but omit the side lines. The Nimavats have a circular black or white mark between white lines (No. 15), while the Ramprasadis wear No 16. Other Vaishnava *tilaks* are those numbered 17-22. Number 22, which is known as *bindu*, is not confined to Vaishnavas, but worn by the Hindu public generally; when made of saffron, it is used exclusively by Vaishnava females. That numbered 23 is worn by Achari Vaishnavas in the Gaya district and is called Gangacharya.

Orissa

In Orissa the Vaishnava sects have an extraordinary variety of *tilaks*—it is said that there are 40 or 50 different kinds. The accompanying sketch shows nine of the principal kinds. Number 24 shows the *tilak* of the Atibadi sect; the vertical lines are white and the circular mark, which is also white, is placed a little above the bridge of the nose. Number 25 is characteristic of the Adyait Acharyyas, No. 26 of the Vishnuwamis, No. 27 of the Madhavacharyas—the last extends from the top of the forehead to the tip of the nose. Number 28 distinguishes the Acharis and No. 29 the Ramanandis; in both the latter cases the outer lines are white, the inner line red. Number 30 is the *tilak* of the Bakreswar Pandits, No. 31 of the Sisus (both being white) and No. 32, which is yellow, of the Syamanandis; this latter *tilak* also extends from the top of the forehead to the tip of the nose.

SAIVA, SAKTA AND OTHER "TILAKS"

576. The Saivas have several *tilaks* called Tripundras, of which the most common are Nos 33 and 34; they are made with ashes or sandal-wood paste and vary in colour accordingly. Number 35, which is made with the latter, is worn more especially by Maithil Brahmans and the Pandas of Baidyanath. Another form of the Saiva mark is No. 36, which is applied with ashes: it is mostly used in Tirhut. A common Sakta *tilak* is numbered 37, the Tripundra in this case is made of ashes, but the *bindu*, or round mark below, is red. Another *tilak* found in Tirhut is No. 38. The Kabirpanthis of Bihar have a vertical *tilak* of red and the Sheonarayanis of black, as shewn in No. 39. Among the former No. 40 (a yellow mark called Bhaktahi) and 41 are also found. the last extends from the tip of the nose to the top of the forehead. Number 42 is occasionally found among Nanakshahis, while No. 43 is peculiar to Ganapatyas or worshippers of Ganesh.*

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*I am indebted for drawings and notes, from which the above account has been compiled, to Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri, Pandit Gangadhar Sastri, Pandit Deva Datta Tripathi (of Dalippur in Shahabad), Babu Raj Kishore Das, Manager of the Jagannath Temple at Puri, Rai Bahadur Jamini Mohan Das, Deputy Magistrate, Babu Syam Narayan Singh, Deputy Magistrate, and Babu Newal Kishore Sahai, Revenue Head Assistant, Patna Commissioner's office.

(ii) MARRIAGE AND BIRTH CUSTOMS

[Extract from the Census Report of Bengal, 1911, *by L. S. S. O'Malley, pp.* 314-34*]*

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Premarital Intercourse

625. Sexual intercourse between members of the same tribe is tolerated by some of the aboriginal tribes, provided either that the parties are not closely related or that they are not members of the same sept. Such intercourse frequently takes place at annual festivals, when considerable license prevails. Among the Kharias a marriage, as well as a festival, is an occasion for an orgy, in which the village youths and girls come together without a word of protest. The system of dormitories, in which

the boys and girls sleep away from their parents, also facilitates the indulgence of youthful passions. The Oraons, for instance, have a common dormitory, known as *dhumkuria*, in which the boys sleep in the house of some old woman, who is supposed to look after them. She often winks, however, at their delinquencies, and pretends not to see a girl slip away to the boy's dormitory. In some villages, moreover, there is not this separation of the sexes, and both boys and girls sleep together in one dormitory. If a girl becomes pregnant the putative father is expected to marry her, and he generally does so: otherwise he is punished by the Panchayat. Among the Santals, if the young lover belongs to the same sept and therefore cannot marry the girl, he is bound to provide her with a husband called *kiring-jawae*, i.e., a bought husband, because he is paid by the girl's lover or by her father for consenting to take her as his wife.

Premarital intercourse is also recognized by the Rajbansis in Purnea, among whom it is due to the expenses attending the marriage ceremony. A feast to the caste brethren is an essential feature of marriage. Unless and until such a feast is given, the marriage ceremony is void. If the man who wishes to marry has not been able to save enough money to provide a feast, he simply sprinkles water on the girl, and they are thereby united. They may live together and have children, but are not regarded as being properly married. The formal marriage may take place at any subsequent time, when the husband has got together the money required for the feast. As soon as the feast is given, the marriage becomes valid with retrospective effect.

Marriage by capture

626. Marriage by capture is still commonly practised by some of the aboriginal tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau. Among the Bhuiyas of the Orissa States, if a young man is in love with a girl, and either she or her parents will not consent to a marriage, he gathers together a band of his friends, and, when he gets an opportunity, carries her off, his companions guarding the flight. This method of obtaining a bride often leads to sanguinary conflicts, owing to the girl's friends attempting to prevent the abduction or to rescue her. A survival of marriage by capture is seen in another form of marriage among the Bhuiyas, which is effected with the consent of the girl. Her would-be husband takes her away from a group of Bhuiya girls in the forest. Her companions return to the village, where they report that she has been carried off by a tiger and urge the villagers to go in pursuit. A search party is organized, which, after going to the spot, returns to the house of the parents of the lover and demands the blood of the lad. His parents offer to pay blood money and to stand a village feast, and the wedding is then celebrated. In both these cases the abduction has to be regularized by the marriage ceremony and by feasting the community when it takes place.*

The Hos also practise marriage by capture, the young man carrying off the girl from some dance or market in spite of any resistance, real or feigned, that she may make. In this case the bride-price is settled afterwards. Traces of marriage by capture are also seen in the marriage ceremonies of many low classes, of which a regular feature is a mimic conflict between the *barat* (i.e., the procession of the bridegroom's friends) and the friends of the bride, which ends in the victory of the former.

Marriage by service

627. Marriage by service is common among the Santals, Mundas and Oraons, and is also found among the Rajbansis and the Haris. The young man in this case wins his bride by service, working in the house of her parents for a certain period of years, after which she is given to him as his wife, in the same way that Leah and Rachel were given to Jacob. Among the Santals this form of marriage is usual when a girl is deformed or ugly, and is also resorted to by parents who have only daughters or have grown-up daughters and infant sons. The *ahardi-jawae*, as the man is called, is generally a poor man who has not enough to satisfy the father's demand for his daughter. He, therefore, pays by his labour, living with and working for his future father-in-law without wages for five years. He then gets two buffaloes, some rice and some agricultural implements, and sets up house for himself and his wife. If his wife has no brothers, and he stays on in the house and works for his father-in-law till he dies, he inherits all the immovable property and half the movable property, the other half going to the relatives of the deceased. Should the *ghardi-jawae* have a child, the names of the maternal grand-mother and grand-father are given first, instead of the name of paternal grand-parents, as is the usual practice. This may possibly be a trace of matriarchy.

Among the Mundas the "service son-in-law," who is known as *gharjawain* or *ghardamad*, stays in the house of his father-in-law and works for three years. He then takes his wife away to his own home, receiving a present of some land, two bullocks, and 12 maunds of rice. If, after his marriage, he remains with his father-in-law, and takes care of them till their death, he inherits the whole property. There are three kinds of "service sons-in-law" among the Oraons, all of whom are called *erpajeon khaddi* (Hindi, *ahardamad* or *ahardi-jawai*). Some are practically servants, who receive food, clothing and wages, besides a yearly bonus, during their period of service, and when it is over, have to leave the house. The second kind may, after marriage, either stay in the house or set up a separate establishment. In addition to their pay, board and lodging, the yearly bonus, and the wife, they receive, on departure, a pair of bullocks and a plough, tools and various household articles. Lastly, a man, who is afraid that he may die without male issue, may adopt one or more young men, conferring upon them all the rights of inheritance due to a son or sons. The only conditions are that the young men must marry his daughters and work for him until his death. They get no pay, but the same treatment as a son. A widow may adopt a son on the same conditions, and on her death he will succeed to her husband's property.

Marriage by purchase

628. The almost universal form of marriage at the present time is marriage by purchase, i.e., either the bride or the bridegroom is paid for. Generally, the higher castes pay for the bridegroom, the payment being called *tilak* or *dahej*, while the lower castes pay a bride-price. The amount varies with the wealth and position of the parties. Naturally, a poor man is not expected to pay as much as a rich man, but, on the other hand, a man must pay more if he seeks a matrimonial alliance with a family having a better social position or greater wealth. Hypergamy also necessitates the payment of high fees, as the field of choice is limited. Educational qualifications put up the price of a bridegroom, not so much because of any belief in education as an advantage *per se*, but because the bridegroom is more likely to get remunerative employment. It is its potential, and, in some cases, its actual, value that makes a University degree a good asset. Unless it were thought that the bridegroom is, or is likely to be, in a position to maintain a family, he would stand a poor chance in the marriage market. In spite of the growing number of bridegrooms with University qualifications, their price is still very high. A Kayasth, for instance, in Champaran obtained Rs. 700 for a son who had passed the Entrance examination, whereas he would otherwise have received only Rs. 300. This, however, was an unusually cheap match for a Kayasth. Another youth in the same fortunate position secured Rs. 2,500, and the price of a Bihari B.A. husband has been known to run up to Rs. 3,500. In the richer Province of Bengal the price of a Kayasth matriculate or graduate usually varies from Rs. 500 to Rs. 3,000, but there are instances of Rs. 10,000 being demanded and paid.

The possession of a degree may even change the whole situation and cause a bridegroom-price to be paid instead of a bride-price. It is reported from Bankura that the bride-price system prevails among the Sadgops, but if the bridegroom has a University degree, his father, so far from paying anything for the bride, has a handsome sum

*L. E. B. Cobden Ramsay, *Orissa States Gazetteer*, pp. 48, 49.

paid to him. Generally, however, though a certain amount of education is appreciated in a Sadgop bridegroom, the possession of landed property is more valued than the possession of a degree. A bride's father will pay as much as Rs. 300 for a boy with some landed property and a fair education, whereas he would otherwise receive Rs. 100 to Rs. 500 for giving his daughter in marriage. Among the Babhans and Rajputs landed property is sought after rather than educational proficiency. Rs. 15,000 have before now been paid for an uneducated Babhan zamindar with a big rent-roll. It should be added that it is not uncommon for a girl's father to undertake to pay for the cost of the bridegroom's education. The payment is thus spread over several years, and there is the prospect of a good investment if the boy has ability.

629. Age affects the price considerably. Where brides are bought, a girl who is getting on in years will not command so high a price as one who is younger. Where bridegrooms are bought, it is more difficult and expensive to find a husband for a girl who has attained puberty than for one who is still immature. Among the higher castes who take a price for bridegrooms, it is considered a disgraceful thing to take anything for girls. Only those who are poor will do so. The bridegroom in such cases is nearly always suffering from some infirmity or is an old man who would find it difficult to obtain a bride otherwise. Occasionally, however, a man of high caste will pay for a bride when he really wants a wife to look after his house.

630. The following statement shows the prices generally paid for brides and bridegrooms, and the age at which marriage takes place among different castes. Where there is no entry of a bride-price, it means that the bridegroom is paid for, and *vice versa*.

Caste	Locality	Sums paid for		Age of	
		Bride	Bridegroom	Bride	Bridegroom
		Rs.	Rs.		
Aguri	Burdwan	....	200—5,000	5—13	12—25
Bhaabn	Bihar	....	20—2,000	10—12	12—20
Bagdi	Bengal	7—64	....	3—14	7—26
Baidya	Bengal	....	500—3,000	10—14	20—25
Bauri	Bengal	4as.—Rs. 10	....	5—16	8—20
	Orissa	10—20	....	11—22	20—30
Bhotia	Darjeeling	25 and upwards	....	16—17	20—25
Bhuiya	Chota Nagpur	2—7	....	7—12	10—14
Bhumij	Chota Nagpur	2	....	7—18	12—25
Binjhal	Orissa	40	....	12	13—15
Brahman	Bengal	....	500—5,000	8—14	17—20
	Bihar	....	10—3,000	7—15	12—20
	Orissa	....	100—200	7—11	12—20
Chasa	Orissa	10—100	....	11—22	20—30
Chero	Palamau	5—10	....	8—10	12—13
Dhanuk	Bihar	100	....	3—10	4—10
Gandhabanik	Burdwan	....	50—300	9—12	16—20
Gaura	Orissa	10—40	....	10—12	12—25
Goala	Bengal	100—400	....	5—10	11—20
	Bihar	5—100	....	1—8	2—16
Guria	Orissa	2—40	....	5—10	5—10
Jimdar	Darjeeling	15 and upwards	....	18 and over	18 and over
Kahar	Bihar	50—100	....	8—14	8—14
Kaibartta	West Bengal	25—100	....	7—11	15—25
Kandh (Khond)	Orissa	20—60	....	16—30	16—40
Kaora	24-Parganas	15—50	....	5—9	10—25
Karan	Orissa	....	100—3,000	11—22	18—30
Kayasth	Bengal	....	200—5,000	9—14	16—25
	Bihar	....	50—1,000	7—15	11—25
Kewat	Purnea	10—50	....	2—8	4—12
Khaira	Bankura	5—10	....	7—9	11—16
Khandait	Orissa	30—100	....	9—20	14—25
Kharia	Ranchi	In kind	....	12—20	12—20
Kharwar	Palamau	7	....	11—12	12—13

Caste	Locality	Sums paid for		Age of	
		Bride	Bridegroom	Bride	Bridegroom
		Rs.	Rs.		
Koiri	Bihar	50—100	....	8—14	8—14
Kora	Manbhum	2	....	7—12	12—20
Kurmi	Bihar	2—100	....	8—14	8—14
Lepcha	Darjeeling	100	....	16 and over	20 and over
Limbu	Darjeeling	40—60	....	16 and over	20 and over
Mangar	Darjeeling	60	....	14	18
Munda	Ranchi	5—80	....	12—20	15—20
Murmi	Darjeeling	25 and upwards	....	17	18
Namasudra	Central Bengal	20—100	....	4—10	12—18
Oraon	Ranchi	10—30	....	12—20	12—20
Pan	Orissa	10—30	....	6—20	10—30
Pod	24-Parganas	15—50	....	5—9	10—25
Rajbansi	Cooch Behar	80—100	....	10—11	20—23
Rajput	Bihar	....	10—5,000	8—20	10—25
Sadgop	Bengal	30—500	....	7—13	9—22
Sahar	Orissa	15—17	....	10—20	10—30
Santal	Sonthal Parganas	13	....	14—18	18—22
Sauria Paharia (Maler)	Sonthal Parganas	13	....	16—17	18—20
Subarnabanik	Howrah	....	500—3,000	9—12	18—20
Sukli	Midnapore	50—200	....	8—9	16—20
Teli	Bihar	100	....	5—10	5—16
Tiyar	24-Parganas	15—50	....	5—9	10—25

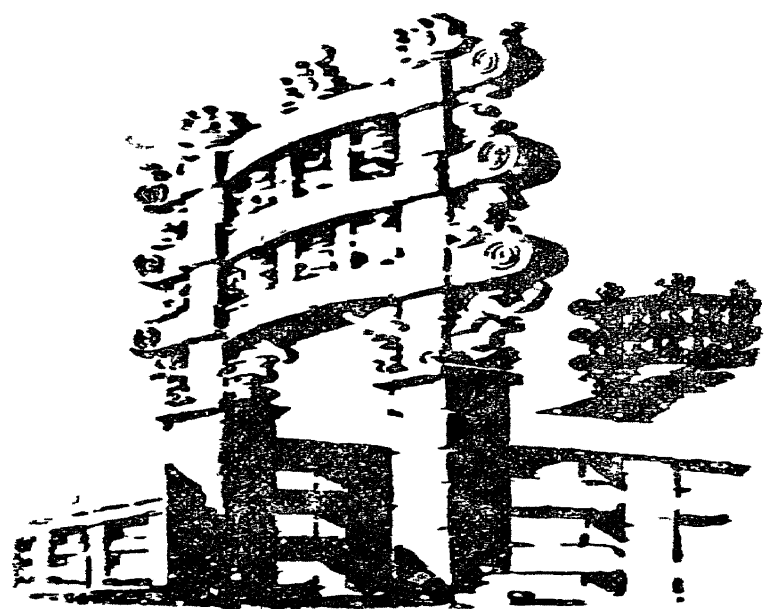
Prices of bride and bridegroom.

631. The price is generally settled by the parents, either directly or through intermediaries, but in some castes it is settled by the caste Panchayat and is not left to mutual agreement. The horoscopes of the boy and girl have to be carefully compared to see if the stars, under which they were born, harmonize, i.e., whether the marriage is auspicious or not. It has been suggested that the object of consulting horoscopes is to see whether in a former life they have been members of different castes, which would of course preclude any alliance, but this is not the idea of the people themselves. The marriages of the Maithil Brahmans are carefully regulated by a record called the Panj, which dates back many hundred years—it is said that it is at least a thousand years old, and the fact that it is written on palm-leaves attests its antiquity. No Brahman can marry any woman whose birth has not been entered in the Panj. It is kept up by genealogists called Panjiaras, who go on annual tours, entering the names of the Brahmans born in each village during the year. The office is hereditary, but, before practising, the candidate must obtain the permission of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. The parties, who wish to arrange a marriage between their sons and daughters, employ Ghataks or marriage-brokers, and after coming to an agreement, go to the Panjiara. The latter refers to the Panj and, if it shows that there is no bar to the marriage, grants them a certificate to that effect.

632 There is a general consensus of opinion that the prices to be paid for both brides and bridegrooms have risen of late years. In Cooch Behar, for instance, the average amount paid for a Rajbansi bride used to be Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 but is now Rs. 80 to Rs. 100. The cause of enhancement seems to be very largely the increased cost of living. It is partly also the result of greater facilities of intercommunication consequent on the extension of railways. The field of selection larger, but competitive prices have set in. The members of a caste in one place now have means of knowing that high prices are paid in another, and it is naturally considered necessary to demand no less. Apart from mercenary considerations, a high price argues a high position. Lastly, prices have been enhanced by new standards. It is no longer a question of a good family record and a fair amount of land. Educational qualifications are sought after, and the possession of them raises the price. Special circumstances may also come into play. In Hazaribagh, for example, a Bhuiya bridegroom, who a few years ago paid Rs. 3 for a wife, now has to pay Rs. 4. The increase is due to the number of men, who have migrated to Burma or elsewhere, and, coming home with pockets full, are ready to pay a rupee more for a handsome bride. In Bihar, the increase is attributed by one correspondent to families ceasing to employ Brahmans to arrange marriages for them in consequence of the frauds that have been detected. The families themselves, it is said, are far more exacting than the Brahman. A further cause of the enhancement of prices seems to be that in this, as in other respects, the low imitate the high castes, and there is a general levelling up.

633. It must not be imagined that bargains are always made. The amount is still often determined by custom, and this is generally the case where it is paid in kind. The idea of a price is obscured, and it is merely a customary obligation for the bridegroom to provide so many articles—ornaments, clothes, etc., and to receive certain presents himself. The payment may be entirely or only partially in kind. The following schedule of the articles made over by a Sahar bridegroom in Orissa to his father-in-law is a relic of the days when barter was in vogue: 240 seers of paddy, 2 *saris*, a goat, 20 seers of common rice, four seers of fine rice, a seer of oil and ½ seer of turmeric, besides Re. 1-4 in cash; the total value of these miscellaneous articles is Rs. 15. It should be added that the amount to be paid is frequently enhanced by the necessity of having to provide a caste feast.

Ages of bride and bridegroom

634. Hindu custom makes it necessary that girls should be married before they attain puberty. A *sloka* of Parashar fixes their marriageable age at 8 to 10 years, while a *sloka* attributed to Manu extends it to 12 years, for it is laid down that a bridegroom of 24 should marry a girl of 8, and a man of 30 a girl of 12. In Bengal,

Another essential feature of the marriage ceremony is that the bride and the bridegroom eat together, thereby showing that she has been transferred to his family, but before the stage of *Sindurdan* and the common meal is reached, various formalities have to be gone through, which are so numerous and varied, that space forbids their mention.

The application of vermilion is probably a survival of a blood covenant between husband and wife. This is still actually observed by some castes, such as the Haris of Bengal, among whom a bride and bridegroom are smeared with each other's blood, which is extracted with a thorn from their fingers. It is reported that among the Dharhis and Dosadhs of Monghyr the fingers are lanced by a barber, and the blood is soaked in red cotton wool, which is enclosed in *pan*. The bride chews the *pan* containing the bridegroom's blood, and the bridegroom that containing the bride's blood. A similar custom prevails among the Gulgulias; only in their case the wool which absorbs the blood is used to dye the feet of the bridegroom and the bride. This is the last act in the marriage ceremony, after which she is taken away to his house.

Marriage of widows

641. The marriage of widows is opposed to the sacramental theory of marriage held by orthodox Hindus, but is commonly practised by the low castes. Even among them, however, the tendency is to give up the custom, its abandonment being regarded as a hall-mark of respectability. Some sub-castes, called Biahut in Bihar, claim a superior status because they do not allow widows to re-marry, while ambitious castes, such as the Kurmis of Bihar and the Chasas of Orissa, among whom the custom used to prevail, are discontinuing it in their desire to obtain a higher status. It is sometimes said that a re-married widow is regarded as a kind of concubine, but this appears to be too sweeping a statement. The distinction between widow marriage and concubinage is well-defined and clearly recognized. In the first place a widow marriage can take place only between members of the same caste, while the only restriction on the choice of a concubine is that she must belong to a caste, from which water may be taken. In the second place the consent of the castemen has frequently to be obtained before a widow is married, whereas no one would dream of consulting them before taking a concubine. Lastly, widow marriage is accompanied by a ceremony, though it is far less formal than at the marriage of a virgin bride. It usually consists merely of applying vermilion to the woman's forehead and putting bracelets on her wrists. If a bride-price is paid for a widow, it is small in amount and far less than is paid for a virgin bride, commonly nothing is paid at all. The Dhanuks and Chamars of Patna are, however, reported to prefer widows and to pay a higher price for them. The cause of this unusual custom is perhaps that their marriages are celebrated at an early age, and that a girl bride has to be supported for many years before she is able to add to the income of the family or be of any assistance to it.

642 At the same time, some castes hold a re-married widow in such low esteem that her actual position is little better than that of a concubine. This is the case among the Santals, who believe that a woman is the property of her first husband and will rejoin him in the next world. In fact, they say that the second husband merely 'hires' the widow for this life. The ceremony also shows the low estimation, in which they hold the woman, for instead of smearing *sindur* on her forehead, the bridegroom smears it on a flower, which he thereupon places in her hair with his left (or impure) hand. Among the Kurmis of Manbhum a widow has to undergo the indignity of receiving *sindur* from the bridegroom's great toe. Among the Rajbansis a *dangua*, i.e., a man who marries a widow and is kept by her, is regarded with particular contempt; the woman can even turn him out of her house whenever she likes. So great is the disgust which he inspires, that it is said that if a cow dies, and a *dangua* removes its carcass from the cowshed, even the keen-eyed vultures will not eat it. Another story is that those sagacious animals—the elephants—will refuse to eat rice, which has been tied up in grass and offered to them by a *dangua*.*

In Orissa the name *thainani*, which is applied to a re-married widow, is a term of contempt. She never has the privileges of a virgin wife; she cannot prepare or touch *sraddha* offerings and she cannot join *sadhabas*, or women married for the first time, in the performance of ceremonies She is formally repudiated by the family of her deceased husband. When she expresses a desire to marry again, the leading men of the village are called together and the ornaments given her at marriage are taken from her. Any children the women may have born to her first husband, are also taken away, though she is allowed to retain a child at the breast till it is of marriageable age. This practice is also usual in Bihar. A solemn declaration is finally made that neither she nor her husband's family have claims on one another. This formal renunciation is called *elakabujhineba* or cessation of claims.

643. Widow marriage (*dwitya* or *sanga* or *thain*) is very common in Orissa, and presents some peculiar features which may be mentioned here. It obtains among almost all castes, except the Bengali settlers, the Brahmans, the Karans and the Mahanaik section of the Khandaits, who are gradually working up to a higher standard of orthodoxy. The ceremony is generally of a simple character. Some ornaments and cloth are given to the bride and the caste people have a feast. The particular ornament the presentation of which by the bridegroom to the bride appears to be indispensable, is a *bala* or bangle, so that widow marriage is sometimes called *Baladewa* (giving a *bala*). An odd number is very unlucky. A man may, therefore, marry a widow without danger if it is his second or fourth marriage, but not if he is a bachelor marrying his first or a widower marrying a third wife. When a bachelor takes a widow wife, he first goes through a form of marriage to a *sahara* tree. One of the branches of the tree is lowered and placed in his hand and a garland is tied round his wrist, as is generally done in the case of marriage with a woman. Then the widow is brought before the bridegroom, garalnds, are exchanged, and the bridegroom presents a *bala* to the bride and makes her wear it. If a widower marries for a third time, he also marries a *sahara* tree before he takes the widow as his bride, so that the tree becomes his third wife and the widow the fourth wife. The idea is simply superstitious. The Koltas say that if a bachelor marries a widow, he will become an evil spirit after death; he, therefore, goes through a mock marriage with a flower before the real marriage with the widow. There is a similar custom among the Halwais of Bihar. When a Halwai bachelor marries a widow, the ceremony takes place, as is the usual practice, in the widow's house, but before going there the bridegroom is formally married in his own house to a sword or a piece of iron, which he bedaubs vermilion as if it were his bride.

The Brahmo Marriage Act

644. The provisions of the Brahmo Marriage Act (III of 1872) do not appear to be utilized to any great extent for the re-marriage of widows. The total number of marriages celebrated under it in Bengal during the decade 1901—10 was only 335 (of which two-thirds took place in Calcutta), and in 34 cases only were the brides widows.

Levirate

645. A special form of widow marriage, which is common among aboriginals and low Hindu castes in Chota Nagpur and Orissa, and is also practised to a certain extent in Bihar, is that which is sometimes called the levirate. Levirate is the designation of the Jewish custom by which a dead man's brother had to marry his widow, in order that he might continue his line—raise up seed to

Jalpaiguri District Gazetteer, p. 35.

నమ్రత

పరమ పవిత్రుండు పరమేశ్వరుండు
సృజియించె నిన్నుమున్ మృత్తికతోడ,
కావున దుమ్మట్లు కమ్ము దాసుండ,
లోభంబు గర్వంబు లోక పీడనము
పనివడి యార్జింప వలవదెవ్వానికి,
నిను మట్టి నిర్మించె, నిప్పు కావలదు;
గర్వించి తలయెత్త గాఢాగ్ని శిఖలు,
అడకువ క్రిందికి నడగెను దుమ్ము,
ఆనీచవహ్ని గర్వాంకితంబౌట
దానితో సైతాను తగసృజియించె,
దీనితో నిర్మించె మానవ ప్రతతి.

అడకువవలన నౌన్నత్యము

అభ్రంబు నుండి వర్షాంబు కణంబు
వనధిలోపడిదాని వైశాల్యమరసి
సిగ్గొంది యిట్లనె: సింధువదేడ?
నేనేడ? దేవుడా, నిజమిట్టులుండ,
నన్నుపోల్చుకొనంగ నలుసంత లేను!
తనుతా తిరస్కారమున చూచుకొనగ,
నొక శుక్తి దానిని నోడిలోన చాకె;

are especially common in Orissa, where the girl is married to a flower or an arrow or a tree, if she is on the point of attaining puberty and a husband can be got for her. Among some castes, such as the Sahars, if a girl has through some mischance attained maturity before being married to an arrow, she is tied to a tree in a jungle. It is uncertain whether the idea underlying this is that she is married to the tree or that she is exposed to wild beasts or left as a prize for the first-comer. Sometimes the family avoid the shame of having an adult spinster in the house by giving her in marriage to an old man, who acts as husband *pro forma*. His claim to keep her as a wife is not recognized, and if a chance of marrying her comes, she is married as if she was a widow. The following account of the ceremony among the Chasas may be taken as typical. The priest binds the girl's hand to the arrow with some *kush* grass. The girl venerates the arrow during her lifetime and never mentions it, just as she would never mention the name of a real husband. If a suitor presents himself afterwards, her marriage is *dwitua*, the same name as is given to the re-marriage of a real widow. The marriage is, moreover, like that of an ordinary widow, for the bridegroom need not attend the marriage, but may send his younger brother, who puts a bangle on the bride's wrist. A third class of mock marriage is performed when a bachelor marries a widow, of which an account has already been given.

Marriage among prostitutes

649. The performance of a marriage ceremony is recognized as a necessary rite even by prostitutes whose life is the negation of marriage. In Bengal a girl who is intended for a life of shame goes through a form of marriage before or as soon as she reaches puberty. She is married either to a man, or to a plant, or to a sword or a knife. The man is generally an imbecile, but sometimes a Baishnab is hired to act as a bridegroom, or a prostitute's son takes the part. In any case, he is a husband *pro forma* only and goes away after the marriage. A regular marriage ceremony is, however, performed by a low Brahman, if, as sometimes happens, one can be secured, or by a Baishnab priest, while a Mullah officiates among Musalmans. The ceremony is also performed if the girl is married to a plant (e.g., a jasmine or rose), or a plantain tree, or a sword or a knife—a sword or knife is invariably selected by Muhammadan prostitutes, while a plant is preferred by Hindus. The symbolism is carried so far that the plant is carefully watered and the sword is kept locked up in a box, in the belief that if the one dies or the other is lost the girl becomes a widow. In fact, when the plant dies, she wipes off the vermilion smeared on her head and removes the iron bangle from her wrist just as if she was a widow. One correspondent reports that a prostitute was married to a cat "with great *eclat*" at Chinsura about 40 years ago, but no other instance of prostitutes marrying animals has been traced, and this appears to have been an exceptional case. Sometimes, it is said, the bridegroom is represented by the image of a man made of *sola* pith. No such ceremonies appear to be in vogue in Bihar, where what is called the *nathuni*, or nose-ring ceremony, merely means a feast and the handing over of the girl to some lover, who pays a high price for robbing her of her virginity. In Orissa, as soon as a young prostitute attains puberty, she goes through a rite of which the essential feature appears to be the worship of the sun. The girl holds up a handful of mustard seed and invokes the sun to grant her as many lovers as the seeds she has in her hands. The accounts of this rite vary. One correspondent reports that the worship of the sun is followed by a ceremony in which the girl is formally married to an arrow; another that a Brahman officiates during the sun worship, after which he performs *homa*. This being concluded, the girl is taken to the nearest temple for worship. In the evening other prostitutes come to her house, give her presents, put vermilion on her forehead, etc., and a feast takes place. Whatever the ceremony, the underlying idea is that a form of marriage is essential to remove the shame of remaining unwed when puberty is once attained.

Divorce

650. Divorce is allowed for adultery or misconduct, and sometimes also for barrenness and incurable diseases, it is generally symbolized by breaking the iron bangle which is the insignia of a married woman or by tearing some leaves in pieces. Among some castes the consent of the Panchayat is necessary before a divorce can be effected; and among the Gandas of Sambalpur the consent of the Sethia or headman used to be necessary before a divorced woman was remarried. Fees were paid to him for his consent, and he was practically the owner of the women, selling them to their suitors and pocketing the proceeds.

It is rarely that a woman has the right to divorce her husband, but this privilege is enjoyed by the Newar women in Nepal. According to Colonel Kirkpatrick, a century ago Newar women were at liberty to divorce one man after another on the slightest pretence; and they still leave their husbands and marry again if their marriage proves uncongenial. The only intimation necessary before the woman leaves the house is that she should place two betel nuts in her bed. She is then free to choose another husband At the same time provided that she only cohabits with a man of her own or of a higher caste, she can, whenever she pleases, return to the house of her first husband and resume charge of his family.* This practice of divorcing husbands is said to be falling into desuetude among the Newars of Darjeeling. Among the Musalmans of the Purnea district the marriage tie appears not to be so binding as elsewhere. If a woman is discontented with her husband, she can go to the *hat* or village market and pick out a man that she wants to marry—naturally, he is a man with whom she had already been on terms of intimacy. All that she has to do is to throw some *murki* (fried paddy mixed with molasses) on him. Thereby she divorces her husband and is lawfully married to the man of her choice. Among the Santals also a woman can demand a divorce if her husband takes a second wife without her consent.

Concubinage

651. In Orissa concubinage prevails to such an extent that it is a recognized institution to which little or no discredit attaches. Formerly it was so widely prevalent, especially among the Karans, that it has given rise to a caste, known as Shagirdpesha, numbering over 46,000. It has long been the practice among the Chiefs, Rajas and large zamindars for the bridegroom to receive a number of maid-servants, who are young unmarried girls, as presents from his father-in-law at the time of marriage. The number is often very great, running up to 50 or 60, while one Raja had 100 concubines. These girls have a recognized position in the household. A separate room is allotted to each, and they are given a daily allowance of food from the zamindar's store-room, which they cook themselves. A few only, who are favourites of the Rani, are allowed to take their food from her kitchen. "Almost all the Rajas and big zamindars", writes one correspondent, "insist on having and get young unmarried girls as presents when they marry. The greater the number, the greater the *eclat* of the occasion. These girls are maids of all work, and the more handsome among them share the beds of their mistresses' husbands. This practice goes further in some cases, and it is not uncommon that, at the time of marriage, one or more of these girls are honoured with a garland and the girl so honoured is called Phul Bai and receives treatment almost on a par with that of the Pat Rani or principal wife." The custom is falling into desuetude with the advance of education and the raising of ethical standards. The example set by that enlightened ruler, the late Maharaja of Mayurbhunj, has had not a little to do with the result, for he would not allow any such presents to be given at his marriage and was the first to protest against the practice.

Polyandry

652. Polyandry may be of two kinds, viz., matriarchal, where a woman marries several men who are not related

Imperial Gazetteer, Article on Nepal.

to each other, and fraternal, where brothers have a common wife. Fraternal polyandry only is found in this part of India, where it is practised by the Bhotias, and, in a modified form, by the Santals. Property among both races descends through the male and not through the female, as is the custom where maternal polyandry is in vogue. The rules regulating cousin marriage among the Bhotias of Sikkim are probably connected with the institution of fraternal polyandry. There it is not considered right that a man should marry his cousin on his father's side, though recently there have been a few cases where a man has married his father's sister's daughter. He may marry his cousin on his mother's side, whether the daughter of his mother's brother or of his mother's sister. The reason given is that the bone descends from the father's side and the flesh from the mother's. Should cousins on the paternal side marry, it is said that the bone is pierced, resulting in course of time in various infirmities. The Santals so far practise fraternal polyandry that a man's younger brothers have a recognized right to intercourse with his wife; they must, however, observe a certain amount of decency and not make too open a display of their relations. According to the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud, the younger brothers formerly enjoyed this privilege even after they were married, but at present the wife is usually common property only while they are unmarried.

Polygamy

653. Polygamy is recognized as admissible, but is generally prohibited by its expense or inconvenience, for few men can afford more than one wife or bear the domestic discord that the presence of two or more wives entails. Marrying more than one wife is, moreover, regarded by the better classes of Hindus as disreputable, unless a man's wife is barren, or has not borne him a son who will secure his salvation after death, or suffers from some incurable disease. Among the Sauria Paharias, or Maler, of the Sonthal Parganas polygamy is not only a recognised institution, but is regulated by definite rules. A man may marry five or six wives, and may even marry five or six sisters, provided he marries the eldest sister first and she consents to his marrying the others. He must marry the sisters in order of age, and, if already married to a younger sister, may not take an elder sister to wife. The first wife is the chief wife, and all others are her subordinates. The wives live in the same house. At night the husband sleeps in the centre, and the wives occupy beds on either side. In case of his having intercourse with a younger wife without the consent of the elder wife, he is liable to punishment by the Panchayat. For the first offence he is let off with a warning, but if he persists, he is fined.* The Santal's relations with his wife's younger sisters are probably a survival of the same kind of polygamy. He commonly enjoys their favours, and if one of them becomes pregnant, he must make her his wife. Such intimacy is not resented by his wife. On the contrary, she countenances and sometimes encourages it, though Santal wives are usually extremely jealous. A Santal uncle also commonly has sexual intercourse with his wife's nieces, this being a recognized privilege of his.

654. As is well known, polygamy was formerly common among the Kulin Brahmans. Vidyasagar mentions five men, resident in the same village, of ages varying from 20 to 70, who had an aggregate of 230 wives; the minimum number was 16, the husband in this case being only 20 years old, and the maximum was 62. The practice is dying out and the Kulins are becoming monogamous with the spread of education and a higher ethical standard. It is not yet, however, extinct: a Bengali gentleman informs me of three cases within his own knowledge in which 60, 8 and 4 wives have been married. The first two cases occurred in the last generation, while the third occurred in this generation, the gentleman concerned being a M.A. and B.L. Polygamy is also practised by the Maithil Brahmans, though it is falling into disfavour. It has given rise to a class called Bikauwas or vendors, who derive their name from the practice of selling themselves, or their minor sons, to girls belonging to lower groups. Some have as many as 40 or 50 wives, who live with their parents and are visited at intervals by their husbands. This form of polygamy is due to hypergamy, i.e., the practice by which a man marries his daughter to a member of a higher group in the caste.

*R. B. Bainbridge, *The Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills*, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, No. 4, 1907.

Peculiar customs

655. It is the usual custom for a Hindu bride to be married in her parent's house and to stay there till the marriage is consummated, when she finally goes to her husband's house. Among the Rajbansis, however, the bride goes to the bridegroom's house to be married. Until very recently it was the custom for the bride to be carried to the bridegroom's house on the back of her sister's husband; but they have now given up this custom as degrading. Another curious custom among them is that when a marriage takes place the bridegroom's sister's husband has the privilege of sitting near the altar and of erecting plantain trees round it. Among the Bediyas in Jessore a girl when married does not go to live in her husband's family. A separate loft (*tong*) in the compound of the bride's father's house is allotted to the couple, or the bride's father gives them a boat to live in, if the family live on the waters.

The Loltas of Orissa have a unique custom, viz., that when the marriage of an eldest son or eldest girl is celebrated, the parents themselves have to go through a ceremony of remarriage (called (*sup-bibaha*), which the child is not allowed to see. Possibly this is an expedient to ward off any insinuations as to the illegitimacy of their first child, or it may be a relic of a time when the couple began to live together informally, the ceremony being performed subsequently in order to legitimize their offspring. Among the Binjhals a man takes a wife when he succeeds to a zamindari, even though he may be married already. The new wife is the Pat Rani or principal wife.

In Sambalpur one peculiar ceremony is performed at the time of marriage by all classes. Before it takes place, some married women of the bridegroom's household go out at night to a river or tank and fill a *lota* with water. They take it to seven other households and ask them to give some water in exchange for some of that in the *lota*. By the time they get back, the water has become a mixture of water from seven houses. With this the bridegroom is bathed on the day of marriage, and is thereby purged of his unmarried state. A similar ceremony is performed in the house of the bride. With this may be compared the practice of Pokhra Khandai, which is observed by the Tharus and Tikulihars of Champaran. Formerly rich men celebrated their daughters' marriages by having tanks dug, water from which was used in the ceremony. The bride's father took water and grain in his hand and gave them to the bridegroom, saying "I give these to you with my daughter". The only survival of this practice now consists in the bride's and bridegroom's sisters' husbands having to dig earth. They also have to fry grain, this custom being called Lawa Bhunjai. It is said that formerly the celebration of marriages, and other religious and social ceremonies, began with the offering of sacrifices to fire, the oblations consisting of grain. The grain, after being parched by the bride's and the bridegroom's sisters' husbands, is mixed together, and the bride and bridegroom both eat it. Another curious ceremony is found among the Mundas. When the bridegroom's procession arrives near the house or village of the bride, it is met by a procession from the bride's house. When the two processions meet, the mothers or the aunts (either paternal or maternal) of the bride and bridegroom advance with pitchers of water in their hands. Then they sprinkle water on one another with mango leaves, and, after washing one another's feet, embrace.

BIRTH CUSTOMS

Treatment of Child-birth—Sasthi System

656. The treatment of women and children at child-birth in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is generally regulated by the Sasthi system, which is so called because the worship of Sasthi, the tutelary goddess of young children and of women at child-birth, is an essential feature in it.

The expectant mother is taken to a lying-in room (*sutikaghar*) shortly before delivery. The character of the room depends on the means and enlightenment of the family, but generally it is one of the worst rooms in the house, or a shed is erected outside in the compound. Among the poorer classes, the woman's accommodation is wretched. A portion of one of the living rooms may be screened off, or she may have to use the verandah; some doctors even state that the cowshed or kitchen is occasionally used. As a rule, when a separate room is assigned, it is small, dark and ill-ventilated. Bad as the ventilation would naturally be, the perflation of air is often absolutely impossible owing to windows and apertures being closed with mud or stuffed with rags; this is done in order to prevent the mother and child catching cold, or because of a superstitious belief that it is necessary to keep out evil spirits. The outside shed, moreover, is often damp, and no attempt is made to admit the sunshine. Among the better castes, the mother is regarded as impure, after giving birth to a child, for 30 days, if it is a girl, and 21 days if it is a boy, and among some of the lower castes for 6 or 12 days. It would therefore be out of the question to furnish the room, and her bedding is poor and meagre. She generally has some straw or an old torn mat to lie on, though sometimes a charpoy or *taktaposh* is allowed. A quilt made of dirty old rags serves as a coverlet, while her head rests on a dirty pillow or even a brick. However hot the weather, a fire is kept burning in the room day and night for at least five and, sometimes, as long as 21 days. The belief is that, unless the room is kept at a high temperature, the child will be an invalid or liable to catch cold all his or her life, while the mother will get pneumonia or typhoid. The more ignorant believe that the fire has magic power to save mother and child from the influence of evil spirits. Sometimes, however, the child is suffocated by the acrid fumes: all the same, its death is put down to malevolent demons. For the first five days at least, the mother is at the mercy of a low-caste midwife, who is called *agani* in some parts of Bengal, as it is her duty to keep up the fire (*agni*). No male may enter the room and the women of her family may not touch her: if they do, they have to be purified by a bath before resuming their household duties. No doctor can attend on her because of her impure state—this of course is not the case with the educated classes. In Orissa, should it be necessary to seek medical advice, a drop or two of oil that the young mother has touched is put into water, and the *kabiraj* or doctor makes his diagnosis from the way it floats and prescribes accordingly.

Heat is believed to be necessary for a speedy recovery. In addition to the warmth of the fire, the mother and child have hot dry fomentations, and the child after being rubbed with mustard oil is laid out in the sun for hours at a time this is believed in some places to strengthen the cranial bones. Cold drinks are prohibited, as it is thought that they may bring on suppuration of the womb. Water is either not given at all or very sparingly for the first few days · in any case it is warm or tepid. To keep up her strength, the mother is given a incoction of which the main ingredients are hot spices, such as pepper and ginger, and warm *ahi;* when she can digest solid food, she eats fried rice (*chura*) and fried garlic.

On the fifth or sixth day the woman and child have a bath, and she is sometimes allowed to change her room. In any case the lying-in room is cleaned—not too soon, as in many parts the ashes of the fire are allowed to remain as they are till this day, while the sweepings of the floor and the dirty foul-smelling clothes are kept in a corner. The practice in this respect is not uniform, for the room is very often carefully cleaned soon after delivery. In Midnapore, it is reported that, after a child is born, the mother has to pass her hands and feet over some burning straw: the ashes of the straw, her soiled clothes and other refuse, a comb with a few strands of her hair, and a *little* turmeric, which has been rubbed on her left arm, are put into a pot, which is kept in a corner of the room and serves as a receptacle for refuse till this day.*

657. The sixth day is a very important one, as it is the day of the worship of Sasthi, which means "the goddess of the sixth". In the evening, a representation of the goddess is made with cowdung (or in some places, of earth), in which some cowries are stuck. This is placed on the wall of the lying-in room, with a pot of water and some mango-leaves before it, and worshipped by the family. On the night of this day, it is believed, the Creator writes the destiny of the child on its forehead in indelible characters. An inkpot and pen are therefore placed ready for use at the door of the room. The antiquity of the practice is evident from the fact that an iron stylus and palm-leaves are frequently provided. When the sixth day is over, there is rejoicing, as the first six days are a critical period for tetanus—that common cause of death among infants, the umbilical cord being generally cut with dirty instruments (e.g., a split bamboo or a conch-shell) and cowdung ashes applied to the freshly-cut end. It is believed to be caused by evil spirits, who are specially apt to attack both mother and child during her confinement. To protect them, various devices are adopted. The skull of a cow smeared with vermilion, with cowries stuck in the sockets of the eyes and, in some places, with a red rag across the horns, is frequently, but not invariably, placed on the outside wall of the room to drive them away. Iron is also commonly employed to ward off their attacks. In some places, an iron sickle or sword is placed under the mother's bed,† or a sword, spear or other iron weapon is stuck up at the door, or several iron articles are hung up over it, e.g., an iron spade, hoe, harrow and axe. Old shoes and bits of old net, or thorny twigs, are also suspended over the door, and sometimes the father fires off a gun in the belief that the noise will scare away the evil spirits.

The ceremonies observed by Maithil Brahmans in the Sonthal Parganas have several peculiar features. As soon as a child is born, straight lines about five inches long are drawn on the walls of the room, five for a daughter and ten for a son. On the sixth day, milk is sprinkled upon the head of the mother and the new-born babe. This must be done by the sister-in-law of the woman: ethnologists may be able to account for the choice of the latter. In the evening, the worship of Sasthi takes place. A square is painted on the walls, in the centre of which is a figure of Sasthi. To this figure the family make obeisance, and a feast is held to which friends are invited. The figure remains on the wall for six months, after which it is washed out with cow's milk.

Krishna system or Harilot

658. Another method of treatment is known as the Krishna or Satyanarayan system, or as Harilot. It is mostly followed by Vaishnava families, though not confined to them, e.g., it is resorted to when women have had still-births. It is a more rational method, and is accompanied by fewer restrictions about food and drink No fire is kept burning in the room; no *jhal* or concoctions of spices are administered. The woman is allowed cooling drinks, and given ordinary food. She is not regarded as unclean, and need not therefore be banished to an outhouse and left to the midwife's

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*This is not a universal practice; in some households the pot is thrown away at once.

†A cure for cramp is said to consist in placing a common iron key at the foot of a bed [Chapman's Biochemistry, p. 98]

mercies, but is attended by women of the household during the period of her confinement. She and the child are also bathed in cold or tepid water soon after delivery. This system is so called, because the regime is determined by resignation to the will of God, and because Hari (Vishnu) is worshipped by the mother a few days after the birth of her child. She makes obeisance to the *tulsi* plant, takes a little holy earth from the place where it grows, and presents sweetmeats to the god with prayer. Sweetmeats are also distributed to children. This system is rarely followed, but is gaining popularity among the more enlightened Bengalis.

Reincarnation in the same family

659. The Hindus believe that, when a man dies, his spirit hovers as a *preta* in the sky for one year, during which it is provided with food and drink every month in what is called the *Masika Sraddha*. At the end of the year, Sraddha is performed, the effect of which is that the spirit joins the spirits of his ancestors in the *Pitriloka*, of heaven of the *Pitris*, and there becomes a participator in the *Sraddha* offerings, more particularly of the funeral cakes (*pinda*). This belief precludes the idea that the spirits of the departed are reborn in the same family. If, however, an infant is born within one year of the death of a member of the family, it is generally thought that the spirit of the departed has come back. Sometimes also, if a child shows extraordinary precocity, he or she is regarded as a reincarnation of an ancestor. A correspondent informed me that a daughter of his, aged only 4 years old, when on the point of death, begged that she might be taken to the bank of the Ganges. Her last request was granted and she died on the riverside crying, "Ma Ganga", "Ma Ganga". This knowledge of the Hindu religion by a child of such tender years was so extraordinary, that all the villagers were convinced that the spirit of the child was that of her grandmother, who had died ten years before.

660. There appears to be an express or implicit belief among some aboriginal tribes that souls return to animate human beings in the same famliy. It is a general belief among the Khonds that the souls of deceased persons (*pidari*) return to animate human bodies, but such persons must have been married, or at least have had sexual intercourse, during their lifetime. The souls of unmarried persons cannot enter the circle of family spirits, but are malevolent spirits, causing fever, ague, apoplexy, etc. Those of married people animate the foetus as soon as it is fully formed. The souls of old people are believed to possess similar powers even before their death. It is also said that if an expectant mother sees one of the ancestors in her dreams, the foetus is then endued with life, and begins to move in the womb. The soul of a dead man may animate two or more persons at the same time or in different generations.

In a report by Captain MacPherson, dated the 10th July 1844, regarding the practice of female infanticide amongst the Khonds, it is stated:

> "The Khonds believe that souls almost invariably return to animate human forms in the families in which they have been first born and received. But the reception of the soul of an infant into a family is completed only on the performance of the ceremony of naming upon the seventh day after its birth. The death of a female infant, therefore, before that ceremonial of reception is believed to exclude its soul from the circle of family spirits, diminishing by one the chance of future female births in the family. And, as the first aspiration of every Khond is to have male children, this belief is a powerful incentive to infanticide."

Inquiry shows that there is no belief among the Khonds at the present time that the ceremony of receiving a child into the family on the seventh day after birth confers the privilege of re-entering the family at some future time. This power is acquired only when the child has become an adult and been married. The explanation is probably that, as it would be improper to destroy a child after it had been given a welcome in the family circle, it became the practice to destroy female children before the ceremony was performed.

661. Among the Chakmas and Maghs, when a child is born, its body is carefully examined to see if it has any red or black spot. If such a spot is found and it corresponds with the mark made with sandal-wood paste on the dead body of a relation, it is thought that that relation has been reincarnate in the child. Further, if a dead man appears in a dream, and a son is born shortly afterwards, he is considered to be a reincarnation of the dead man. The Gonds also believe that a man can be born again in his family. His soul is brought back to the house on the fifth day after death. His relations go to the side of a river or stream and call him by name, after which they catch a fish or an insect and take it home. There they either place it in a room reserved for the spirits of dead ancestors or eat it in the belief that the dead man will again be born in the family.

662. The practice of naming children after ancestors also seems to point to a belief in the conservation of spirits in the same family. This is clearly expressed in the ceremony attending the naming of children among the Khonds. A Guru is called on the seventh day after its birth to discover by divination, which of the ancestors has animated the new-born child. To make sure that the Guru has made no mistake, the child is placed on a new piece of cloth after having been bathed and fed. Should it fall asleep, it is a sign that the correct name has been discovered. If there has been a mistake, the ancestral spirit will show its disapproval by keeping the child awake and causing it to cry; the Guru is thereupon required to make another attempt at divination. The Santals also name their children after ancestors. The eldest son takes the name of his paternal grandfather, a second son that of his maternal grandfather, a third son that of the paternal grandfather's brother, the fourth son that of the maternal grandfather's brother, etc. A similar custom is observed in the case of girls, the names of relations on the female side being taken in the same order. Among the Bhuiyas the name of the grandfather is given to the eldest son, that of the great-grandfather to the second son, and then the names of collateral relatives according to seniority. A similar custom of naming children after ancestors prevails among the Hos, who have a method of divination like that of the Khonds to ascertain which name should be given. They repeat the name of the ancestors in turn and as each is mentioned, drop a grain of pulse (*urid*) in water; if the grain sinks, it shows that the proper name has been selected, if it floats, they go on till the right name is found

The Hos have no idea of reincarnation, though it is believed that the spirits of the dead return to the house Seven days after death the spirit is solemnly recalled. Ashes are spread on the floor of the house and four women sit at the corners, while the family and their guests sit near the door outside and invoke the spirit. Two go out and call to the *bongas* or evil spirits, praying that if any have taken the deceased, they will allow him to come back The house is kept dark, and suddenly the women cry out, "The spirit has come". They then light a lamp and look for the marks the spirit has left on the ashes Some spirits leave the footprints of birds, some of snakes, others of cats, others of dogs. These footmarks show whether the spirit is happy or not. The greatest happiness is indicated by the footprints of birds, then of cats and then of dogs. The mark of a snake, however, shows that the spirit is in great misery. After this, the spirit is supposed to remain in an invisible form in the house, and a space is set aside for him in the inner room (*adina*), which no one but members of the family may enter.

Naming of children

663. Among Hindus every child has generally two names. One is the ordinary name by which the child is known to the outside world. The other is the *rashi nam*, i.e., a name containing the first letter of the *rashi*

or sign (division of the zodiac) under which the child was born This name, which is given at the *annaprasan* ceremony about six months after birth, is known only to the nearest relations and is used only in religious ceremonies It is sedulously kept secret from the public on account of a superstitious belief that mischief can be done to the child through it. Many also have a third name, which is only used in the family or among relations and friends. The *rashi* name is frequently chosen by a species of divination. Two or more names are written out, and each is placed before a lamp; the name before the lamp that burns brightest is chosen. The upper classes frequently name children after gods or goddesses and mythological heroes, the idea being that the children will be protected by the deities, or will grow up to be great or famous like the heroes or heroines whose names they bear. There is also an idea that virtue is acquired by mentioning the name of a god or goddess in addressing a child. Now-a-days such names are not so frequently given, but melodious or poetical names, e.g., Jyothsna (moonshine) for a girl.

Among the low castes names are selected more or less at random. A child may be named after the day of the week on which it was born, e.g., Sombari (born on Monday), or the name may mark some physical peculiarity, or it may even be the designation of some common article.

Among the Bhuiyas of the Orissa States the name of the grandfather is generally given to the eldest son, that of the great-grandfather to the second son, and then the names of collateral relatives according to seniority; but it is not unusual to give a name that commemorates some incident or event that happened on the day of the child birth. Thus, if the child is born on the anniversary of a festival, he may be called after it, e.g., as Dasahara. If a European happens to pass through the village on the day of a child's birth, the child will be named Saheb or Gora (white man), while if it is visited by a Musalman, a dealer, a peon or a constable, the child's name will be Pathan, Mahajan, Chaprasi or Sipahi (sepoy), as the case may be.*

664. If women have failed to bear children before, or if their children have been still-born or have died shortly after birth, opprobrious names are given in the belief that this will avert the evil eye or fail to attract the god of death. Such names as Tinkauri and Panchkauri are supposed to mean that the child is worth not more than three or five cowries. Similar names are Sachunia (the broomstick), Kangalia (the poor), Haran (the lost one), and the like. A boy needing special divine protection is often named Haribola. Superstitious parents will not disclose the names to outsiders and use such terms as Meghar Bap (father of Megha), Tukir Ma (mother of Tuki), etc. In Orissa there are often fictitious sales of children in order to save them from a premature death. The parents sell them at a small price to women belonging to such low castes, as Dhoba, Hari, Dom or Ghasi, and repurchase them at a higher price. There is an actual, though momentary, transfer, for the children are handed over to the low caste woman, who gives them back to the parents after anointing them with turmeric powder mixed with water and oil. Similar sham sales are effected at the shrines of gods and goddesses, the priests in this case being the buyers Among the middle and low classes children are named after the caste of the women to whom they are sold, so that a boy may be called Dhobai, Hari, Pan, Ghasia or Dom, and a girl Dhobani, Hariani, etc. Such names are often given too by parents without any fictitious sale. The belief underlying these transactions is that the parents have committed some sin, which can only be expiated by the death of the child and that the low caste woman takes the place of the parents and acts as a scape-goat.

*L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, *Orissa States Gazetteer*, pp. 49, 50.

Deaths in pregnancy

665. If a pregnant woman dies before delivery, her womb is ripped open and the foetus extracted. This gruesome task is performed by the husband himself at the burning ghat. The *raison d'etre* of the practice is said to be the hope of saving the life of the unborn child, but as it is postponed till the body is about to be cremated, this hope must be rarely, if ever, fulfilled. It is noticeable too that the foetus is buried while the woman is burnt, and it is probable that the origin of the practice was to prevent the woman becoming an evil spirit and injuring the family. The Bhuiyas of the Orissa States burn the embryo and the corpse on opposite banks of a stream, the idea being that as no spirit can cross a stream, the mother is unable to become a witch without union with her child. In all other cases the Bhuiyas bury their dead. When a pregnant Oraon woman dies, her ankles are broken and her feet wrenched backward to prevent her spirit walking; a bundle of thorns and a heavy stone are also placed over her grave to prevent the spirit getting out.

Rites of pregnancy

666. As is well-known, it is the duty of Hindus to observe twelve purificatory rites, called *Sanskaras*, beginning with conception and ending with marriage, which are intended to purify a man from the taint transmitted through his parents. Three of these are rites of pregnancy, viz, *Garbhadhan*, *Punsavan* and *Simantonnayan*. *Garbhadhan* is a ceremony, which should be observed at the first appearance of the menses and be followed by cohabitation. It is intended to consecrate impregnation, the idea being as stated by Monier Williams, that a husband, before approaching his wife, should secure the solemn imprimature of religion on an act which may lead to the introduction of another human being into the world.* This ceremony is now rarely observed except by the thoroughly orthodox. Even those families who recognize it as obligatory consider that their duty is discharged by a symbolical performance, a gold ring being passed under the bride's clothes. *Punsavan* is a ceremony which should be observed three months after conception, and before the period of quickening, with the object of securing male offspring. *Homa* is performed, the sacred fire being kindled and libations made of ghi, rice, plantains, etc. The husband touches the navel of his wife with a piece of gold and utters certain *mantras* at the dictation of a priest, by which the blessings of the gods of fire, water, and air are invoked. This ceremony also is almost obsolete. *Simantonnayan* is a ceremony designed for the purification of the womb and the unborn child, which may be observed in the 4th, 6th or 8th month of pregnancy. The main feature of the ceremony is that the husband parts the hair of the head of his wife with certain articles sanctified according to Vedic rites. This is done only in the case of a first pregnancy, and has fallen into desuetude except in very orthodox families.

Certain other rites which are not *Sanskaras* are observed far more commonly. The first of these is *Panchamrita*, which takes place in the fifth month. A mixture is made of five *amritas*, viz., milk, curd, *ghi*, sugar and honey, which are purified with *mantras* by the priest and given to the pregnant woman to drink in order that the child may be born with a pure spirit and a healthy constitution. Female friends and neighbours are invited to be present, and are given a feast. In Eastern Bengal a similar ceremony, called *Saptamrita*, is held in the seventh month, and sometimes also in the ninth month, when it is called *Nabamrita*. A woman who is expecting her first child is also given a series of entertainments in order that she may keep up her spirits and that her child may have a happy disposition. The first of these is called *Kancha Sadh; sadh* means the desire or craving of a pregnant woman. It takes place in the fifth month when the fact of

Religious Life and Thought in India, p. 355.

pregnancy is clear. She is given various articles of food to eat, such as sweetmeats, fruits, etc., on an auspicious day; there is general rejoicing in the family circle, and a feast is held to which friends are invited. From the seventh month till delivery, more entertainments are given which are called *Pakka Sadh*, or *Sadh-bhakshan*. The nearest female relatives are expected to entertain her in turn and present her with a new *sari*. She has to put this on before eating, and is given various dainties to eat. Children are invited to sit with her and to help her in doing justice to the good fare. A little boy (never a girl) first of all hands her a morsel of food in order that she may give birth to a male child. The object of these entertainments is to keep her bright and cheerful: incidentally she secures a good stock of *saris*, a new one being given to her on each occasion.

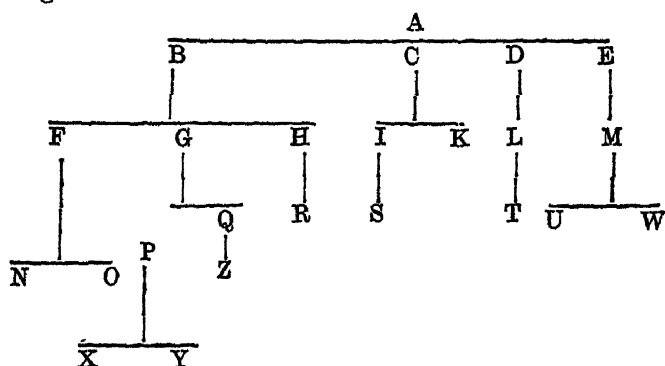
Causation and determination of Sex

667. The desire of Hindu parents is naturally to have male children, and there are various beliefs regarding the measures necessary to obtain male offspring. The general idea is that the male element must be able to prevail over the female element, in other words, that there must be an abundance of semen. It is also believed that the male principle is strong on even and the female on odd days: consequently, intercourse on even days (from the 4th to the 16th day after the commencement of menstruation) will produce a male child, and on odd days a female child. Various devices are adopted in order to ascertain the sex of the child before birth. Sometimes a *ganak* or astrologer foretells it by drawing figures with a piece of chalk; to make his calculations, he must know the numbers of letters in the names of the wife and husband, and the month in which the pregnancy commenced. Another common method of divination is as follows. A stone pestle and an earthen plate or lamp are covered with two cane baskets. A small boy is asked to uncover one of the two. If the basket over the pestle is taken off, it is believed the child will be a male; otherwise, it will be a girl. Occasionally offerings are made under a banyan tree on the day before the *Simantonnayan* ceremony, and the husband takes a leaf off the tree. The edge of this is steeped in the juice of a plant called *kantikari* and held to the nose of the wife. If she sneezes, it is believed there is a male child in this womb and, if not, a female child. There are also, of course, ideas, which are common to women in many countries, that the sex of the child can be known from the position of the womb and the colour of the nipples, that if the expectant mother looks dark and thin during her pregnancy, the child will be a male, etc. Some women also think that if conception takes place in the bright half of the lunar month, it will result in the birth of a male child, and, if it occurs in the dark half, in the birth of a female.

(iii) INHERITANCE AND PARTITION OF PROPERTY AMONG ABORIGINAL RACES

[Extract from the Census Report of Bengal, 1911, *by L. S. S. O'Malley, pp. i-xi.]*

HOS

1. The rules of succession in force amongst the Hos are based on a patriarchal conception of the family as a sort of corporation. Maine says that primitive society "has for its units, not individuals, but groups of men united by the reality or the fiction of blood-relationship." So far as the rules of succession are concerned, we find this exemplified among the Hos. The family is divided into groups of male agnates; and the number of persons forming a group, as well as the distance of an individual from the common ancestor, are both disregarded. In other words, succession is *per stirpes* and not *per capita*, and, as will be seen later, a fiction secures the devolution of property in the absence of blood-relations. Males are preferred to females, but if there are no males, females of the same degree may succeed. On marriage, a woman passes into the family of her husband and is entitled to succeed to his property, either jointly with the direct heirs, or single to the exclusion of the agnates. The following pedigree will help to illustrate the details which are given below:

2. The rule of primogeniture is unknown. On the death of A, therefore his four sons (B, C, D and E) succeed to all his property. They take equal shares of the real property, any unmarried son receiving, however, an extra number of cattle or an additional amount of other personal property with which to buy a wife. If B has died before A, his three sons, F, G and H, take way, if D and L had died before A, the individual T would get as much as the groups B, C or E. Succession among the Hos is, however, further complicated by the practice of polygamy. If A had married two wives, and B and C had been his sons by the first, while D and E were his sons by the second wife, B and C would get two shares of the property, and D and E only one share, i.e., B's share would be one-third of the whole, while E's share would be only one-sixth. Though there is nothing to prevent it, it is unusual for a man to have more than two wives. If, however, A had had three wives, his sons by the first wife would get two shares of the property, and those by the other two wives would get one share each, irrespective of their numbers. Suppose now that, in course of time, after A's property has been divided among his sons, B has died and been succeeded by his three sons, F, G and H. If after this F dies without any lineal heirs, his share of B's property passes to his brothers G and H, or to their descendants *per stirpes*. If, however, F and G had been sons of one wife, and H by another, G alone would succeed to F's property. If F had had no uterine brothers, or if G's branch had died out, the half-brother H would succeed to F's property. If F had had neither uterine nor half-brothers, his property would pass to his paternal uncles C, D and E, or, if C was dead, to the collaterals I and K (one share) and the uncles D and E (one share each). In all cases, a posthumous son is treated in the same way as any other son, provided there is no doubt as to his parentage.

3. Daughters have no right to succeed unless there are no direct male heirs. If a daughter is an only child, she is entitled to all her father's property until she marries or dies. She usually lives with one of her paternal uncles, who maintains her and cultivates her land on her behalf. This does not, however, give him any exclusive rights in her property unless her funeral expenses could not be met out of her personal property and he alone has had to defray them. All the co-heirs, however, have the right to share in these expenses, and only a caterogical refusal to contribute to them can deprive a co-heir of his right to succeed. Thus, referring to the table already given, if L was the unmarried daughter of D, she would succeed to his property. If she

lived with E, he would cultivate her land until she died, and it would then be divided equally between B, C and E, unless one of them had forfeited his rights in the manner described above. The same principle applies to marriage expenses. If B and C refused to share these expenses, E would be entitled to the whole of the bride-price paid for L. Her property would, however, be divided. Where there are direct male heirs, daughters are only entitled to maintenance, which may, however, assume the form of real property if her brothers prefer this course. She may live with any one of the brothers, or with a paternal uncle, and the same rules as those stated above hold good as regards succession to this land on her death or marriage. The amount of land given to a daughter in such cases is not fixed, but varies with the property under division In all cases where a woman holds landed property in her own right, she has no power to alienate it permanently. She may, however, mortgage it for a term of years (known locally as *tika*) and, if she dies or marries within the term of the mortgage, the mortgagee retains possession until its expiry, when the land passes to her brothers, uncles or other male relations as the case may be.

4. The widow of a childless man is entitled to all his property until she remarries or dies. She cannot alienate the land permanently, but can mortgage it in the same way as a daughter. If there are two widows, the elder gets two shares, and the younger gets one share, of the property. This also holds good if one has children and not the other, though the common practice in such cases is for the sons of one wife to take all the land and support the other wife.

5. A widow with minor sons or daughters is in exactly the same position as a childless widow. Both may continue to live in their husband's house and make their own arrangements for the cultivation of the land. A widow with grown-up sons usually takes a share of her husband's land for herself and lives with one of her sons. If she dies without remarrying, the succession to her share is governed by the same considerations as those mentioned in paragraph 4. If the widow has only grown-up daughters, her rights continue after they have been married.

6. A widow's remarriage extinguishes her rights in her first husband's property, but the rights of her minor sons and daughters continue. If, as is common, she marries her late husband's younger brother, the latter succeeds to the first husband's land, provided the other brothers agree. If they have any objection, he only succeeds to the share he would have got in the ordinary course. If there are minor sons and daughters of the first husband, no partition can take place. The second husband becomes their guardian and looks after the property until they grow up. Children by the second husband have no rights in the first husband's land, nor have the children of the first husband any rights in their step-father's land. A widow loses her rights in her husband's property by unchastity leading to outcasting, but the rights of her children are not affected.

7. As already stated, a woman passes to her husband's family, and a son-in-law has therefore no rights in his father-in-law's property. He cannot be adopted because he belongs to another *kili*, but he may be taken into the house of his father-in-law, to act as a sort of guardian of the family and property. He cannot, however, succeed to his father-in-law's property except with the consent of all the relatives who would have succeeded in the ordinary course.

8. To revert to the pedigree given in paragraph 1, suppose that, after the partition of A's property, his sons B and C live jointly, while D and E live separately from them and from each other. If B dies without any direct heirs, all his personal property goes to C, but his landed property is divided between C, D and E, C being perhaps given an additional amount in consideration of the fact that he may have helped the deceased to improve the portion of the joint holding under partition.

9. Finally, if there are no direct heirs or agnates, the succession passes to the members of the same *kili* residing in the same village. The endogamous Ho tribe, it may be explained, is divided into a number of exogamous septs known as *kilis*. All the members of a *kili* are supposed to be descended from a common ancestor by a fiction similar to that which united the Roman *gens*, and it is curious that the Ho custom in this respect is the same as the earlier Roman law under which the *gentiles* came next in the order of intestate succession to *sui heredes* and *agnati*. It must be admitted that the existing practice among the Hos is not in accordance with this custom, nor, for the matter, is the rule in the Kolhan record-of-rights regarding the settlement of deserted *jots* and those of deceased tenants. The latter (Rule 18) gives the prefrence to resident tenants of the same race, and the *mundas* are only too glad to escape responsibility for the rent by settling the land with any recorded resident who will take it. I have never known of a case in which members of the same *kili* living in the same village have disputed the settlement of a vacant holding with some other resident raiyat, whether a Ho of another *kili* or an outsider, but I have been assured everywhere that such members have the right to succeed on the failure of blood-relations, and the custom confirms on one side the truth of Maine's observations that "the family in India has a perpetual tendency to expand into the village community".

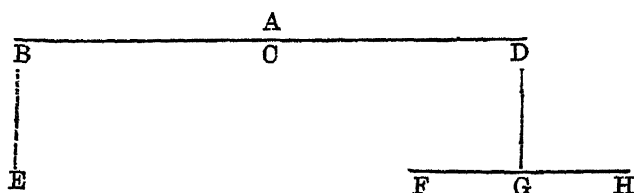
10. It seems almost unnecessary to add that a father has no power over the distribution of his property after his death. He cannot, for instance, nominate a particular son to succeed to all his property. It is known that the diversion or uneven distribution of property by means of a will is an incident that did not appear until a comparatively late stage in the development of testamentary succession, and it cannot therefore be expected to manifest itself in a community in which testamentary succession itself has not yet been evolved. I may mention, however, that I have recently come across a case in which the married daughter of a Ho who had become a Christian claimed to succeed to his property under a registered will bequeathing it to her to the exclusion of his brothers, who were still Animists. The case was compromised, and the principal point did not therefore have to be decided, but it is one that will probably come up again before long. *Prima facie*, I am inclined to think that, as a Ho is permanently outcasted on becoming a Christian and loses his rights in the remainder of the family property, he is entitled to deal with his property in accordance with the Christian practice.

11. Turning now to partitions, it may be remarked that in India the laws of succession are regarded as connected primarily with the rupture of the family by partition rather than by death. The general rules governing partitions *inter vivos* are usually the same as those governing succession, and this is the case among the Hos. The property is divided among the sons in accordance with the foregoing rules, the parents retaining a share for themselves. On the father's death, the widow keeps this share and it is not divided until both parents have died. If they have been living with one particular son, the latter has no exclusive right to this *khorposh* land unless he has, on the refusal of the other brothers to do so, paid all the funeral expenses of his parents. Disputes as to land retained by parents for maintenance are not uncommon. In one case, a son had looked after his mother and her land for several years, and, on her death, had borne so much of the funeral expenses as could not be met out of her personal estate. Another son had not, however, been given any opportunity of participating in these expenses, and a *panchayat* decided that he was entitled to half the land on refunding half the amount expended by his brother. It may be added that sons cannot demand a partition during their father's lifetime. It is, however, usual to give a son some land on his marriage, but this is taken into consideration when the land is divided after the father's death. A father may partition before all his sons have grown up. The minor son or sons remain with him in that case, and he retains their share or shares.

12. The customs regulating adoption are closely connected with those regarding succession and partition. Among the Hos, two forms of adoption have to be distinguished. One affects succession and is hedged around by several restrictions, the other does not affect succession and is comparatively untramelled. The first is known as *dunumbul*, and gives the adopted son the same rights as a natural son. It cannot be resorted to unless there are no direct heirs, i.e., sons or grandsons, daughters being no bar. The second is known as *asulhara*, and occurs when an orphan is taken into a man's house. It is not necessary that the adopter should have no sons of his own, because the *asulhara hon* (*hon* in Ho means child) has no rights in his adopted father's property. The latter may give him a small piece of land if he likes, but ordinarily he only receives his keep and his marriage expenses. It sometimes happens that a man has grown too old to look after his cultivation properly, and, his sons having died his only lineal heirs are minor grandsons who cannot assist him. In such cases, a male relative is imported to look after the land and its owner and bring up the minors. This practice is also known as *dubumbul*, but the relative is only a kind of gurdian and has no rights in the propetry This particular form of *dubumbul* need not therefore be further considered. The word, whenever it occurs below, refers only to the complete form of adoption already mentioned.

13. *Dubumbul* can only be effected with the consent of those who would have succeeded to the adoptor's land in the ordinary course. It is usual to guard against future disputes by making the proceedings as public as possible. All the co-heirs and the Ho residents of the same village are generally present, and, if the *manki* and *munda* are not present also, the adoptor sends them a goat or some goat's flesh with a message that he has adopted so and so as his son. After the assembled relatives have signified their assent *coram publico*, the adopted son is rubbed all over his body with oil and turmeric, a necklace is hung around his neck, and he is given new clothes dyed yellow with turmeric. In the case of *asulhara* no one's permission is necessary, this being a matter of individual feeling rather than a custom.

14. The *dubumbul hon* must be a relative on the male side, no particular relative having a right of preference. Failing blood-relations he may be a member of the same *kili*. Any one may be an *asulhara hon*. The *dubumbul hon* may be of any age; the *asulhara hon* is necessarily too young to look after itself. Only males can be adopted *dubumbul*, but a girl may be adopted as an *asulhara hon*. Once a man has adopted a *dubumbul hon*, he cannot adopt another in the same way, but he may have more than one *asulhara hon*. Aged bachelors, widowers and widows can adopt either *dubumbul* or *asulhara*, the consent of their relatives being of course necessary in the former case. A *dubumbul* son loses all his rights in his natural father's property unless he is the only son, in which case he gets both his own and his adopted father's property.

15. In conclusion, the following case may be noticed as an interesting illustration of the illogicality of primative customs:

A's property had been divided between his three sons B, C and D, who were in separate possession of their own shares, C, having no direct heirs, had, with the consent of B. E. and D, adopted (*dubumbul*) G in the customary manner. G got no shares of D's property, but succeeded to all C's property on his death. Later, G himself died, leaving no direct heirs, and the question at issue was whether E was entitled to a share of his property. If G had been the natural son of C, there would have been no doubt as to E's right to a half-share. As he was, however, an adopted son, an authoritative *panchayat* ruled that F and H were alone entitled to his property, because B and E, in consenting to G's adoption by C, had given up their interest in C's land. If there had been any male descendants belonging to the branch into which G had passed by adoption, they would have succeeded to the exclusion of his uterine brothers. For example reverting to the genealogical table paragraph 1, if K had, with the consent of all his relatives, adopted U, and the latter had subsequently died living no heirs, I and S. would succeed to the property of U derived from K. The rules are obviously illogical, but the decision of the *panchayat* has been confirmed over and over again in the course of the present inquiries.*

SANTALS

16. The family share all they have in common till the death of the father when the property is divided equally among the sons, except that the eldest son gets a bullock and a rupee more than the others. The daughters have no right to any of the property, the idea being that a woman does not inherit, for she is expected to marry and to be supported by her husband and her sons. What she gets is a gift customary and therefore demandable, but it is not inherited. Lately, however, with the sanction of the courts, only daughters have been given a life tenure of the father's land, and this virtually means inheritance by daughters. If a man dies without sons or daughters, the property passes to the father if he is alive, and if he is dead, to the brothers of the deceased by the same father (not necessarily by the same mother); if the latter are dead, their sons will succeed. In default of these, the deceased's paternal uncles and their sons succeed. The widow of a childless man is allowed one calf, one *bandi* (10 to 12 maunds) of paddy, one *bati* and one cloth, and returns to her parent's house, unless, as sometimes happens, she is kept by her husband's younger brothers. If one of these keeps her, which he would get in any case. If a man leaves only daughters, their paternal grandfather and uncles take charge of them and of the widow, and the property remains in their possession. When the daughters grow up, it is the duty of these relatives to arrange marriages for them and to give them at marriage the presents which they would have received from their father. When all the daughters have been disposed of, the widow gets the perquisites of a childless widow and goes to her father's house or lives with her daughters. A widow with minor sons keeps all the property in her own possession, the grandfather and uncles seeing that she does not waste it. If the widow remarries before the sons are married, the grandfather and uncles take possession of all the property; the mother of the children has no right to get anything, but sometimes a calf is given to her out of kindness, this gift being called *bhankar*. There are special rules in cases where there is a son-in-law who has married under the *ghardi jawae* form. If his wife has no brothers, and the son-in-law stays on in the house and works for his father-in-law till he dies, then he inherits all the immovable property and half the movable property, the other half of which goes to the relatives of the deceased. If there is more than one such son-in-law, they divide the property between them.

17. If there are many grandsons, or if the sons do not live happily together, e.g., in particular, if the father has married again and had other issue, the father and mother may make a partition. A *Panchayat* is called and the father divides all the land and cattle, keeping one share for himself. The son with whom the parents live retains possession of their share during their life-time. Daughters get no share in the property, but if they are unmarried, they get one calf each, that being the dowry given them at marriage. Unmarried sons get a double

*Contributed by Mr. L. B. Burrows, Deputy Collector, Singhbhum.

share of the live-stock, one share representing their marriage expenses. The cattle which the daughters-in-law received from their fathers and brothers and from their father-in-law at the time of marriage are not divided, but the cattle which the sons got at marriage are divided If a woman dies while her sons are unmarried, they cannot demand a partition even if their father takes a second wife, but they can do so if they like after marriage The father then gets one share and the sons one share each. If the second wife has no children when the father dies, the sons of the first wife can take the share, their father got, but if they take it they will have to pay for the funeral of their step-mother. (*Santal Parganas District Gazetteer.*)

MUNDAS

18. The rules of inheritance and partition observed by the Santals, as described in the *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer*, are the same amongst the Mundas of Chota Nagpur with the following exceptions only:

(1) After the father's death the sons mostly live together. If they separate, they divide the landed property, so that the eldest son gets one-third more than the second, and the second one or two pieces of land more than the third, and the third a little more than the fourth, and so on. The movable property will be divided in the same way.

(2) If a man dies without sons or daughters, the property passes to the father, and, if he is dead, to the brothers of the deceased by the same father, but not by another mother.

(3) The widow of a childless man is allowed to take away only his own property (cloths, utensils, etc.).

(4) If a man leaves only daughters, the property remains in the possession of the widow, supervised by the grandfather or the uncles. When all the daughters have been disposed of, the widow has the right to stay in the house of her deceased husband, if she not prefers to live with one of her married daughters.

(5) If a man leaves no sons and the widow takes a son-in-law, or *posh putra*, in her house, he will inherit the whole movable property and the *raihas* and *korkar* lands, but not the *bhuinhari* lands, which will go to the next male heir of the family, or, if there are no male heirs, to the members of the *khunt* who will dispose of it.*

19. Another account of the customs among the Mundas is as follows: The family property is divided equally among the sons, except that the eldest son gets half a *kath* or one *kath* land more than the others. If, when the property is divided, some of the sons are married and others are unmarried, some bullocks and paddy, or the equivalent, will be put aside for the marriage expenses before making the partition. Daughters have no right to any share. If a man dies without any sons, the widow remains in possession of the whole property of her husband until her death, whether she has a daughter or is childless. After her death, the whole property passes to the natural heirs, viz., the brothers of her husband by the same father, or their sons. She can have her fields tilled by hired servants or by her relatives, and the latter will arrange marriage for the girls.

20. There are special rules for those who marry under the *ghariawain* (or *ghardamad*) system. If the son-in-law stays in the house of his father-in-law and works for his father-in-law for three years, he does not pay anything for his marriage. If after his marriage he remains with his father-in-law or mother-in-law and takes care of them till their death, he inherits the whole property. If after the marriage he wishes to go to his father's house, he gets from his father-in-law or mother-in-law one pair of bullocks, one *mora* of paddy, *i.e.*, about 12 maunds, and some land to live on. If a widow marries she gives up all her right to her former husband's property.

21. A childless man can adopt a child with the consent of his relatives. The child will be considered the lawful heir of the person who adopts him. He has a right to all the movable property of his adopted father after his death and, in case the deceased had relatives, he will get a greater share of the land than the others, the excess amount being determined by the panchayat.*

*Contributed by the Revd. Dr. A. Nottrott of the German Evamgelical Lutheran Mission.

KHONDS (KANDHS)

22. Amongst the Khonds the family, as a rule, remains undivided during the father's life-time, and sometimes also till the death of the mother, who cooks the meals and serves them out to all the members of the family. If, owing to a disagreement or from some other cause, it is considered necessary for them to live apart, the married sons build houses for themselves where they cook and eat separately with their wives and children, while the unmarried sons and daughters continue to live with the parents. This does not necessarily involve the division of the property. Though some members of the family may be living apart, they still cultivate their land together.

23. After the father's death, the elders of the village assemble and partition the land and cattle, in equal shares, between all the sons. The eldest son gets an extra field added to his share, and each unmarried son gets an extra head of cattle for the purchase of a bride. A few fields are set apart for the maintenance of the mother and daughters; some are also reserved for the maintenance of the father if the division takes place during his lifetime. Their land and the land of the minor sons who are living with them are cultivated for them by one of the adult sons or by a hired servant. Sometimes, the adult sons arrange to distribute the dependent members of the family among themselves, e.g., one of them shelters the mother, another takes one of the sisters or a minor brother, etc. When the minors grow up and are married, they begin cultivating their shares themselves, but the fields reserved for the mother and daughters are taken for good and all by the son or sons who have given them shelter, and who are responsible for the funeral expenses of the mother and the marriage of the daughters. A similar division of the property and distribution of the dependent members of the family is often made by the father before his death if disputes arise, or if he thinks they are likely to arise after his death. In such a case he may take a whole share of the property for his maintenance and the maintenance of the mother and daughters. This is divided amongst the sons after the death of the parents and the marriage of the daughters Married daughters get nothing whatever when a partition takes place.

24. If a man dies without male issue, his property is inherited in equal shares by his brothers, and, if there are no brothers, by his paternal uncles. Women have no rights in the soil. Daughters therefore are not allowed to hold land, but are supported by their nearest male relation. Young widows usually return to their father's homes, but if a widow elects to live with her husband's people, she may cultivate his land with the consent of his brothers, who see that she does not waste the property. She must bring up the children and get them married. If she has sons, the property is divided between them after her death, if she has no sons, the division is made between her brothers-in-law. If a young brother wishes to marry a widow, he may do so, as he has the first claim on her He takes possession of all his deceased brother's property and is responsible for the maintenance and marriage of the children and the funeral expenses of the widow. The sons divide the property after the death of their mother and step-father, but if there are no sons, the

*Contributed by the Revd. E. Van Hecke, S. J., of Khunti.

భక్తుండు వానితో స్వర్గంబునందు
సమపంక్తి కూర్చుండ జంకును సిగ్గు
గనునేని. యతనితో ననుము నీవిట్లు.
"అంత్యదినంబున నా పాపి గాంచి
సిగ్గుపడకుము, యట్లు చేసెదవేని
నిరయంబులోనిన్ను నిలుపుదు, రతని
నాకసౌఖ్యంబుల నంద పంపెదరు,"
దురితాత్ము నెడద నెత్తురులొల్క నార్తి,
భక్తుండు భక్తిని ప్రాపుగా నెంచు;
దైవ సన్నిధియందు తలనిక్కకంటె
అడకువ మేలని యరయడో యేమొ!
అంగీని శుభ్రత యాత్మలో మురికి
గలవాడు నరకంబు తలుపులదీయు
తాళంబుచెవికయి తడవంగ నేల?
భగవంతు సన్నిధి పరము నైచ్యంబు
నిస్సహాయత మేలు 'నే'నను నిక్క,
భక్తుండనన్న గర్వంబునకంటె,
నిను నీవె పుణ్యాత్మనని ప్రశంసించు
కొనుదేని, నిజముగా కుటిలుండవీవు;
పరమేశునొద్ద నీపరువు గర్వంబు
కానుకు గోరగావు; కరుణింపబోడు,
పురుషుండవగుదేని పురుషకారంబు

30. If all the brothers are not born of the same mother, they each get a share* calculated as above, with this difference, that the sons by the second wife get less than the sons by the first wife, e.g., if 5 annas of land are to be divided between four brothers, two by a first and two by a second wife, the combined shares of the first two will perhaps amount to 3½ annas, whereas those of the other two will be the remaining 1½ annas. Illegitimate brothers, and sons of the father's second wife by a first husband, receive no share whatever. Also, if one of the brothers, by misconduct or marriage with a non-Oraon girl, has lost his tribal rights and not recovered them, he has no claim to inheritance. Articles which it would be difficult to divide, or of which the value is not enough to make it worth while to sell them, are often given up by the heirs to their adult sisters. For instance, if 15 maunds of paddy, a cow and two goats have to be divided, the elder sister would receive, say, 8 maunds and the cow, younger 7 maunds and the two goats: the cow and the goats are merely gifts, not shares.

31. **Case No. II—The deceased leaves a childless widow with grown-up daughters.:**—The widow may have been the deceased's first or second wife. In both cases, provided that she does not remarry or return to her parental home, she is entitled to the administration and exclusive usufruct of her husband's property until her death.† Her administration is only subject to a sort of mild supervision on the part of her husband's relatives, and she may not quit the village. Should she marry again, all movable and immovable property may be resumed by the natural heirs from the day that she quits the house; on leaving her husband's relatives, she is merely allowed the clothes she has on.‡ If she has grown-up unmarried daughters, they may not follow her; otherwise, they forfeit all claims on their grandfather and uncles as regards their marriages.

Once the widow has quitted the house, the inheritance reverts to the dead man's father; in default of the latter, the dead man's brothers divide it among themselves on the same scale as regulates succession from father to sons. In case of the pre-decease of any of the brothers, his sons receive his part of the heritage and subdivide it (at once or eventually) among themselves. Should the deceased have left neither brothers nor nephews, his paternal uncles succeed.

None of the daughters can prefer a claim to inheritance, but should they be still unmarried, their mother, in case she enjoys the usufruct, or for their father's relatives, if she does not, are bound to maintain them until suitable husbands have been found for them. No dowry is demandable.

32. There exists only one expedient by which a man who is unfortunate enough to have only daughters and no sons may, during his lifetime, arrange to leave them his property.§ This consists of the adoption of a prospective son-in-law, called *erpaieon khaddi* (Hindi, *ghardamad*, or *ghardijwa*), who wins his wife by service as Jacob id Leah. There are three kinds of prospective sons-in-law. Those of the first kind (found exclusively in Barwe) are practically servants. They receive pay in kind of 8 maunds of paddy a year, their food and clothing, plus a yearly bonus varying from 2 to 12 maunds of paddy, and when the daughter is finally given to them as a wife, they have to leave the house. Those of the second kind (rare in Lohardaga and Ranchi) may after marriage either stay in the house or set up a separate establishment for themselves. In addition to their pay, board and clothing, the yearly bonus and the wife, they receive, on departure, a pair of bullocks and plough, their tools and various household articles. The third kind of prospective son-in-law, the only one of which we speak in connection with inheritance, is rare; among every hundred families having only daughters perhaps ten such sons-in-law may be found. He gets neither pay nor bonus, but receives the same treatment as a son, and if there are servants in the house, they obey him as their future master. Personal pride will, as a rule, prevent an Oraon youth, unless he is an orphan and destitute, from becoming a *ghardamad* of any kind and "indebted for his living to his wife." When, for such reasons as widowhood, divorce, age, etc., it is probable that a man will die without male issue, he may, on the ground that he wants hands for the cultivation of his fields, take in his house one or more young men, and adopt them as prospective sons-in-law, conferring upon them all the rights of inheritance due to a son or sons. The only conditions are that they must marry his daughters and work for him until his death. He may, if he prefers, confer the right of sonship upon any young man who agrees to the latter condition; the son adopted in this way will inherit all the property subject only to the charge of providing for the widow and daughters, if any. Adoption, pure and simple, is the only possible scheme when the adopted boy is a relative or when the old man is childless.

It might conceivably happen that the man may have male issue after adopting an heir. The question of inheritance must then be settled by amicable compromise, the natural heir and the adopted heir dividing the property much as an elder and younger brothers would i.e., on an inverted scale of ages.

33. **Case No. III—The deceased leaves a widow with small children:** If the widow does not remarry, she retains (as in Case No. II) the administration and usufruct of her husband's property subject to the charges already described, with the power of adopting sons-in-law or sons. She keeps all her children in her own house. If she has sons, she is bound, when they come of age, to hand over to them their shares of the paternal fields and of any money they have saved, keeping for herself only half an anna of land, etc., as in Case No. I.

If the widow remarries, there are two possible contingencies. First, if her dead husband's children are all daughters, the property reverts to the dead man's relatives, subject to the ordinary charges. Secondly, if her children by her first husband are only boys and girls, the property is administered, during the minority of the children, by their paternal grandfather or one of their paternal uncles. But, whatever is the sex of the children, and, even if they are all daughters, the trustee is entitled to take them all over to his house if they can render themselves useful there by tending cattle, driving the plough or helping in household work. For those under nine or ten years of age, the trustee makes a fixed allowance to the mother. When they have reached that age, if they do not come over to his house, not only will the allowance be stopped, but the boys will forfeit their patrimony altogether, and no further grants will be made for the maintenance of the girls.

34. **Partition:** In the preceding sections an account has been given of the breaking up of a joint family holding into several distinct holdings immediately after the owner's death Partition may also take place sometime after the owner's death or during his lifetime. In both cases, the parcelling out of land and money may be particular or general. For instance:

(*a*) A widower's adult sons are entitled, in the event of their father taking a second wife, to demand a general

*This is not the case if the brothers have, at the time of their father's second marriage, demanded a partition.

†We assume that the deceased had no son by his first wife.

‡This is the practice in the Barwe. It is said that elsewhere in Ranchi brothers-in-law show themselves somewhat more generous.

§A widow who retains the usufruct of her husband's property has power to make arrangements to the same effect, i.e., she may adopt a prospective son-in-law or a son who will be entitled at her death to succeed to her husband's property.

partition. This step is, as a rule, taken before the birth* of a child by the second marriage: otherwise, the applicants would have to reserve at least one share for him, if a male (*see* inheritance, Case No. I). And, as bachelors are never allowed to separate from their father, the demand for partition must be made to the father or the village assembly by the married sons.

(*b*) From a similar interested motive, brothers who, for any period subsequent to their father's death, have continued to hold the property jointly, may demand partition, if the eldest (who, in all matters not justifying a family council, is the manager of their joint land and joint purse) turns out to be incapable, careless or of doubtful integrity.

(*c*) Whether the family patriarch is dead or not, the frequent recurrence of broils between the brother's wives is a common cause of partitions.

(*d*) Any member of a joint family may, from the date of his marriage, apply for his share to his father or (if the father is dead) to the family council; an appeal to the village *panchayat* is open to him in case of refusal. His request will often be granted, if based on reasonable grounds, as is the case when the applicant is desirous and on all accounts, able to conduct his own affairs or when he or his wife has some standing quarrel with the rest of the family, or when he reasonably suspects that his interests will not be safe in the hands of others. Orphan nephews often obtain separation from their uncles on the latter account.

35. Partition, whatever its nature and extent, has to be applied for, and, in order to be obtained, must be justifiable on prudential, if not on other, grounds. When insisted upon against reason, or extorted by irregular methods, the applicant's share may be reduced to one-fourth, or even one-half, of the amount otherwise due to him. The normal quota of land and money constituting a partition share mainly depends on the place each particular member of a joint family occupies in the genealogical tree. This quota has been sufficiently described above.

*Unborn children have no rights: *cf.* the proverbs: *Sutlo sutal ke hissa?* What can be the share of a man asleep? *Najho byate danda dor*—A waist thread for the unborn; i.e., to reserve a share for a child still in the womb would be as silly as making clothes for unborn child.

(*a*) **Inheritance Cases Nos. I and II:** When, before the death of the owner or of his first and second wife, a partition, general or particular, takes place, the share due to each, or any, separating member of the family is somewhat diminished by the necessity of making provision for the maintenance of the remaining parent or parents. This provision is, under no circumstances, larger than that mentioned in Case No. I of inheritance. If, at the time of general partition, there are female orphans in the family which is to be broken up, they are taken care of *gratis* by the grandfather or one of the uncles.

(*b*) **Posthumous shares:** If at the time of his decease, a man's share has yet become his effective property (his father still being the owner), or, if though possessed by him, it has not yet been dissociated from his brother's holdings, a preliminary partition is, of course, indispensable before the said share can be inherited by the deceased's descendants and become liable to the further partition which has been described in the section dealing with Inheritance.

(*c*) In what is stated below we are exclusively concerned with the rules that govern preliminary partitions of this kind. All the points not touched upon here must be settled as in the section on Inheritance.

Case I: If the widow has grown-up children (not daughters only), the sons will judge for themselves whether they want to separate from their uncles. If they do, a preliminary partition must take place. If there are unmarried daughters, they will be cared for by their mother and brothers.

Case II: If the widow is childless or has daughters only, it being further supposed that she does not remarry, her right to administer, and enjoy the usufruct of, her husband's property does not come into operation at once. She may not demand that her husband's share be separated for her, until such time as a general partition is brought about by other causes. Meanwhile, she and her unmarried daughters are, as a consequence, obliged not to leave the house where the joint family resides.

Case III: If the widow has small children of the male sex, she may demand a posthumous partition, everything subsequently proceeding as in case No. III of Inheritance.*

*Contributed by the Revd. Father A Grignard, S J., of Tongo.

THE ARTISAN CASTES OF WEST BENGAL AND THEIR CRAFT

SUDHANSU KUMAR RAY

NOTE

THE AUTHOR of this small treatise hardly needs any introduction to those scholars and collectors who have made the indigenous crafts of Bengal the object of their special study. But much as many have admired his unerring eye, his deep regional knowledge, his ability to tell by a casual examination whether a certain toy or *pata* was made ten years ago or thirty years before, whether at place *x* or 50 miles further east or north at place *y*, by one artisan caste or another, or even by one family in the same village or another, few even among those who have known him for years past are aware of his scholarship, his ability to connect one movement or motif or form with another thousands of miles away and hundreds of centuries apart.

This treatise but gives an imperfect notion of either his scholarship or his local knowledge. For the scope of his writing has had to be severely restricted both by time and money. It was only as late as May 1952 that I could persuade him to undertake the task which he finished in October. Between whiles he has done much travelling and made doubly sure that he knew exactly the place or artisan family he was talking about. Besides, by the terms of his tenure his writing was limited by me to the following points:

"The work will consist of three parts, as follows:

I. You will make a glossary of each craft, stating the distribution of each craft by districts, the present state of each craft, the practice of special motifs in particular localities, the *melas* or markets in which the goods are sold, castes which manufacture them and the number of families now employed. Along with the glossary of each craft will be a description of tools used in particular localities.

II. How the finished products are marketed. A glossary of *melas* in each locality and district connected with the craft settlements, and names and addresses of particular patrons.

III. An account of the various occupational castes in West Bengal and their traditions. A description of the castes in relation to their traditions and how traditions vary with different caste customs in different localities. How tools vary from district to district."

The final treatise departed in several particulars from the objectives set forth in the beginning. The handiwork of craftsmen finds its best and natural market in the innumerable fairs and *melas* of the country and the study of markets will be facilitated by the use of a book called *Fairs and Festivals of West Bengal* which I have compiled and has been published by the Government of West Bengal.

I have had to rewrite the draft of this treatise several times over, taking care to keep as much as possible to the words and phrases used by the author. I am not sure whether each sentence says precisely what the author wished to say. But I have tried not to give up until he has felt happy over the final draft. Nonetheless, the blemishes such as have escaped scrutiny are owing to my inability to devote more time.

The one great thing among others about the book which any reader will immediately discover for himself is its freshness, objectivity, and precision. It is a piece of the most authentic reporting and the author has not let one word escape his pen for which he has no knowledge at first hand.

A. MITRA

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which he was born. As a matter of fact I shall not be dealing strictly with the 'arts' at all, but with those 'crafts' which are still to be found in our country. And while discussing them I shall mention the important caste organisations which sustained these crafts formerly and which they can still sustain if the market for their products is organised on a better footing and designs and models of products arranged with the conscious object of finding larger markets for the products. Before proceeding further, the following statement gives a brief account of the nearest craft centres from Calcutta, which a reader may visit for himself, and find out about things at first hand:

Nearest craft centres from Calcutta

Craft	Caste	Centre
(1) Dolls and toys:	(1) Chitrakara ..	111, Kalighat Road, Calcutta or Keshabbar, Tamluk (Midnapur) or Bana, p.s. Diamond Harbour.
	(2) Sutradhara ..	Nutangram, Katwa, Burdwan or Patuli, p.s. Purbasthali, Burdwan.
	(3) Kumbhakāra ..	Kumartuli, Chitpur, Calcutta.
(2) Image making.	(1) Chitrakara ..	111, Kalighat Road, Calcutta.
	(2) Sutradhara ..	Vishnupur, Bankura or Katwa, Burdwan.
	(3) Kumbhakāra ..	Kumartuli, Chitpur, Calcutta.
(3) Solā and Dāk:	(1) Mālākāra ..	Uttarpara, Hooghly or Bally, Howrah.
(4) Silk and Cotton weaving:	(1) Tantubāya ..	Vishnupur, Bankura, and Santipur, Nadia.
(5) Conch-shell work:	(1) Sānkhāri, Refugee Sottlers.	Baghbazar Street, Calcutta.
(6) Painted pottery:	(1) Chitrakara ..	Kanganbaria, 24-Parganas.
	(2) Kumbhakāra (Kuchol). ..	Jaynagar, 24-Parganas.
(7) Pottery ..	(1) Kumbhakāra ..	Magrahat, 24-Parganas.
(8) Woodcraft:	(1) Sutradhara ..	Thalia, Howrah.
(9) Ivory:	(1) Sutradhara ..	Khagra, Murshidabad.
(10) Tāsh:	(1) Sutradhara ..	Vishnupur, Bankura.
(11) Jewellery:	(1) Swarnakāra ..	Bowbazar Street, or S. N. Banerjee Road, Calcutta.
(12) Smithy:	(1) Karmakāra .	Thakurpukur, 24-Parganas.
(13) Brass Smithy and Metal Casting:	(1) Kānshāri ..	Nutanbazar, Chitpur, Calcutta or Vishnupur, Bankura.
(14) Painting:	(1) Chitrakara ..	111, Kalighat Road, Calcutta.
(15) Stone Sculpture	(1) Sutradhara ..	Damhat, Burdwan.

Some of the primitive craft centres other than those of the nine caste-guilds

Craft	Caste	Centre
(1) Primitive paintings:	(1) Jādu-Patuā ..	Sarpur (Binpur), Midnapur.
	(2) Sankar Māl ..	Ondagram, Bankura.
(2) Wood turning:	(1) Karangas ..	Hapane, Bankura.
(3) Cire-perdu casting:	(1) Kaikuya Māl ..	Netkamla, Bankura.
(4) Stone-turning:	(1) Karangas ..	Matgoda, Midnapur.
(5) Basketry:	(1) Dom ..	Khayerbani, p. s. Gokulnagar-Birbhum.
	(2) Rishimuchi ..	Gokulnagar, p.s. Magrahat, 24-Parganas.

The commodities manufactured by these nine castes have lost their traditional markets. Formerly they used to be sold in the following manner: They were either (1) purchased directly by consumers from the craftsmen, or (2) in the local 'hat' or market, (3) the particular class of traders (*Banika*) attached to the caste producing these commodities, and (4) chiefly and most effectively through seasonal rural fairs and *melas* held on the occasion of some religious festival or other. A. Mitra has recently published a list of important fairs and *melas* in the State of West Bengal under the auspices of the Development Department, Government of West Bengal, and this list will show what a very extensive network of trading centres, rural fairs and *melas* still form on the face of this country.

The living traditions of the crafts in West Bengal have drawn their motifs, forms and designs from many sources, and it is astonishing how far these crafts went in search of forms and designs and how daring they were in adopting esoteric or exotic models. The antiquity of their forms of course goes back to botanic or earlier age than iron or bronze. The climate of West Bengal was particularly favourable to the continuation of this botanic age throughout the ages: an abundance of cane, bamboo and undergrowth gave birth to many techniques and methods, many forms and motifs which have continued with modifications throughout the centuries. In this way Bengali craft traditions can be traced quite easily to tribal art, and the intimate association between the two can be easily detected in spite of much change with the passage of years. The Nagas of Assam from the

east, and the tribes of Santal Parganas and the tribes of Bihar and Orissa and beyond in the west, the Mālas of Andhra and the Todās of Nilgiri Hills in the south, all contributed a wealth of design and formal execution. Great affinity exists between the ancient Todās' metal statuettes and our primitive *terra cotta* dolls, in both of which we can trace the early wickerwork technique. The hands and figures of both have straight knees, a natural feature of cane images. A most interesting evidence of Naga influence is obtained in the peculiar type of face caskets (*mūkh dibbā*) traditionally turned out by the Kangsakaras of Vishnupur (Bankura), Khagra (Murshidabad), and Dacca. These *mūkh dibbās* are used for keeping and preserving *pan* (betel) and are, therefore, typically Bengali in their use. Sometimes this type of caskets has two ears on either side used for lifting or opening the lid. This face motif is very strangely close to the face tattoos of Kaniyak Nagas of Assam. The linear incisions, the formal modelling, the conventional modelling of the hair, eyes and brows on the betel caskets and the face tattoo, point to a common origin and it is a matter of no small wonder that a horribly murderous face tattoo should be prized as a formal design in a timid Bengali household. It is also significant that both the *mūkh dibbā* and the Naga face tattoo are mirrored in the '*Mūndamālā*' of the head-hunting Goddess Kali. Similarly, many motifs, apparently peculiar to West Bengal, were abundantly common in the Mahenjodaro excavations in the Indus valley. For instance, the Asadanda or metal discus standard, the unicorn, the Goddess Sri, or Durga or Kamale Kamini (the Lady upon the Lotus) find very distinct echoes in articles excavated in Mahenjodaro. Then again, the brass ornamented wooden rice-measures containing the motifs of twin pigeons turned out by Sutradharas and Karmakaras, are reminiscent of the bowl-head pillars of Egypt. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the image and legend connected with Dakshin-Dār (Door of the South) in 24-Parganas and many other common gods and goddesses are reminiscent of sculptures and legends prevailing in ancient Egypt. The ancient stream of constant and intimate commerce between the provinces of Madras and Bengal led to the adoption of many motifs that are still typically South Indian. The cow-head mother-goddess made by the Kumbhakaras of Panchmura and the Chitrakaras of Kesabbar, popularly known as jo-dolls (or *joputuls*), or the mummy dolls, popularly known as *Kalighater putul*, seem to bear very close affinity with Egyptian funeral art. The ceremony of *chakshudān* prevailing among Jādu-Patuās, who drew portraits of the dead to mourning relatives, recalls very vividly a similar ceremony in Egyptian funeral rites.

The tribal or botanic connection of the crafts of Bengal has been elaborated later in these notes. I have attempted very briefly the gradual shift from the botanic and tribal stage to other social and developed forms, and also how gradually the later forms departed from the original forms, and in some cases even appeared to bear malice against the old forms.

As to the origin of the nine castes I do not propose to enter into a detailed discussion. Much has already been written on it, great difference of opinion already exists and unanimity is almost impossible to achieve at this hour. What I wish to stress is that as time cannot move back, neither can movements in production, forms and motifs. But production can certainly be enriched and endowed with new purpose. As soon as an old vein is worked out one feels as if one is at a dead end. But even as the ancient wicker and cane-bamboo designs and forms were transmuted into more formal and organic designs, a mere revivalist movement will certainly deliver the *coup de grace* to whatever life the indigenous crafts still possess. But it is certainly possible to think out new designs, new motifs and new forms, arising and skilfully borrowing from the old traditional ones, and make a triumph of organic development. It is also necessary to introduce new instruments and labour-saving devices so that the cost of production may be reduced while still making full use of the traditional skill and knowledge of the different artisan classes. In these directions thought and planning must be devoted so that the traditional crafts of our country may be preserved and continued with new content and a fresh lease of life.

[Illustrations will be found in Plate I]

THE TRIBAL GROUP OF CRAFTSMEN

A SHORT DESCRIPTION of the tribal group is given below. This group consists of the Sanakar Māls, and Kaikuiya Māls, the Jādu-Patuās and the Karangas.

The Māls: We can divide the Māls readily into two groups: (i) the Sanakar Māls or painters, and (ii) the Kaikuiya Māls or workers, both of whom live on the western border of Bengal. They have an occupational system similar to that found among the South Indian Mālās, namely the Loom-Mālās, the Cart-Mālās, the Hammer-Mālās, the Seesaw-Mālās, the Doll-Mālās, etc. As a matter of fact the form of caste system that prevails among the aboriginal and backward classes of West Bengal can be called the Mālā-system.

The Karangas: We get two sections among the Karangas: the Kudris and Gari Katas. They probably migrated to Bengal from South India by sea. Their very name and their home in the

lower regions of 24-Parganas suggest that they came by the sea. Andhra migrants who sailed from their ancient and famous 'Karangi' port to Burma and Malaya are still known there as Karangis. Bengali Karangas also perhaps migrated from Madras, and acquired the very name. But their main centre for wood-turning is at Hapania (J. L. 83, P. S. Saluni) and main centre for stone-turning is at Motgoda (J. L. 162, P. S. Raipur) both in the district of Bankura.

The Jādu-Patuās: The following brief description of the Jādu-Patuās is quoted from the District Gazetteer of Birbhum: 'The Jādu-Patuās are a community found only in this district and in Manbhum and the Santal Parganas......................By profession they are brass-workers and make trinkets, gongs, weights, etc., of that metal. Some again are mendicants: they draw pictures of persons recently dead and exhibit them to the bereaved relative who gives them presents.'

The occupations of the Jādu-Patuās include brass-work, painting, etc. Regarding their painting we have a very interesting article by the late G. S. Dutt, in which he has described the aims and objects of their paintings. The following is an extract from his article published in the *Modern Review* in 1932:

> There are two types of *Paralaukik-Chitra* (paintings of the deceased in the other world), one by the Chitrakaras called Yamapata, in which Yama, the lord of death, sits on a throne in his judgment room and judges the work of the deceased and according to his or her nature of good or evil work, confers rewards or punishments. The paintings depict both the scenes in the same scroll but separately of sinner and the pious man. The paintings are of general character and not particularly related to any deceased person but the other type, by the Jādu-Patuās are different. They are personal paintings and depict the deceased in the other world invariably enjoying life in happiness. G. S. Dutt writes 'Whenever a Santal man, woman or child dies the Jādu-Patuā appears at the house of the bereaved family with a readymade sketch of the deceased done from his own imagination. There is no attempt at verisimilitude but the picture merely consists of drawing of an adult child or a male or a female, according to the age and sex of the deceased. The Jādu-Patuā presents the picture completely drawn in colour with one omission only, viz., the iris of the eye. He shows the picture to the relatives and tells them that the deceased is wandering about blindly in the other world and will continue to do so until they send gifts of money or some other articles through him, viz., Jādu-Patuā himself, so that he can perform the act of *Chakshudana* or *bestowal of eye-sight*. The Santals believe this to be actually true and give themselves up to weeping at the misery of their deceased relative wandering about blindly in the other world. They protest that they have already given gifts to him at his death but the Jādu-Patuā remains adamant and tells them that King Yama has taken away the gifts, which they made with the body of the deceased and so they must send the deceased more things through him (i.e., the Jādu-Patuā), in order to satisfy his needs. So the relatives make presents of money or some other articles of domestic use to the Jādu-Patuā for transmission to the deceased and the Jādu Patuā then puts the finishing touch to the picture by *performing the act of Chakshudana or supplying the iris of the eye* in the picture of the deceased It is perhaps from this semi-magical practice that the Jādu-Patuā derives his name (Jadu—magic, Patuā—painter)'.

[See Plates II, IIA and IIB]

The Jādu-Patuās also live in the districts of Midnapur and Bankura where their main centres are at Sarpur-Binpur, Rohini (Midnapur) and in several villages of Khatra police-station (Bankura).

I am also informed that some wandering artisans belonging to aboriginal stock also maintain a tradition of metal-craft in a primitive manner in these localities. According to Jamini Ranjan Ray, they are known as 'Dheppo'. But cire-perdu casting is the main occupation of the Kāikuiyā-Māls of Bankura (Netkamia, J. L. 156. P. S. Saltora). We thus get two most important living traditions, one of painting and the other of sculpture (wood and metal) among these tribal groups, which can testify to their art and artistic conceptions.

Two Technical Distinctions

Here again one must make an important distinction between the two major groups. Cire-perdu casting is the monopoly of these tribal groups. Conversely, cire-perdu casting is neither known nor handled by the nine recognised 'caste guilds'. The latter have attained a high proficiency in mould-casting which is not known at all to the tribal group. Bengali art traditions thus can again be distinguished into two divisions, viz:

(1) The tribal group continuing primitive methods and techniques, i.e., the survival traditions which represent the primitive stages of the geometrical arts or denote the beginning of the basic arts and art-forms, and

(2) The advanced social group working on developed skill and methods which represent non-geometrical, organic and complicated stages of progressive art.

But the links between the two,—technical, ideological, religious and social,—are still visible. Art of this second phase as said before is an organised political-*cum*-social (*samajik*) art based on the earlier art of the first phase originated and promoted by tribal organisations. This tribal group of artisans lives among the tribes of their locality, viz., the Santals, the Bhumijs and other backward classes living in that border land; similarly, the nine recognised caste groups are intimately attached to the so-called Bengali population of the country.

1. The metal statuettes

Metal casting is still a live tradition in West Bengal and its adjoining districts of Singbhum, Manbhum and the Santal Parganas. The metal statuettes of Kaikuiya-Māls, Jādu-Patuās or Dheppos of West Bengal appear to have originated in tribal magic and tribal beliefs. They show considerable powers of composition, execution and a considerable evidence of power in elaborate composition and decoration.

When a strong magical belief or a cult of Yoga comes in close relation with mythological thinking we get its reflection in mysterious poses and forms. To make this point more clear I would like to mention a roughly carved seal from Mahenjodaro (*Mahenjo-Daro*: Marshall, P 1, XII, 17) depicting the god Pashupati who is three faced, is seated on a low Indian throne in typical attitude of Yoga (according to Brahmachari Haripada of Comilla, the deity is sitting in the posture of *makarasana*) with legs bent under the body, heel to heel, and toes turned downwards. The god Pashupati or Siva is a Maha-Yogi and 'regarded as magician, miracle-monger and a charlatan'. Yoga has its origin amongst the pre-Aryan population* from the belief in miraculous powers. The specimen of art mentioned above in connection with this yoga-cult is carved out in mysterious poses and fantastic forms. The deity is sitting with his brutal head-dress, with decorations created by rigid incised lines and with a grotesque face, all displayed in a mystic environment.

Similarly by careful study of these statuettes of West Bengal (Nahar Museum, Asutosh Museum) we see that they evolved also from a religio-magical belief and particularly some of the statuettes are all definitely related to the yoga-cult and it can be traced in the posture of some of the seated deities (*see* figs. V & VII in the *Journal of Arts and Crafts, Calcutta,* Vol. II, No. I, 1940). It is interesting to recall that there is in the collection of G. S. Dutt (presented to him by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy), a statuette of a *yogi* in *paryanka-bandha* posture, discovered from under ground in Ranchi (which unfortunately I am not permitted to publish here), which shows definite relation of the yoga-cult with this primitive school of magical imagery.

These metal statuettes replaced the cane and bamboo images of the pre-metal period. The religio-magical statuettes were actually constructed with cane and bamboo long before the beginning of the use of metal by their inventors. The reason why I support this opinion can be appreciated upon careful study of the techniques of these primitive statuettes in which the vivid mark of wickerwork is conspicuously stamped. This will provide evidence of translation from wickerwork directly to metal or stone work. We shall see that stone architecture in India in the past was copied from wooden or bamboo prototypes.*

The influence of botanic art (wickerwork)

The primitive people of Bengal utilized cane and bamboo as material for their utensils when metals were unknown to them. Artisans had considerable quantities of cane at their disposal, bamboo came to be used simultaneously in the shape of weapons as well as baskets and materials for huts. The Doms of Birbhum, the Dhallis of Jessore and Khulna, the Mask-dancers of Tangail, and the Rishi Muchis still stick to basket making with cane and bamboo as their main profession. If we study Bengali basket-craft closely we shall find how mature, accurate and pleasing to the eye this craft has grown.

The nature of the material of art influences the technique. Thus we find our primitive craftsmen making excellent use of spiralling cane and straight bamboo strips. We note that whereas cane winds spirally to give the shape of a basket or a shield, bamboo pins are used to fasten it and canestrips lock them into knots. As long as the art was confined to utensils like baskets and shields, or weapons like bows and arrows, the scope of decorative ornamentation was limited to simple and easy motifs such as chains (executed by interlocking two or three thin bamboo-strips), angles (obtained by weaving the same) or cane strips in zig-zag fashion, and spirals by winding cane-reed into a small compass. But when these techniques were put to use in cottage architecture it created various geometrical patterns. Thus the limitations of the material were overcome with experience and the freedom thus gained was utilised in creating various artistic designs. In the result we find very beautiful canestrip works on the ceilings of thatched cottages, boats and palanquins in Bengal. (*See* Plate III, Fig. 6 & 7, facing pages 22-23, *Indian Art and Letters, London,* Vol. X, No. I, 1936).

All the technical experience of wickerwork led to the construction of metal images. 'Practice' and 'past attainments' guided the primitive artist in working with metal with the technique of wickerwork. We could almost say that they looked at metal through the medium of cane and bamboo. As a result the metal images of the first stages were cast (in cire-perdu method) in complete imitation of cane reeds, upon a pedestal made in imitation of a bamboo stretcher with criss-cross reeds.

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*Chanda, *Modern Review,* 1932.

*See *A Handbook of India Art,* by E. B. Havell, page 28, and *Indian Architecture* by O. C. Gangoly, page 1.

The knots of cane strips applied to tighten or to bring together different parts of an object, and the skill of stringing with this, formed the primary element in the structural composition of the primitive metal images of India. This is conspicuous in metal rice measures or in jars made in Bankura and Birbhum.

It is interesting to speculate whether the motif of the spiral came from the conventional rolling of cane into a small compass. But some scholars think that "perhaps it was suggested by the sight of the shells of the conch-shell or by the twist at the tip of certain plant stems".

Of course our primitive artisans produce a spiral "by the twist at the tip of certain plant stems" but, on the other hand, they also twist the trunk of an elephant into a spiral. In both cases experience of the conventional application of rolled cane inspired the artist to twist the trunk of the elephant and also provoked him to twist the stem of the plant.

[See Plate III]

2 The paintings

Earlier in this chapter the significance of the *Paralaukik-Chitras,* i.e., the *Chakshudana* paintings has been described. This type of paintings is also made by the Sānākar-Māls (main centre—Ondāgrām, J. L. 183, P. S. Onda) for Bhumijs of Bankura. But the Māls do not paint scrolls. They borrow them from Sutradharas, generally from the Fauzdar-family of Bishnupur. But Jādu-Patuās draw their scrolls themselves illustrating the genealogy of Santals, scenes from the life of Krishna, and the story of Satyanarayana, etc. Lately, the Bhumijs embraced Vaishnavism like the Manipuris of Assam and Vaishnava cult-paintings had to be painted for them by their 'own' painters including the life of Chaitanya. Older traditions of peculiar stories (unidentified) persist of course, and such scrolls are shown to aboriginals and are explained with an elaborate commentary in aboriginal language. These explanatory sing-songs have not yet been collected by anybody. A few of these scrolls were recovered by the late G. S. Dutt from Birbhum and by the present writer from Midnapur.

The style of these paintings of Jādu-Patuās can be called the vernacular aboriginal dialect of the Indian language of painting. Technically they are nearer to Jain manuscript paintings of Gujrat and Southern Indian popular fresco paintings, the type we see at the Lapekshi temple (but not the classical type that we see at Ajanta). These paintings may well seem unsatisfactory or rudimentary. The head is drawn in profile but the eye (always only one—except in the lately introduced Vaishnava paintings) is drawn for the full-faced figure. The head, the bust and the limbs appear stuck together but are nevertheless composed quite happily without regard to perspective. This conventional and stylised but primitive art of painting was developed in the 'second stage' by the 'recognised' Chitrakaras on the new alluvium but their main characteristics persisted up to the 19th century even in the modern Kalighat paintings.

[See Plates II, IIA, IIB, V and VA]

Two very interesting paintings of Jādu-Patuās were collected by the present writer, one from Dhalbhumgarh (now in the Asutosh Museum), the other (now with the author) from Sarpur (Binpur) relating to Pisacha, the evil spirit who caused death to Santal houses. Importuned by relatives of a deceased person, the Jādu-Patuā displays the picture of the Pisacha and narrates the following story to the bereaved family: "The Pisacha once entered without anybody's knowledge inside the dead man's house by possessing the domestic animal (cat or ass or any other animal as the case may be) of the family and befouled the tumbler by urinating in it, and the man died of drinking out of the same tumbler without knowing it." The Jādu-Patuā is immediately given the tumbler and the 'possessed' animal by the bereaved family to be rid of them. In this story we find the exploitation of a primitive belief by magic.

[See Plate IIB]

THE ART OF THE SAMAJIK SCHOOL

Now we will have to sail down the coast of these 'old and main' tribal highlands with Lal-Thakur in a small dummy boat to the lowlands. Lal-Thakur being adorned with *mālā* and *chandana,* goes every year to cultivate and administer his island-property and his kinsfolk bid him farewell with these words:

Oh Lal! sail today but return tomorrow.
And every year let thy boat repeat to row!*

The Lal-Thakur (a small earthen hand-made doll) departs with his tiny boat and the ladies come back home from the river bank. An incised circle is drawn in the courtyard to indicate a small island and a magical ceremony is performed upon it by chanting *mantras.* On the second year there will be a second larger circle around the first one, the next year another still bigger and so on up to five on the fifth year. The island grows year after year and there begin our unique and multi-faceted arts of the glorious second phase of the Dwaipayana (or island) civilisation of Bengal.

The most important record of this stage can be seen in the earthen convex round Lakshmi-Sarā of Dacca. Its size and shape rimmed with a raised ridge represents an embanked island. On these Sarās, Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune and plenty, is depicted on a 'mayura-pankhi' boat, the symbol of sea-borne trade and commerce.

*Translated from the original Bengali Bratakatha collected from Dacca.

In the village Auria (Narail, Jessore) a tradition still exists of worshipping Lakshmi on a dummy boat made of a banana float. The deity (made of rice) is placed on a small grain store filled with rice, cotton, dal (kalāi), mustard, *til*, etc., arranged in this boat. There is another important record which gives an idea of the topography and the triumphant colonisation of southerly islands. The Bratakathā related to Yama, the buffalo-riding god of death and judgment, to whom traditionally the Dakshin-Dār (the Door of the South) belongs (Yamer Dakshin Dār) depicts the following scene. A small tank is dug out approximately 6″×4″×3″ and filled with water in connection with this Brata performance. On the sides of this tank crocodiles, tortoises, fishes, etc., moulded in clay are placed and in the centre of the tank a 6″ to 10″ long pole mounted with a clay 'chil' (kite) is inserted. Full of ferocious marine animals and watered by rivers, lakes and marshes, the true character of ancient Bengal is thus correctly brought out by our womenfolk: the ancient god placing his insignia or totem pole as a standard of victory in the centre of that horrible watery chaos which our womenfolk have named Yama-pukur, the Lake of Yama (death).

All the time from the beginning, the traditional arts of the second phase struggled for freedom to be rid of 'botanic' conventions, namely, from the wicker and bamboo technique and mechanical forms and motifs of the earlier primitive arts, for the following reasons: (1) We know that "the art of the country, like the character of the inhabitants, belongs to the nature of the land". The nature of the delta, into which art activities were transferred, differed greatly from the nature of the previous western fringes of Bengal. Thus we find that paintings of the recognised Chitrakaras of Narajol, on the new alluvium, are technically and ideologically different from the paintings of the Jādu-Patuās of Sarpur (Binpur) situated within the same district, at a distance of 50 miles but on high laterite soil. The dominant hues in the paintings of the Jādu-Patuās are brown and light grey befitting the surroundings of their place of origin. On the contrary, the multicoloured scrolls of the recognised Chitrakaras are much influenced by the variegated scenery of the luxuriant delta. Perspective came into the field of art. (2) Mythological interpretations had to be illustrated in sculptural art to keep record of the most dramatic incidents such as "Durga killing Asura", Kali while hunting for heads being stopped by her husband at her feet, etc. The artist had to record the phenomenal growth of the new soil in the delta by symbolising it in the form of *Nakkhi* (Lakshmi) rising from the sea, or in Saraswati, symbol of widening education and knowledge of the delta society. And even geography, that is, the two rivers from two sides, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, pouring water from above on the new luxuriant delta, was symbolised in the figure of Gajalakshmi where two elephants pour water with their trunks upon the head of Lakshmi, the goddess of plenty, poised on a lotus in the ocean. Story acquired a new grip in the painting and recital of Mangala-Kathas. (3) The contact with the great industrial civilisation, both aboriginal and advanced of the Eastern region of Bengal, that of the yellow races of Burma, Assam, China, Tibet and Nepal brought about a revolution in art traditions, witness the borrowing of the face-tattoo of the Koniyak Nagas; designs of textiles, dolls and toys from Manipur and other parts of Assam. (4) Finally, commercial relations with foreign countries brought the Bengali artist in close contact with new designs, new forms and shapes and new styles to be assimilated with the indigeneous traditions of art.

The geometric decorative forms of India (ālpanā, etc.), assuming simple and complicated designs are best seen in the paintings of Sarās, Tāsh (playing cards) and *ālpanās*. In the Tāsh and Sarā straight lines are juxtaposed to circular lines. On the other hand, south and north Indian Ālpanā, which in those places is geometric, has been converted in the delta into rhythmic circular designs, typically Bengali, and appropriate to the circular nature of the delta-islands. It should be noted here that recent researches in Rajputana by the present writer in 1948 and in 1952 followed up by his friend Jogendrasahay Saxena, keeper of the National Museum at Bundi, reveal that the geometric Ālpanā designs of Rajasthan are of two kinds: one depicts *Bastu* (the planned and well laid-out village or town), the other depicts cultivated lands with irrigation channels indicated by water marks in between the *ails*. The purpose of these *ālpanās* as well as those of Bengal is to keep the dwelling city or village safe and prosperous and the cultivated lands fertile and fruitful by magical representation. In the delta areas (especially Jessore, Khulna and Faridpur) of Bengal such *ālpanās* also depict cultivated land but they are drawn in circular round designs conforming to the nature of the islands of the delta. For example we find in Abanindranath Tagore's Banglar Brata and *ālpanā* of Jessore relating to Lakshmi Puja (see page 21, Vishvabidya Sangraha edition) constructed by circular lines representing furrows, the edges of which are decorated with a circular row of paddy plants. On a similar occasion the Rajasthani *ālpanā* would be straight and geometric according to the nature of the Rajasthani land. As a matter of fact Āli-panā or Āl-panā is an indigenous word meaning "the art of drawing Āils (embankments)". There are many words, such as Ginni-pana (art of housekeeping), Dustu-panā or Duranta-panā (art of naughtiness) in Bengali vocabulary. Ā-lepon or Ā-limpona is a 'created' Sanskrit word (which means 'to paint' or 'to coat with') which confounds the original craft and geographical implication as well as the magical significance of Āil-panā, and introduces a highly decorative value in it which obviously is a later construction. The magical use of Āil-panās or Āl-panās in connection with Bratas

is well known and primitive man was inspired to draw them for his own benefit and not for mere artistic decoration. The derivation of Āl-panā or Āil-panā from Ālimpona or Ālepon of a Sanskrit root may be grammatically right but falsifies the real origin of the word.*

The gradual development of Bengali clay-modelling has been described elsewhere. A clear thread of progress can be traced in the specimens of Bengali dolls and toys so far collected to show the marks of struggle of a tradition that finally freed itself from the old 'mechanical' wicker design and blossomed into a full blown art of higher excellence.

[*See Plates IV and VII*]

We see both traditions cheek by jowl in Bengal: (1) the primitive (*Jal-achal*) pursuing actual cane, bamboo and woodwork and their designs following geometric laws. They are Doms, Bāgdis, Khairās, Bāshfors, Bunās, Kābras and Rishi Muchis officially scheduled by the Government; and (2) the recognised (*Jal-chal*) nine caste guilds. The first group is the primitive group and possibly the original inhabitants of Bengal. A great political ordeal definitely came upon this Dom-Rishi-Muchi group some time in the remote past as evidenced in our Brata designs. The memorial sacrifice of this conquest is celebrated by upper class Bengalis every year in the *Sezuti Brata* by the symbolic slaying of two representational dolls of a Dom and a Domni.* The depressed condition of these classes today is a continuation of that sad and unhappy incident that has been recorded in the art tradition of our womenfolk. Pala-Sangit relating to Siva-Durga patas says that Siva and Durga were born among Bagdis and cultivation of paddy was taught or introduced by them. This earlier fishing, hunting, agricultural community of Bengal was superseded by an industrial and commercial race. They brought a new mixed culture which combined the agricultural, commercial and industrial aspects into a single society. Present Bengali society is a continuation of that union. But the two different elements still run parallel as the lower and upper cultures and socially stand out as distinct within the same geographical limits. Bibāha (prajapatya) and Bāshi-biyè (old marriage), Srādha and Ādya-srādhha (first srādhha), 'Ko' and Ānji 'Ko' (original 'Ko'), Kāli and Ādi-Kāli (original Kāli) were combined during this period of transition.

*In 1283 B.S. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee; the great Bengali novelist, used 'Alipona' in his Introduction to Dinabandhu Mitra's book (Basumati Edition, p. 5) and it shows that at that period this word was properly pronounced.

*For such parallel memorial festivals of conquest, *see* pp. 95-96 of the *Ancient History of the Near East*, by Hall.

THE CHITRAKARAS OR PATUAS (PAINTERS)

(*Distinguished from Jādu-Patuās*)

I

Present Occupations

The following form the *present* occupations of the 'recognised'* Chitrakaras or Patuās of West Bengal:

(1) Main Craft pursued by men

(a) Painting in miniature on cloth or paper, and scroll painting on paper only,

(b) Earthen (sunbaked and reinforced) image-making,

(c) Decoration on walls with painting, and engraving on walls in stucco (found only in the district of Birbhum).

(2) Main Craft pursued by women

(a) Earthen doll and toy making (both baked and sunbaked) from solid clay by free hand modelling or from clay-sheets cast in terra cotta moulds,

(b) Painting on ceremonial pottery (Ghata-Chitra) or on wooden seats (Piri-Chitra) both supplied to them by traditional potters and carpenters respectively.†

(3) Subsidiary Crafts pursued by men

(a) Snake-charming (found only among a few families at Ayash and other villages of Birbhum),

(b) Fireworks (found at Beliaghata, an eastern Suburb of Calcutta),

(c) Tinkari (found at Madhabitolla of Katwa, etc.).

(4) Their main and most important profession is to show or exhibit their scrolls (*Chitra-pradarsan Vidya*) drawn like a 'film-strip', sometimes 30 to 50 ft. long, usually depicting illustrations from the Ramayana, the Bhagabata, Manasa-Mangala or other 'Mangala' stories of semi-divine folk gods and goddesses. Some of the scrolls end with illustrations of rewards and punishments of the deceased at the Court of Yama. These scrolls they unfold gradually before rural spectators and simultaneously chant the explanatory traditional commentary in verse to the accompaniment of instrumental music.

*By using here the adjective 'Recognised' to the Patuās or Chitrakaras I would like to distinguish and differentiate them from the Jādu-Patuās: though it may not be a very appropriate word and is arbitrary.

†For painted pottery by Chitrakaras *see* Fig. 13, Pl. VI, The Living Traditions of the Folk Arts in Bengal, *Indian Arts and Letters*, Vol. X, No. 1; 1936.

But it is interesting that none of these occupations is the monopoly of Chitrakaras in Bengal; for example, paintings are done by Acharyyas, Sanakar Mals, Jādu-Patuās, Sutradharas, Kumbhakaras, Karmakaras and smiths; image-making is done by Kumbhakaras, Sutradharas; painting on wood and pottery by Sutradharas, Kumbhakaras and ordinary women belonging to no particular craft or caste, as part of Ālpanā decorations. Snake-charming is done by Bediyas and scroll paintings are drawn by Acharyyas in East Bengal and by Sutradharas at Vishnupur; while the exhibition of scroll paintings is undertaken by Sanakar Mals, Jādu-Patuās and Bāddās or Bediyas (in East Bengal). Fireworks are done by Bazikaras (generally Mahomedans).

Identification of Caste

(1) *Present Social and Religious conditions*

Along with the three other cognate caste-professions, viz., Jādu-Patuās, Sanakar Mals and Bediyas (of West Bengal) these Chitrakaras at present live in a state 'midway' between Mahomedanism and Hinduism. They obey the Kazis who perform their marriage rites according to Islamic rules but Muslim Kazis do not interfere in any other social affair. On the other hand Chitrakaras perform Hindu Pujas and observe Hindu custom. Their women use conch-shell bangles and put the vermilion mark on the parting of the hair as a sign of marriage. They bear Hindu names and marriages are restricted within themselves. This peculiar 'midway' form of religious and social conditions in which they live creates a difficulty in placing their original caste order, if any, in Bengali Hindu society. Their social status, which some of their clean occupations would justify, has been lowered, because the Chitrakaras of Bengal have also adopted some of the unfamiliar 'unclean' vocations such as snake-charming, tinkari, etc., particularly in recent years, owing to the gradual desuetude and loss in demand of their own hereditary crafts. It may be noted here that the Chitrakaras of South India and Rajasthan do not live under such eclectic religious and social conditions but enjoy a comparatively high social position.

(2) *References in the ancient Sanskrit texts*

Many Sanskrit texts written between the 5th and 13th centuries incidentally mention the Chitrakaras and their profession.* But the Brahma-vaibarta-Purana written probably in the middle of

**Abhijnan Sakuntalam, Malabikagnimitra, Uttara-Rama-Charita, Harsha-Charita and Brahmavaibarta-Purana.*

the 13th century dealt with their origin, occupation and caste affiliation, etc., in detail and mentioned their 'expulsion' from the 'recognised' caste order and stigmatised them as outcasts. The most important points which we get from this text are noted below:

(a) Chitrakaras originated from the union of Viswakarma with the celestial apsara, Ghritachi.

(b) They had the same rank within the nine-caste-craftsmen-guilds, i.e., Malakara, Karmakara, Kangsakara, Sankhakara, Tantubaya, Kumbhakara, Sutradhara, Swarnakara and Chitrakara, all of whom originated from the union of Viswakarma with Ghritachi.

(c) The Brahmavaibarta-Purana also very clearly says that Chitrakaras were only recently degraded (i.e., in the 13th century) for drawing paintings 'untraditionally'.

The exact words of the Purana are these:

व्यतिक्रमेन चित्रानां सद्यश्चित्रकरस्तथा ।

पतितो ब्रह्मशापेन ब्राह्मणानाञ्च कोपतः ॥

["Chitrakaras for drawing paintings untraditionally have just been expelled (degraded!) from society by the angry Brahmins".]

(3) *A modern statement*

With this reference from the old 13th century text regarding their expulsion we can compare a new 20th century statement by a Chitrakara of Birbhum (for original Bengali statement, *see* Introduction to 'Patuā Sangit' by G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., published by Calcutta University) which I have translated here: "Chabilal Chitrakara of Panuria, Birbhum, said: We are descendants of Viswakarma and are Bengalees. For our faulty work we have now become low. One of our ancestors had drawn a *portrait of Mahadeva* without His consent. He was frightened that Mahadeva might be angry. It so happened that Mahadeva was coming along that way. Fearing that he would be detected he hid his brush inside his mouth and the brush became polluted (Sakri). Mahadeva asked him why he had polluted his brush. 'Out of fear' he replied. 'You could have thrown your brush away' Mahadeva said, 'but it was a sin to pollute it by mouth!' He then got angry, cursed them (Chitrakaras) and declared them outcasts. Then all members of the community came to Mahadeva, cried aloud and begged him to tell how they could henceforth earn their livelihood. Mahadeva replied that they would henceforth be neither Hindu nor Muslim; they would follow the custom of Muslims, but earn their livelihood by painting and making images for Hindus".

(4) *A theory in explanation of expulsion*

We know that the main and important profession of the Chitrakara is to exhibit and explain to his audience the painted scroll illustrating Mangala epics. These scrolls have always been a vehicle of religious propaganda and a means of educating the masses in their theological lore. When they conquered Bengal the Mahomedans wanted to propagate and promote their religion through this most effective medium among their conquered people. A very interesting and documentary scroll was discovered by G. S. Dutt in Birbhum depicting a figure of Mohammed as the frontispiece of a scroll followed by other pictures drawn in the style of a Mangala sequence. It can be called a scroll of 'Mohammed Mangala'! Besides this, we also get other illustrated scrolls relating the stories of Muslim preachers of the pre-Mughal period (*see Modern Review*, Nov. 1932, pp. 520 to 529).* It shows that Mahomedans extensively used these types of scrolls and took advantage of the traditional expositors to explain their religious concepts. They undoubtedly forced the Chitrakaras to draw, exhibit and explain Islamic theological paintings to the Hindu population of Bengal to attract them towards Islam and eventually convert them.

This may have been the underlying reason of the charge against the Chitrakaras of 'untraditional' workmanship as recorded in the Brahmavaibarta-Purana and the real meaning behind the pollution of the brush of Chabilal's story.

It is interesting to reflect that those whose profession is to exhibit scroll paintings, viz., the Chitrakaras, the Sanakarmals, the Jādu-Patuās and the Bediyas all live as half-Mahomedan and half-Hindu in Bengal, whereas the mere scroll painters, i.e., those who paint but do not exhibit with sing-song commentaries, viz, the Acharyyas and Sutradharas, continue to be Hindus It is clear, therefore, that their profession as exhibitors of scrolls degraded them in the religious and social plane.

(5) *Conclusion*

In India, some of the causes responsible for the origin of the different professional castes, and their place in one or other of the four Varnas, were certainly political and military. Contrary to what is generally assumed not all of them were exactly social and civil. For example, chariot-makers (Rathakaras) and weapon-makers (Karmakaras) had to be employed in the engineering and ordnance units of ancient military organisations, similar to engineering and ordnance wings of modern warfare. (For Greek evidence *see* p. 158, *Early History of Bengal*—Monahan.) Many of the ancient caste guilds indeed owe their origin to ancient military and political organisations.

We should differentiate a Kangsakara (Kasari) from a Kansa-Banika, a Swarnakara from a Subarna-Banik: one is a craftsman, the other is a merchant, that is to say, a Vaisya. But the

*Among such scrolls 'Gazirpot' is most popular and important.

craftsman as we can readily see is not a Vaisya, although he is often mistaken for one.* He must be something else. Megasthenes, who visited India in the 4th Century B.C. described the Indian craftsman as a caste higher than soldiers and warriors but below priests (*see Early History of Bengal*, pp. 143 and 149, of Monahan). In South India the Chitrakaras now belong to the Aryya-Kshatriya Varna of Chandra Vansa and it is possible that in Bengal also the Chitrakaras in the early periods enjoyed the same status.† There is striking ethnical similarity between the Chitrakaras of South India and Bengal and the notable beauty of the women-folk of the caste might confer upon them the claims to be counted with the higher classes of Bengal.

[See Plate II]

Organisation of the Community

Scattered all over Bengal, Chitrākara families have formed regional *Samaj Bandhanis* within which they generally, though not very rigidly, confine their marriages. The rigidity and social injunction which we notice among Dakshin Rarhi, Uttar Rarhi, and Bangaja Kayasthas are absent among Chitrakaras. Nevertheless, they rarely step beyond the circle of their samaj. These *Samaj Bandhanis* were probably circles of families which tied together a number of families in a particular area in the bonds of kinship and protected the monopolised *Gharwana* qualities (something akin to a trade secret or patent in modern parlance) of their trade. As a general rule, a patricular *Samaj Bandhani* roughly coincided with the bounds of its particular traditional and regional school of painting. For example, the Chitrakaras of Chār-Pārā (Four Wards) Samaj, which included the Kalighat School, were responsible for a new orientation in the 18th and 19th centuries of the old traditional school as a result of its contact with the rise of the British Power in India. They monopolised their new experimental successes so completely that they moved away from the other Samajik schools of Bengal, as a result of which this famous 'secular' school almost died *in situ*.‡ But this Chār-Pārā Sub-Samaj, again was part of a still greater and comprehensive samaj of Baropara, that is, the samaj of twelve wards or villages. Another union of Chitrakaras, who were rivals of the Kalighat School, lived in a different part of the city of Calcutta, and called themselves the Sahar-Samaj or the City Guild. We get very interesting Samaj names from other parts of Bengal; such as Sat-kuri (seven-twenty), Āt-kuri (eight-twenty), Na-kuri (nine-twenty), the number indicating the number of Sub-Samajs and villages.

*See Pamphlet entitled "*Bangiya Chitrakara Samajer Naba Jagaran*", p. 3, issued by the Bharat Sevasrama Sangha, Ballygunge, Calcutta.

†The titles conferred upon craftsmen including Chitrakaras by their patron kings in India also confirm this view, i.e., Rajulu=of Royal (Tirupati, Madras), Mahapatra or Maharana=Great Chief or King (Puri, Orissa), Fauzdar=Captain (Vishnupur, Bankura), etc.

‡Char-Para of Kalighat Sub-Samaj are Kanganbaria, Lillooah, Prasastha and Kalighat. The complete Baropara-Samaj of Kalighat is also called Basantari Samaj.

The Two Big Circles

With the deterioration of the economic condition of Chitrakaras, and the decline in the popularity of their art in the last two decades, and for many other reasons,* the old Samaj arrangements have greatly slackened their bonds and sought new stability in amalgamation in fewer Samaj rings, enlarged by extension of their area of operation. Some of the old circles have even passed out of men's memory, and many of the old rules of intercourse are now dead. It is only with considerable difficulty that we can now discern two main divisions of the Chitrakara population in West Bengal, which are:

1. The Tamluk-Kalighat-Tribeni Samajik School.
2. The Birbhum-Kandi-Katwa Samajik School.

There used to be another distinctive school and Samaj at Berhampur-Murshidabad, but the tradition died out long ago, and the samaj-unit failed to continue an independent life. Most of it is now absorbed in the greater circle, which I have called the Birbhum-Kandi-Katwa Samaj.

There are a few families living as a unit near Banagram and Krishnagar, but there is nothing in our possession, which speaks for them with any accuracy.

This field can still yield much fruitful and interesting data to patient research, especially, in respect of the various Gharwana qualities of Pata-painting, and their particular sources. It will then be possible to identify particular traditions on a clear regional basis on the map of Bengal. It is necessary to continue the work of identification of special characteristics and techniques and trace them through particular circles, villages, families and ultimately, through a particular family, to a particular person, who may be long or just dead or still alive by happy chance. Thus, for instance, a name "Akshoy Gharwana of Ahmadpur". Akshoy died a few years ago but he was the last painter of the Ahmadpur School, whose work can be readily differentiated by the trained eye from other schools, owing to its special Gharwana virtues, unique and typical of Akshoy's family. It is our misfortune that collectors of rural arts and crafts in our country have not analysed with appreciative discernment this aspect of the traditional Chitrapata art. As a result, we lack regional histories of our Samajik schools of painting, and, consequently, the means of analysing the social, economic, and political circumstances, which led to their founding and gradual articulation.

*In recent years the two great Samaj Schools (*see* later) of West Bengal, in an attempt to unite the different circles into a single 'Bangiya Jatiya Chitrakara Samaj' celebrated an experiment with the marriage of a boy from Akabapur (Tamluk) with a girl from Durga (Katwa). The marriage was a symbol of an effort to break down isolation, a very necessary and wise step because the Chitrakara Community is now fast dying out, a sign of which is to be found in the disproportion between their females and males, which is hindering the natural growth of this community.

The following are the geographical boundaries and regional locations of the two great Samajik schools in West Bengal:

The Enlarged Samajik Schools in Bengal

1 Tamluk-Kalighat-Tribeni Samajik School

Boundaries:

North—Tribeni (Hooghly)
East—Dighirpar-Bakultala (24-Parganas)
South—Kumirmara-Subdi (Midnapur)
West—Narajol (Midnapur)

Hooghly—

1 Tribeni (J L. 36, P.S. Magra)
2 Mora (J.L. 25, P.S. Haripal)
3 Punan (J L. 18, P.S. Polba)
4 Talchinan (J.L. 108, P.S. Polba)
5 Jalaghata (J.L. 79, P.S. Singur)
6 Serampur (J.L. 13, P.S. Serampur)

Howrah—

7 Prasastha (J.L. 29, P.S. Domjur)
8 Lilooah (J.L. 12, P.S. Bally)
9 Kurchi (J.L. 15, P.S. Amta)
10 Chandipur (J.L. 9, P.S. Uluberia)

24-Parganas—

11 Kalighat and Beliaghata (Calcutta)
12 Fatepur (J.L. 123, P.S. Falta)
13 Baria (J.L. 155, Diamond Harbour)
14 Jaynagar Majilpur (J.L. 17, P.S. Jaynagar)
15 Akrapunji (J.L. 36, Diamond Harbour)
16 Dighirpar-Bakultala (J.L. 123, P.S. Mathurapur)
17 Gobindapur (Malancha) (J.L. 81, P.S. Sonarpur)
18 Kumrapara (J.L. 126, P.S. Mathurapur)
19 Sonarpur (J.L. 39, P.S Sonarpur)
20 Kanganbaria (J.L. 41, P.S. Bishnupur)

Midnapur—

21 Akabapur (J.L. 73, Sutahata)
22 Chaitanpur (J.L. 64, P.S. Sutahata)
23 Sirui (J.L. 74, P.S. Tamluk)
24 Kesabpur (J.L. 44, P.S. Sutahata)
25 Deulpota (J.L. 45, P.S. Sutahata)
26 Thekua Chak (J L. 13, P.S. Mahisadal)
27 Nankar Chak (J L. 103, P.S. Nandigram)
28 Basudebpur (J.L. 63, P.S. Daspur)
29 Kesabbar (J.L. 328, P.S. Panskura)
30 Kumirmara-Subdi (J.L 139, P.S. Nandigram)
31 Narajole (J.L. 17, P.S Daspur)
32 Maguria (J.L. 387, P.S. Khargpur)

2 Birbhum-Kandi-Katwa Samajik School

Boundaries:

North—Gankar (Murshidabad)
East—Katwa (Burdwan)
South—Durga (Burdwan)
West—Panuria (Birbhum)

Birbhum—

1 Balia (J.L. 4, P.S. Rampurhat)
2 Ayash (J.L. 89, P.S. Rampurhat)
3 Pakurhash (J.L. 68, P.S. Nanoor)
4 Panuria (J.L. 125, P.S. Suri)
5 Dadpur (J.L. 188, P.S. Mayureswar)
6 Dwarka (J.L. 136, P.S. Labhpur)
7 Kolitha (J.L. 73, P.S. Nalhati)
8 Ahmadpur Kusumjatra (J.L. 154, P.S. Sainthia)
9 Brahmandihi (J. L. 7, P.S. Nanoor)

Murshidabad—

10 Gankar (J.L. 138, P.S. Raghunathganj)
11 Kandi (J.L. 63, P.S. Kandi)
12 Gokarna (J.L. 19, P.S. Kandi)
13 Sonarundi (J.L. 96, P S. Bharatpur)
14 Panchthupi (J.L. 149, P.S. Barwan)

Burdwan—

15 Durga (J.L. 38, P.S. Katwa)*
16 Palishgram (J.L. 81, P.S. Mangalkot)
17 Palita (J.L 51, P.S. Ketugram)
18 Madhabitala-Katwa (J.L 21, P.S Katwa)
19 Barampur (J L. 43, P.S Katwa)
20 Bankapasi (J.L. 107, P.S. Mangalkot)

3 Unidentified Samajik School

1 Banagram-Gobardanga
2 Krishnagar

There are other unimportant centres, which are not included here. Most of the Chitrakaras of those centres have left their own hereditary professions and taken up agricultural or other non-traditional occupations.

I have mentioned here Jaynagar-Mazilpur and Kanganberia in 24-Parganas though the Chitrakara families have left these places in the ten years. Local people can still identify the places where they used to live. But by a happy chance the Dey family at Jaynagar and the Molla family at Kanganberia have taken up the tradition. Both families were primarily dealers of Chitrakara goods.

Organisation of the Studio and Apprenticeship

In practically every Chitrakara house there is a room or a hut set apart for work. Such a room or hut is walled in on three sides but open on the fourth, which gives into the courtyard. This forms the studio for men and boys. Women generally do not work at the studio: they, as explained above, do not paint on paper or cloth or model images—but have their own 'corner' inside the house, generally in one wing of a broad verandah where dolls and toys are made. Women have small kilns, in which they bake or fire earthen dolls, etc., but they prepare the pastes, colours, pigments, materials, and ingredients for their men, who work at the studio. Women prepare different types and consistencies of clay for their men. A heap of moulds, finished and unfinished dolls, will be found in one corner of the house, arranged or piled according as space permits. A number of bamboo baskets or boxes is hung from the room in slings in the main studio. These contain handmade brushes of various sizes, shapes and points, of a number and variety sufficient to startle even a veteran painter. They even run to hundreds. At the studio of a Sutradhara painter in Kasthasali the author found more than three hundred brushes, which he and his father before him had prepared. Earthen pots are generally used for palettes and keeping paints. The artist sits on a mat when he paints, but on a wooden piri (very low stool, about 2 inches from the ground) when he models in clay.

The master artist begins the day with a lesson and a task to the boys of the family. The method is very interesting, indeed. On the clean and

*It is to be noted that the Chitrakaras of Durga in Katwa subdivision heard of two Samaj names—Dere and Manoshahi from their forefathers which they cannot identify now.

plastered wall of the studio the master draws a few things with red paint: a cow, a horse, a bird, or a human figure. This is copied by the boys on the walls, or they trace their brushes along the lines drawn by the master, to learn the work of the brush and acquire an instinct for traditional forms. In the evening the mother will wipe off the day's work with a fresh coat of mud plaster, all ready for next day's work. Children work with the father or the mother according to their sex. The family work as a unit nourishing and guarding their family craft, controlled and directed by the master of the house.

Everything is methodical, clean, impressive.

II

Traditional subjects of the Chitrakaras

Subjects of the scrolls

The pictorial arrangement in the painted scrolls is in the form of a sequence almost recalling the early days of cinematography. Each scroll opens with a large sized 'portrait' of the presiding deity or saint at the top-end, followed by a series of pictures illustrating his or her awards of reward or punishment to mortals for their good or evil, loyal or disloyal work, closing with a court scene of Yama, the Lord of Death. This last scene of the Court of Yama does not always occur at the end of each scroll, but when it does not, there is a concluding scene of the main story—a comedy or 'mangala' incident—i.e., rescue or protection by the presiding deity of the Bhakta (devotee) from death or slaughter. Interesting scenes are carefully selected from long mythological legends and illustrated in a self-contained pictorial-drama called *Pālā*. These scrolls can be called *Mangala-Pālās* in the same sense as the more famous Mangala-Kabyas.* As a matter of fact these *Pālās* and *Pālā-sangits* are the pictorial prototypes and lyrical originals of the Mangala-kabyas of Bengal. The main subjects are: Pālās from Ramayana, Bhagabata, Manasa-Mangala; stories from the lives of Siva, Durga, Krishna, Gouranga, etc. A list of the Pālās relating to the different deities and saints are given below:

Source	Pālās
1. Stories from the Ramayana (Ram-Lila).	(1) Sindhu Badha; Dasaratha kills the son of a Muni, and carries the dead body of the boy to his parents. The father curses Dasaratha, etc. (2) Ramer Banabas; the birth of Rama and his marriage with Sita; his exile with his wife and brother, etc. (3) Sita-Harana; kidnapping of Sita by Ravana; fight of Jatayu with Ravana, etc. (4) Ravanabadha; fight of Rama with Ravana with the help of the Banara-katakas and death of Ravana, etc.
2. Stories from the Bhagabata Purana.	(Krishna-Lila)

*For themes of 'Mangala Kabya', *see* 'Mangala Kabyer Itihash' by Asutosh Bhattacharjee.

The Chitrakaras never display in their scrolls any story from the Mahabharata proper, other than scenes from the life of Sri Krishna. But their Krishna episodes in the scrolls relate more to the legendary Krishna of the Bhagabata than of the Mahabharata. The Chitrakaras of Bengal somehow or other leave the Mahabharata alone and never borrow their subjects from it. None of the very interesting episodes from it, e.g., the marriage, or Bastra-harana of Draupadi, the war of Kurukshetra, the Sarasayya of Visma, the Mahaprasthana, etc., are ever made use of. But stories, which are casually mentioned in the Mahabharata but really belong to the Bhagabata Purana or the popular legends of Krishna are drawn upon by them.* Scenes from the Mahabharata are rather more popular with Sutradharas and Karmakaras (engravers), who borrow from them largely than with Chitrakaras. The latter frequently draw the following scenes of Krishna-Lila in the scrolls: Birth of the Lord Krishna; killing of the Demons, Nauka-Vihara, Bastra-harana, Barai-Buri, Nani-churi, Gostha, Kaliya-Damana, Jugal-Milan, Krishna-Kali, Radha, Kubja and Rash, etc. (For Krishna-Lila Pata see *J.I.S.O.A.*, Vol. I, No. 1, June, 1933.)

However, the two Mahabharata Pālās that we get are: (a) Naramedha-Yagna; human sacrifice by King Nahusa; purchase of a boy from his old Brahmin father, rescue of the boy by Lord Narayana, etc., and (b) Sabitri-Satyaban Upakshana. These two pālās are *independent* of the main Mahabharata theme and very significantly connected with the pata-art of Bengal. Naramedha-Yagna (human sacrifice) is not mentioned in the Sanskrit Mahabharata in connection with Nahusa or Yajati (*see* Concordance of the Mahabharata by Sorensen) but is related in the Bengali edition of the Mahabharata in connection with Nahusa and Yajati. But the origin of this story can be traced to the Vedas. The Aitareya Brahmana describes (vii, 13-18) how a certain king was afflicted with the dropsy as a punishment for not sacrificing his son to Varuna. At last a Brahmin was persuaded to sell his son as a substitute. On the sacrificial altar the boy recited certain sacred verses, upon which the deity intervened and the boy was released. This story exactly corresponds to the Naramedha-Yagna Pālā of the Chitrakaras. It has been argued that this Vedic story cannot be a true document of human sacrifice in ancient India as the boy was ultimately released but not sacrificed. The present writer is of the opinion that it signifies really a 'Mangala-story' or a *Brata* 'Katha'. A *Katha* is generally divided

*There is a special type of 'one-man-act' display songs called 'Ramayana-Gan' in Bengal but no 'Mahabharata-Gan'. On the other hand the Mahabharata is the subject of Jatra (open air theatre).

into four parts, viz., (1) first, displeasure of a god or goddess for not complying with a vow or puja; (2) days of trouble caused by the god or goddess; (3) fulfilment of the vow or puja by the man or woman so put in trouble: (4) the 'Mangala' incident, i.e., the protection of the Bhakta or devotee by the deity as reward for his obedience and loyalty. It is hoped that the readers will find in this story of King Nahusa the very characteristics of a Mangala Pālā. As we have said before a Mangala story must end in a 'comedy' to demonstrate the *Mahima* or *Mahatya* (glory and power) of the deity to his or her Bhakta. For similar reasons the human sacrifice was not performed in the Vedic story or cannot be performed actually in our Pālā-Sangit. Both these stories give us an idea of an old form of Mangala Kavya or Katha, Pālā or Pata (a pictorial tradition) and finally a popular religion of the Brata-type or a system of religious propaganda of ancient India.*

The Sabitri Upakshana is also connected with Dharma (Yama) Mangala and Sabitri-Brata or Yama-Brata performed by women in Bengal. The whole story can be compared with the Behula-story for internal Mangala characteristics. This pālā also gives an idea of the *mahima* (glory and power) of Yama, the Lord of Death. It is to be mentioned here that in the old mediaeval texts the Chitrakaras are described as Yama-Patika and their scrolls are generally called Yama-patas. So the tradition of these two themes have deeper roots in ancient folk-religion than any complicated historical epic like the Mahabharata.

The other main sources and Pālās are:

	Sources		Pālās
3.	Shiva-Parbati Lila	..	(1) Mahadeva in the disguise of a "Sankhari" gives conchshell bangles to his wife Parbati, etc. (2) Fishing by Shiva and Parbati.
4.	Manasa-Mangala	..	The popular story of Behula and Lakhindar.
5.	Chandi-Mangala	..	The story of Kamale-Kamini, Srimanta Sadagar and King Shalibahana.
6.	Sri Gauranga Lila	..	Stories from the life of Sri Gauranga.
7.	Gossain-pata	..	Stories of the Vaishnava preachers.
8.	Gazir-Pata	..	Stories of the Mahomedan preachers.
9.	Saheb-pata (scroll of the Europeans).		Stories of the Chuarh rebels of Midnapur (1773-1816).†
10.	Dakater-pata (Scroll of the Dacoits) probably an obscure ancient Mangala-pata.		Rahuti, the daughter of a dacoit, marries the man whom her dacoit father tried to kill (Manohar Fashera). Unicorn and ram sacrifice, etc.‡
11.	Miscellaneous patas		Panchkalyani, Kapila-Gai, etc.

*See *Banglar Brata* by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore (Viswa-Bharati).

†For detailed report of the Chuarh Biddroha *see* pp. 39-45 of the *District Gazetteer*, Midnapur, by O'Malley.

‡Unicorn is called 'Garol' in the pālā-sangit. Part of this type of scroll illustrating a unicorn appeard in the February issue of the *Modern Review* for 1940 with notes by G. S. Dutt, I.C.S.

Subjects of images and approximate time of annual (barsik) puja

(a) Composite figures with Chala

(1) DURGA as Mahishamardini; stands on her Vahana, a lion, and fights with the Mahishasura (Buffalo-demon). Her two daughters, Lakshmi and Saraswati, and two sons, Ganesha and Kartika, with their respective Vahanas, attend on her on either side. Time: Aswin (September-October or autumn). She is Atasi-Kusuma Varna (Yellow).

(2) BASANTI same as Durga image; but this image of Durga is worshipped in spring-time instead of autumn, hence the name Basanti has been derived which means Durga of spring-time. Time: Chaitra (March-April. or spring). Her colour is red, like that of the morning sun.

(3) KALI, the goddess of Sakti; stands over the recumbent Shiva, attended by Pisachas and Pisachis. Time: On the next new moon night (Amabashya), following the Durga Puja. Her colour is deep dark.

(4) MANASA, the snake goddess with her sister Basuki, husband Jaratkaru Muni, and son Astik Muni. Her Vahana is Hansa. Time: Ashar-Shravan (July), rainy season. Her colour is white.

(5) JAGADDHATRI, protectress of the world and another form of Durga on her Vahana, lion, subdues with her left leg the elephant, symbol of Skandasura. Time: Kartick (October-November), Hemanta (dewy season). Her colour is red, like that of the morning sun.

(6) ANNAPURNA, offers food to her beggar husband Shiva, who remains always a "poor man" as he has renounced worldly luxury and wealth. Time: Chaitra (March-April), spring. Her colour is yellow.

(b) Single figures without Chala

(1) LAKSHMI, the goddess of fortune with her Vahana, an owl, sometime stands on a lotus, holds a rice-bowl (Jhapi) with one hand and a lotus with the other. Time: According to the family tradition of the worshipper, on the full moon night, following the Durga Puja or on the next new moon night. She is yellow.

(2) SARASWATI, the goddess of learning, with her Vahana, a Hansa, holds a Vina (musical instrument) with one hand and a book with the other. Time: Paus-Magh (January), winter. She is white.

(3) KARTIKEYA, Lord of War, on his Vahana, a peacock, holds a bow and arrow. Time: Kartik (October-November), dewy season (Hemanta). He is yellow.

(4) GANESHA, lord of success and fulfilment, elephant-headed, sits with his Vahana, a mouse. Time: Paus-Magh (January), winter. He is red.

Many other minor images of Gramadevatas (village deities) and sectarian deities are made by the Chitrakaras. Among them are: (1) Sani (Saturn) mounted on a Vulture, (2) Sasthi, with her children, stands by her Vahana, a cat, (3) Gandheswari and Beneraja worshipped by Vaisyas only, (4) Dharmaraja Yama, (5) Panchananda, (6) Ganga on Makara (mythical animal) with Bhagiratha and Kapila Muni, (7) Sitala (emerald green) sits on her Vahana, the ass, accompanied by her husband Ghantakarna, and attended by Jarasura or Jara-patra and his sister Raktapati, etc.

These images are made either for Barshik (annual) use or for Manasik (occasional votive) use, or for Rahanti (permanent) use.

Subjects of dolls and toys

(1) Miniature idols used for household shrines and children's toys (cast, non-reinforced, baked, non-pelleted and multi-coloured).
Subject: Krishna, Krishna and Radha (Jugal), Mahadeva (seated and standing), Lakshmi, Saraswati, Ganesha, Bala-Gopala (crawling), Gouranga and Gour-Netai (Jugal), Adi-Kali (bust), etc.

(2) Human figure: Cast, non-reinforced, baked, non-pelleted and multi-coloured.
Subject: Women with pitcher (standing and seated), mother and child (always at arm), young lady, Alladi (amused old man or woman), Behai-Behan (father of the daughter and mother of the son-in-law), etc.

(3) 'Jo' dolls (hand-made and multi-coloured, but non-incised, non-pelleted. Legs of the figure not visible but lower end of the garment inflated in the form of a pedestal).
Subject: Cow-headed mother goddess, standing male and female figures, etc. (main centre—Keshabbar).

(4) Moving dolls: Cast and multi-coloured.
Subject: An old-seated man (nobbling head which can be pushed about).

(5) Birds and animals: Cast and multi-coloured.
Subject: Cow, cow with calf, lion, tiger, elephant, Kakatua, Tiya, Tuntuni, cuckoo, duck, hen, peacock. Sometimes birds are shown as if sitting in the cage or a few birds quarrelling with one another for food, etc.

(6) Toys for wall and interior decoration: Cast (sometimes in one sheet, multi-coloured, made to hang perpendicularly on the wall).
Subject: Head of a fairy, head of a tiger, deer, and various birds, etc.

Traditional methods and skill

Preparation of scrolls

Handmade papers were generally used for the preparation of scrolls. Scrolls made more than fifty years ago collected for museums and privately are all made of thick handmade paper. Later paper made at Bally and Serampur came into fashion with Kalighat painters.

For scrolls, sheets of paper of the same size are joined end to end to get the required length. If the paper is thin, two or more sheets are pasted one over another to make the scroll strong and durable. This pasting is always done with boiled arrowroot or sago paste. But good old scrolls that have escaped the ravages of time were usually made of strong single handmade sheets joined edge to edge by pasting.

When the scroll is ready for painting the artist starts from the top and a rough sketch is made on the entire length of the scroll with a light Indian red (*alta*) colour. Sometimes a white coating is applied on one side of the paper to prepare the ground on which the necessary colours are disposed. The outlines of figures and foliage are then filled in with flat colours. The last stage comes with the drawing of lines in the coloured spaces to finalise the form and expression. All the paints have a medium: the sticky gum extracted from the Bel fruit mixed with water. (The Chitrakaras of the Tamluk school, however, mostly use gum acacia as a fastening medium to their paints, as is done also by South Indian Chitrakaras. They also use the gum of the Neem, tamarind-seed-paste, egg-shell, etc., but do not use the gum extracted from Bel.)*

Mounting of the scroll

When the scroll is completely painted, a piece of cloth is stiched on to the top-end and another at the bottom. These two pieces of cloth are sewn over two thin bamboo strips for rolling up and hanging, like maps. The two lengthwise edges of the scroll are strengthened by two long strips of cloth pasted at the back of the scroll along its edges, to protect it from wear and tear with handling. A string is attached to the rod at the top to tie up the scroll when rolled up and serve as a loop to hang on a peg when unfolded.

Preparation of chaukapata of cloth

Miniature patas are made on cloth only by the Chitrakaras of Birbhum. The technique is similar to that of Chalchitra painting. The cloth

*Tamarind-seed-paste is generally used as a medium of colour applicable on images, dolls, and toys but not for paintings on paper.

at first is framed and then coated with a thin layer of fine clay on which two coats of white thin liquid chalk-paint mixed with a medium are applied. On this white ground the picture is painted with the brush.

Preparation of reinforced (on kathamo) sun-baked clay images

At first a skeleton of the required size is made up with lengths and planks of wood and strips of sliced bamboo (Dasha, Takta, Ubi and Bakhari). The structure is mounted on a wooden pedestal. The figures are then roughly shaped on these reinforcements with straw and string. When the gross shapes are obtained on this reinforcement of wood, bamboo and straw, the image is further developed by the following stages:

(1) *Ek-mati*: A thick coating of masses of soft clay (sticky, sandless) mixed with husk is applied all over the straw-surface and given plenty of time (usually several days) to dry properly to serve as a solid foundation for the second stage.

(2) *Do-mati*: A second coating with sandy clay mixed with cowdung is applied all over.

(3) The final and tender modellings (fingers, ornaments, crowns), etc., are made with soft clay mixed with jute snippings.

(4) The joints of limbs are then wrapped round with small pieces of cloth steeped in liquid clay to prevent cracks when dry and plastered with Jor-mati (cementing clay) which is a combination of clays described in (2) and (3) above.

(5) The head is always prepared by casting on a terra-cotta mould and joined at the neck with cloth bandages and Jor-mati.

The whole thing is then whitewashed twice (in the case of Saraswati, thrice) with liquid chalk all over. The required* traditional colours are then painted on and finished with final touches of line.

When the painting is finished and the eyes are defined and painted (Chakshu-dana) the whole image is given a coat of arrowroot or sago paste, which holds properly the 'Garjan tel' (glazing varnish) and golden slips.

*Each deity will have his or her own colour. There is a colour chart for these images, *e.g.*, Kali should be black, Saraswati white, Durga yellow, etc.

Preparation of the varnish

Imported varnish is now generally used but the old indigenous method of preparation of varnish was known to the old Chitrakaras. The indigenous varnish was prepared as follows: Equal portions of incense (Dhuna), resin and lac (Chanch-gala) were boiled with Kerosene or Karanja oil in a clay pot for some time to get the old type of 'garjan tel'.

Preparation of colour

The Chitrakaras used to prepare their own colours (paints) from ingredients which they collected themselves. But now they use bazar colours (imported). The old primary colours were: (1) Charcoal and lamp black, (2) Harital for yellow, (3) Indigo (vegetable dye) for blue, (4) China Sindur (Chinese ochre) for vermilion, (5) Mete Sindur (orange ochre), (6) Mina (crimson), (7) Kat-khori (chalk) for white, (8) Alta (lac squash).* These colours when mixed in a medium of gum of the Bel fruit, tamarind-seed-paste, egg-shell, neem gum, gum acacia, etc., become suitable paints for various types of work and are amazingly durable. The bazar paints used by them do not last long and their tones are very cheap.

Preparation of the brush

Brushes of various points and sizes are still made by the Chitrakaras themselves. They do not use imported brushes. The hair is obtained from the shoulder of goats and classified according to the age of the goat, which gives graded hardness or softness. Tufts are then knotted to the ends of bamboo handles with twine or thin wire. But big brushes are made by jute-cuttings and are used only for large surface colouring of earthen images, especially for applying primary coats with chalk-whiting on the raw and rough surfaces of clay images and dolls†

[See Plates II, IIA, IIB, V and VA]

*The present Chitrakaras cannot tell us what ingredients their forefathers used to collect for making paints. The names given by them are mentioned below which should be examined and experimented with. Vegetable colours, for blue, juice of the fruit of Maharasha tree; for Basanti, juice of the flower of Shefali; for red, juice of the ripe Telakucha fruit; for green, juice of the fruit of Babal tree; earth colour, Geri-mati, mica, etc., and various coloured stones.

†I am indebted to Shri Rajani Kanta Chitrakar, Shri Jaharlal Chitrakar, Shri Barendra Nath Chitrakar, Shri Srish Chandra Chitrakar of Kalighat and to Sreemati Kali Dasi Chitrakar of Baria for necessary information and showing me the documents regarding their caste and caste-crafts.

THE KUMBHAKARAS (POTTERS AND CLAY-MODELLERS)

Present occupation

The following form the present occupations of the Kumbhakaras (Kumbha = pot, Karas = makers) in Bengal:

(1) Main crafts pursued by men

(a) Pottery turned on the wheel and cast on prepared 'Dhibi' moulds* (solid upside down brick-basket moulds) of various sizes and shapes for specific, ritualistic, household and storage uses (painted or impressed, engraved or incised and baked in kiln).

(b) Image-making (reinforced, sun-baked, and coloured as Chitrakaras do).

(c) Terra-cotta dolls and idols (hand-modelled or cast, incised or engraved, with or without colour, single or in groups of figures). Important centres: Tangail in Mymensingh, Panchmura (J. L. 104, police-station Taldangra, Bankura), Rajbari in Faridpur and Katalia in the district of Murshidabad.

(d) Painting on Chalachitra as a background to reinforced images and idols.

(2) Main crafts pursued by women

(a) Dolls and toys, cast or hand-modelled and hand-painted similar to the work of Chitrakaras.

(b) Painting on Saras (round convex earthenware discs).

(c) Hand-modelled pottery, not turned on the wheel. Nearest centre from Calcutta: Magrahat, 24-Parganas.

(3) Subsidiary crafts specialised in certain localities by men and women

Lifelike (representational) miniature dolls in dramatic poses made of baked or sun-baked clay dressed up in cloth or materials other than clay; fashioned to fit in as ornaments with other kinds in a room. (Only centre in West Bengal: Ghurni in Krishnagar, Nadia).

*Miss Dora Lunn in her book *Pottery in the Making* (page 9) says: "Basket-weaving probably came before pottery-making and it is likely that clay was first used to make baskets water-tight........A basket was used as a mould in which to coil or press clay, and many early pots show the impression of the basket upon them." It is of great interest that Chaurashi Kumbhakaras still cast their pottery (Gumlā, Mālsā and Sarā) upon solid upside down 'brick-basket' moulds of various sizes. (Centres: Chota-Gagan-Gohaliya, etc.) This is a stage in advance of the casting done on upside down real baskets of which Miss Lunn speaks. Apart from that the Anthropomorphic representations of 'forgotten' deities known as 'Jo-dolls' in Tangail and Comilla modelled from coiled clay surprisingly enough recall the 'wicker-technique' applied to terra-cotta modellings and clay images.

(4) Non-specialised utilitarian industries pursued by both men and women

(a) Earthen tiles for country houses known as Kholā. (Nearest centre from Calcutta: **Kotrung** in Hooghly).

(b) Shells of percussion instruments of music: Tablā, Khol, etc. Centre; Panchthupi in Kandi, Murshidabad.

General observations

Two very important points deserve to be noted in respect of these occupations as a whole:

(a) It should be borne in mind that in Bengal, pottery is essentialy a family craft where both men, women and children of the family work together. Every member of the family has a function. Men alone, however, and not women work at the wheel because the manipulation of the wheel is rather an arduous task. But whenever the wheel is dispensed with women appropriate the bulk of the work. Women are also exempted from complicated technical operations which are generally the function of men, but where production consists in simple and swift copying from the matrix, women come into the field and relieve their men by taking over every step of the operation.

(b) Secondly, not all the items in the list mentioned above are known to or practised by every Kumbhakara family although they may belong to the same regional clan. A particular group or family of Kumbhakaras may sometimes specialise in one or two items while others living in the same area may remain quite unaware of that particular technique, strangers to that particular type of production. The following points deserve to be noted in this connexion:

(1) In the land 'within the Ganges', *i.e.*, west of the Ganges and Bhagirathi in West Bengal, including, however, 24-Parganas, taking the Adi Ganga as the dividing line, Kumbhakaras do not try their hand at making reinforced images or idols, but confine themselves mostly only to the turning out of household pottery.

(2) Neither is ritualistic pottery such as Lakshmi Sara or Manasha Ghata with or without colour, made by Kumbhakaras of West Bengal. Pottery used for Marriage (Aie Hāri) is made by the Kuchol potters (a sub-section of the Kumbhakaras) who also make dolls and toys and paint them with imitation pottery varnishes, their artistry is limited to black and red geometrical designs on white glossy ground.

(3) Kumbhakaras living 'beyond the Ganges' and beyond the Adi Ganga mark of 24-Parganas, *i.e.*, last of the Ganges and Bhagirathi in East Bengal, make reinforced idols and images, ritualistic pottery, multi-coloured dolls, etc., such as the Chitrakaras do.

(4) As a whole, the Kumbhakaras (including Kuchols) of West Bengal are primarily household potters and makers of terra-cotta toys.

(5) Lifelike miniature dolls are localised at Krishnagar which neither from the point of technique or subject influence others nor incorporate the traits of other groups (Kuchols, etc.) living around.

(6) The two extremities of Bengal, Tangail in the east and Panchmura in the west, both in the old alluvium, or very close to it, with 200 miles of new alluvium dividing them, retain the tradition of pelleted and incised, terra-cotta toys.

(7) Multi-coloured pottery and Sarās are made by Kumbhakara women in East Bengal, whereas in West Bengal they are done by Chitrakaras on earthenware supplied to them by potters.

The present occupations of the Kumbhakaras make it difficult to appreciate the variety of skills and functions which this community fulfils. For a proper assessment it is necessary to make a comparative study of their professional activities and those of Chitrakaras or Sutradharas of Bengal. Such a comparison will enable us to appreciate the functions that are most proper to each one of them.

[See Plate VI]

Clay-modelling as a distinctive occupation of Kumbhakaras

In Bengal, the Chitrakaras (and in the district of Burdwan the Sutradharas) are the rivals of Kumbhakaras in the field of reinforced, sun-baked clay-modelling; but in the field of free-hand-modelling with plastic clay the Chitrakaras are very inefficient and do not, as a rule, venture forth in this field at all outside Bengal. For hand-modelled incised figures in the round—big or small—Kumbhakaras are practically unrivalled (small figures of Manasa-Mer can be seen at the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta). It is noticeable that baked and hand-modelled incised clay dolls decorated with pellets, made at Tangail and Panchmura, and colossal terra-cotta images made at Panchmura by Kumbhakaras are never painted or coloured, because they do not require to be so treated. They are resplendent in consummate, primitive, modelling skill which alone imparts all the finish that they require. These dolls, toys and images provide the supremely important document of a stage when Kumbhakaras do not need to use colour on toys or images to heighten their excellence. They are an example of a rare achievement in the history of clay-modelling in India. But the production of Chitrakaras whether two-dimensional on paper or cloth, or three-dimensional in clay is always heightened with the effect of beautiful colours. Without paint or colour their toys and images do not signify anything at all as the modelling fails to promote significant forms. And here, therefore, is the essential difference. Whatever the Chitrakaras execute by way of images, dolls, toys, etc., ought to be looked upon as essentially a painter's art, a projection of the two-dimensional 'surface treatment' in which qualities of pictorial art are displayed to the full, for example, in the flowing lines of drapery, figures in sophisticated pictorial conventions, complementary and contrasting colours all contributing to the final composition and harmony. On the other hand, dolls, toys and images done by the Kumbhakaras are totally different from the surface treatment of painting and modelling of Chitrakaras, and firmly stand out as a triumphant plastic art that puts Bengal in the forefront as one of the greatest contributors to the three-dimensional plastic arts of the world: an unbelievable achievement of significant form such as has been realised in Panchmura. Here you have a tradition of colossal and complicated clay-modelling which does not care for reinforcement and does not invoke the aid of colour to bring out significant form. With his own instrument and native material of clay the Kumbhakara is here alone, independent and unparalleled, a true master of the glyptic art.

[See Plate VII]

The Technical stages of their craft

In between the different spheres of Chitrakaras and Kumbhakaras, we have a common meeting ground, in reinforced sun-baked clay images. This is so particularly in the land beyond the Ganges, *i.e.*, in East Bengal. It may not be possible technically to tell an image done by a Chitrakara from that done by a Kumbhakara, yet the two admit of aesthetic distinction. It will be enough for the present, if we distinguish the ways in which colour and paint are employed by the two craftsmen. Pottery colours that melt and fasten on earthenware at the temperature of the kiln* and surface paints on earthenware that do not stand firing in the kiln belong to two distinct worlds; the former are used by Kumbhakaras and the latter by Chitrakaras. It is reasonable to surmise that

*Kumbhakaras of Bengal still use such pottery colours, *i.e.*, red and black imported from Midnapur district.

when Kumbhakaras took to bringing out significant form through modelling alone in preference to lacquering, and more or less gave up the use of true pottery lacquers and colours, the Chitrakaras came in to use colour and lacquer on the surface of earthenware after they had been fired. Nevertheless, dolls and clay figurines made in West Bengal by Kumbhakaras (Kuchols and Mogoyas) and finished with a simulated kaolin surface with red and black geometrical brush decorations in the place of incised patterns which represents their genius, are the remnants of an enamel processing of painted and lacquered pottery that existed in ancient Bengal.* However it is possible to trace all these technical steps or stages in the following manner with their geographical distribution to illustrate the variety of work in which the Kumbhakaras of Bengal are still engaged.

Stages of the pottery craft in Bengal

I. Basket and Wicker Technique:

(a) Beaten on the upside down basket (dhibi—overturned, round) or round hollow mould. This is practised by Kumbhakaras alone, especially, Chaurasi Kumbhakaras of 24-Parganas. They actually take impressions of 'basket' (dhibi, upside down) moulds by beating into shape balls of clay with a mallet.

(b) Partly turned on the wheel, on taking the impression of basket designs by beating with mallet or moulds.

(c) Modelling by hand: Pelleted, incised, fired in kiln but not coloured. The chief products are miniature and colossal idols (chiefly available at Tangail and Panchmura).

These three varieties are monopolised by Kumbhakaras; Chitrakaras do not try their hand at them at all.

II. Modelling by hand:

(a) Pelleted and incised with geometric designs, fired in kiln. Alternatively, pottery colours are applied in the place of pellets and incisions.

(b) Genuine enamelling as well as imitation lacquers are used.

(c) Geometric basket designs are painted in red and black in imitation water colour on real or simulated mica ground.

These are turned out by Kumbhakaras alone in Tribeni (Hooghly) and Rajbari (Faridpur). Chitrakaras do not attempt this kind of work.

III. Modelling by hand: Pelleted and incised with geometric designs, fired in kiln, surface painted after firing, with multi-coloured, complicated pictorial designs.

These are produced by Kumbhakaras in Comilla and Faridpur, and Chitrakaras of Keshabbar in Midnapur.

IV. Pressing on the outer or inner walls of moulds or originals. This is not synonymous with casting on moulds. It is actually taking impressions from hollow seal moulds by lining the surface of the original with a sheet of clay: Surface painted, after firing, with multi-coloured, complicated pictorial designs.

These are produced by Chitrakaras in East Bengal as well as Kumbhakaras in West Bengal.

V. Reinforced images, modelled on the surface with the help of fingers mostly (heads and ornaments) are 'pressed' as in IV above: Always sun-baked, multi-coloured, complicated pictorial designs or compositions of drawn figures in Chala.

These are produced both by Chitrakaras in East Bengal and Kumbhakaras in West Bengal.

It is to be noted that surface-modelling of reinforced clay images evolved from the early 'botanic' images both wicker and wooden. These wicker and wooden images gradually led to the casting of metal images by the *cire-perdu* method. (For full description, *see* "Journal of Arts and Crafts", No. 3, 1948.) A point to remember is that Jadu-Patuas, an important branch of Chitrakaras, are also metal workers, and it is possible that surface-modelling and painting of reinforced dolls and images were introduced by or borrowed from the Chitrakaras.

The above account illustrates the variety of forms and stages of the craft. It is interesting that the technical stages are still available somewhere or other in the Province among families or groups who practise them as a hereditary or monopoly craft. The variety of technique, form and shape available in this Province alone speaks of a long, continuous and uninterrupted tradition among these craftsmen.

*Recent archaeological discoveries in Bolsiddhi, Mandirtala and Tamluk in lower Bengal furnish evidence of the existence of such pottery of great age.

Classes, types and utility of pottery

(a) Handmade beaten pottery

(i) For domestic use: Large basket-shaped vessels with round semi-circular base are made for domestic cattle. The circumference of the top varies from 1′ to 2½′ or more and the height from 10″ to 2′. The rims of these large vessels are shaped into thick round rings which serve as handles and protect the ware from breakage. These vessels are called Māzlā or Chāri. Similar vessels with fluted work at the base are made in imitation of woven bamboo baskets and called Gāmlā. Gāmlās are used for domestic cattle and also as kitchen utensils. Another pottery of this group is the Mālsā. This miniature round-bottomed article is used generally as receptacles by shopkeepers to store salt, spices, molasses, etc. The Mālsā does not have a thick ring rim but its neck is slightly thicker than the base.

(ii) For storage of water and grain: Large cylindrical or round red or black earthenware vessels are made. They are called Nādā, Māit or Jālā. In Bankura, the cylindrical jar is called Gāch-Bāin (tree-jar) and the round one is called Bāin (large jar).

(iii) Special types of cooking pots for Āsképithā (boiled cake) are also prepared by beating. Tāits (vessels for serving up offerings) come under this group.

(b) Pottery turned on the wheel and partly beaten

Smaller vessels for cooking and other household use, *i.e.*, Hāri for cooking rice, Tijel for cooking vegetables, Kalshi for carrying water from the well or tank, Bhār for storing oil and other liquids, spices, etc., are generally turned partly on the wheel and partly by beating. The upper half is made on the wheel and the lower half is made by beating, and are joined together by skilfully beating with a wooden mallet (Pitné). All pottery of this class, in all varieties of shapes and forms, is mostly in red and occasionally in black. Special Jhājri-hāris with perforated bottoms are prepared to wash rice. The Khuri (earthen glass) is turned entirely on the wheel.

(c) Pottery turned on the wheel with specific uses

Small (Kucho) pottery for Puja and other ceremonial purposes, *viz.*, Delkho (lamp-stand), Pradip (lamp), Ghat (libation-jar), Dhunochi (incense-burner), etc., and other intricate smaller objects, i.e., Kalkey (tobacco-bowl), cruets, hanging bowls, composite bowls, etc., are made at some special centres. This type of pottery is generally painted with red and black geometrical criss-cross designs on white ground. Their sizes are small as their general description Kucho (small) signifies and their forms, often stereo-typed, are nevertheless interesting. Both utilitarian and ritualistic use conventionalised the shapes of such pottery.

[See Plate VI]

Identification of caste

1. Tradition of divine association and origin

It is said that the Kumbhakaras originated from Mahadeva (Siva and not from Viswakarma). Mahadeva wished to marry the goddess Durga and, necessarily, required to be supplied with four Mangala-hāris (Aie-hāri or Chāpui, four pots with turned-down lids). There was no potter to mould them, so from one of the locks of his beard he at once created the first potter; Durga created for him a wife who, when fashioned, appeared exactly like Durga herself. The potter when asked to take away his wife with him, could not tell his wife from the goddess Durga. Then Mahadeva gave him the tip that his wife would not have a ring on her nose or any ornament on her head, while the goddess would have them on her person. This helped the first potter Rudrapal to reclaim his wife. The Rāhri Kumbhakaras, who claim themselves as Rudrapal's descendants, do not use nose rings or any ornaments on the head even now, which are taboo to them.

Mahadeva then rested with his wife for a month after the Charak festival (this is the time when he married Nilobati Durga) in the potter's wheel-room. The Rāhri potters accordingly will never work during this month (Baisakh) of the year, neither will they even touch the wheel. They will resume their work after the month of Baisakh is over, when they have worshipped the wheel on the day of Viswakarma Puja.

The divine association and origin of caste indicate 'discovery' or 'introduction' of a new craft by primitive talent in a remote period when primitive society had recourse to magic which could produce strange things for the benefit of their household operations. Some of the discoveries naturally continued as caste-functions of craftsmen in the form of a sacred function of society and the craft has traditionally continued to execute cult-instruments to invoke boon or long life and 'Mangala' from a god unknown and unapproachable to all but those who have originated and inherited these supernatural powers from him as a birth-right. A potter's work began with the creation of the Mangala-hāris, intimately connected with the magical formula of the Barana and invocation of the souls of departed ancestors, and he is still associated in present Bengali society with the same function.*

*For magical significance of Barana, see *Bangalir Itihas* by Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray. The four Mangala-hāris with their turned-down lids also resemble in shape the 'four' Canopic Jars.

2. Guild Organisation

The sections, sub-sections and house (*Sreni, Thak* and *Ghar*) in which the Kumbhakaras are divided all over Bengal at present, denote no sharp occupational, ritual or ethnical differences. And the methods, the technique, the process also do not 'classify' them into such caste-groups. The Rāhris, the Dakshinis, the Chourashis in their particular Thaks or Ghars participate in the same way as authorised producer and supplier of local religious or household demands. As a matter of fact a tile-maker of Rāhri Sreni enjoys equal status with a Kuchol potter (small earthenware-maker) of the same Rāhri Sreni. The Sreni is, therefore, not so important outside their own caste system, whereas people are interested about the 'centres' or 'Ghars' that produce things of special quality, use and interest.

A Sreni perhaps operated on the 'area' basis formerly, controlled by political authorities. This has now lost its meaning. A Rāhri or a Dakshini Rāhri, a Chourashi or a Mogoya Kumbhakar does not carry any special qualification other than a forgotten geographical source. But as we go down to Thak or House we get close to their specialities that 'locally' distinguish them from each other and formalize their guild-units on craft terms, *e.g.*, a tile-maker (chong-garā-kumor), a pot-maker (hāri-garā-kumor), etc., and broadly:

(1) The Kuchol Potters: Those who produce things of small shapes.

(2) The Hammor Potters: Those who produce large vessels for cattle and for storage. (The word Hammor means the work done with the help of others. We get a colloquial term Hāmmrāi Deā which means to co-operate with others in the work. Kucho is done by single person.)

(3) The Deora Potters who specialise in image-making.

Pottery is one of the most ancient of crafts and is still extensively practised. A particular shape and size catered to a particular demand and devices and shapes were patented as 'Gharowana' by particular families, or Ghars, by guarding the monopoly of the new formula among themselves. Sometimes they were released for sale even as 'terra-sigillata' or with inscribed trade marks. The name stamp of the maker or of the house on arretine potteries we get at Arikamedu on the coast of Bay of Bengal* is of the 1st Century A.D. It is interesting to note that the stamped pottery is still a living tradition in Bengal. We get in the Calcutta market a 'terra-sigillata' from Amta.

*See *Ancient India*, No. 2, July 1946, page 34, and Plate XXIII, A. B. C., published by the Archaeological Survey of India.

Important centres

The important specialized pottery centres are stated below:

	Important specialised centre	Name of the village
1.	Terra-cotta pottery figures (incised and without colour).	Panchmura (J. L. 104, police-station Taldangra, Bankura) Santosh (Tangail, Mymensing).
2.	Terra-cotta pottery figures (decorated with mica colour in geometric basket design).	Kantalia (J. L. 36, police-station Berhampur, Murshidabad) Kulti and Asansol in Burdwan.
3.	Terra-cotta pottery figures (with lacquer coating).	Rajbari (Faridpur). Tarakeswar (J. L. 29, police-station Tarakeswar, Hooghly).
4.	Kucho pottery (small)	Kajbagan-Bakhrahat (J. L. 46, police-station Bishnupur, 24-Parganas). Boral (J. L. 61, police-station Sonarpur, 24-Parganas). Joynagar (town, 24-Parganas).
5.	Basket-mould potteries (large pottery vessels for cattle and storage).	Chhoto Gagan Gohalia (J. L. 26, police-station Bishnupur, 24-Parganas). Dafarpur (J. L. 38, police-station Domjur, Howrah). Sarenga (J. L. 20, police-station Sankrail, Howrah). Pujali (J. L. 42, police-station Budge Budge, 24-Parganas). Durgapur (J. L. 92, police-station Shyampur, Howrah). Sudpur (J. L. 30, police-station Katwa, Burdwan).
6.	Chong (tile for cottage indigenous).	Kotrung (Town).
7.	Household pottery ..	Nabadwip (Town). Barisa-Behala (Town). Mahulara (J. L. 189, police-station Samthia, Birbhum). Magrahat (24-Parganas). Chandernagore (Town). Patihal (J. L. 49, police-station Jagatballavpur, Howrah). Ghatal (Midnapur). Ganfulia (J. L. 41, police-station Katwa, Burdwan). Amaipur (J.L. 113, p.-s. Suri).
8.	Rings for well ..	Baluhati (J. L. 42, police-station Domjur, Howrah).
9.	Reinforced images ..	Kumartully, Calcutta. Katwa town.
10.	Models	Krishnagar (Nadia).
11.	Shells for Musical instruments.	Bondel (Calcutta). Joynagar-Mazilpur (24-Parganas).
12.	Flower pots and tubs	Rabibhag (J. L. 92, police-station Bagnan, Howrah).
13.	Dolls and toys (coloured).	Rajnagar (police-station Rajnagar, Birbhum). Nabadwip town.

Studio Organisation

(a) The wheel room (Chāk Char)

The whole family forms a working team, and except the kitchen room of the house, the whole of the house including the bedroom, verandah, lawn and the wheel room, form either the store or studio of the potter family. Only the kiln is situated a little way from the house but within easy reach. The centre of the wheel is made of wooden cross spokes with a heavy mud rim reinforced with husk and cocoanut fibre on wooden frames. The potter manipulates the wheel by a long bamboo pole which accelerates the motion. The whole thing is embedded in a deep pit in the ground keeping the wheel level flat and aligned with the surface of the ground. All wheel-turned pottery is made in this room, and other parts or objects that are to be produced by beating or by other instruments are done either in the open or in the corners of the wheel room.

(b) Kiln (Pon or Puin)

Two types of kiln are used in Bengal: one is called Gola-Pon, the other is called Kula-Pon. Gola-Pon is round and vertical, Kula-Pon is oblong and slanting and resembles a Kula (winnowing fan) from which its name is derived. These Pons comply with the present needs of potters but change of the material may require alterations in the structure of the Pon.

(c) Firing

Unbaked 'green' wares when dried and ready for firing are arranged methodically one after another in rows, starting from the bottom; rows of dry straw and logs are placed in between which cover the intermediate spaces of tiers of pots. When the arrangement is completed the top is covered with straw and carefully cemented with clay so that no fire or flame can come through. A small ventilator is cut on one of the sides. Firing then starts from the bottom of the Pon with the insertion of burning logs.

(d) Preparation of pottery colours

(i) 'Green' clay wares when burnt change into red but remain coarse. To remove this coarseness, potters paint household pottery, specially the upper portion with an earth-colour found at Ghatal, Chandrakona, Keshpur, etc., on which another coat of 'refined earth' is given at the green stage of the pottery. Then a full firing is given to them in the kiln. The 'refined-earth' colour is prepared by potters themselves. A lump of pure clay is first brought home from the bed of the river, it is then thoroughly mixed with pure water, and strained through a fine mesh. This liquid clay is allowed to settle and the sediment is taken. When washed for several times with pure water the sediment becomes a 'lead-like' substance. When pottery is fired in the kiln with these two combined colour coats, it acquires a deep Indian red.

(ii) Black pottery is made with the help of a smoke-bath. The 'green' wares are fired as usual and thereafter in the same kiln coal lumps are lighted to make a copious smoke and pottery placed in the kiln is carefully and heavily covered with wet ashes so that no smoke can escape in any way. This smoke-bath secures a permanent colour of deep black on the pottery. This black pottery resists salt excellently.

(iii) Small mica sheets are put in the kiln in an earthen pot when firing goes on. Fried mica sheets are pounded and mixed with tamarind-seed-paste; pottery and clay toys are then coated with this paste which gives a glossy white surface of imitation Kaolin.

(e) Preparation of large beaten pottery

For large-sized beaten pottery, clay is mixed with husk and adequately kneaded with water. When the clay is ready the masses of clay are placed on terra-cotta basket moulds and beaten into shape. Hereafter the partly-shaped pot is lifted off the mould, and the neck or ridge, which is separately made, is joined to it by malletting from outside on the support of a stone daber (or anvil) from inside.

(f) Preparation of mould dolls and kuchos

Inside the terra-cotta moulds thin clay sheets are pressed by hand, and parts of the bodies are shaped. Then the various parts (generally the back and the front) are joined together on wet edges. The doll is then trimmed, retouched and finished with indigenous instruments, *i.e., Chearī, Bosua, Neoni,* etc., and finally placed into the kiln. Small objects (kuchos) are also prepared in the same way. Terracotta reliefs on the friezes of typical Bengali curvilinear temples should not be attributed wholly to the Kumbhakaras, though the Chourashi Kumbhakaras of Nadia and Santipur claim themselves to be the builders of local temples. Some of the terracotta reliefs of West Bengal (now at the Ashutosh Museum) were certainly made by the Kumbhakaras, but most of the terra-cotta reliefs that we see in temples of over 200 years of age were mostly made by Sutradharas or architects and woodcarvers. So this particular aspect of the building craft will be discussed in the chapter relating to the Sutradharas.

THE SUTRADHARAS (ARCHITECTS AND ARCHITECTURAL WOOD-CARVERS)

(Distinguished from Karangas)

I

Present occupations

The following form the present occupations of the Sutradharas (Sutra=measuring tape; Dharas=holders; technically means architects) in Bengal.

(1) *Crafts pursued by men*

(a) Cottage architecture, wood carvings, furnitures, boats, commemorative wooden obelisks, wooden caskets, chiselled bowls for cattle and domestic purposes and other agricultural wooden implements;

(b) Ivory work, horn industry, stone sculpture;

(c) Reinforced clay images, etc.

(2) *Subsidiary crafts pursued by men*

Wooden dolls and toys, masks, etc.

(3) *Crafts pursued by women*

Earthen multicoloured dolls and toys (similar to those of Chitrakaras and Kumbhakaras made by mould-casting, etc.).

(4) *Abandoned crafts*

Painting on cloth, paper (scroll or miniature) or wood (book-cover) and on playing cards*, terra-cotta temple building and wooden Ratha or Chariot-making, etc.

General observations regarding caste-crafts

The Four Technical Wings

It is possible to formulate and distinguish the craft-traditions of the Sutradharas from the above list and from a statement given to me by Sri Jiban Krishna Das, a traditional carpenter (Sutradhara), now teacher of the Central Training Institute, Dhamua, 24-Parganas, who belongs to the 'Bardhamana' Thāk of the Sutradharas. Srijut Das's statement solves many important and still unsolved points of the craft history of Bengal; for example, it helps us to identify the maker of the old terra-cotta curvilinear hut type brick temples of Bengal, often wrongly ascribed to potters. He says "we belong to the 'Bardhamana' Thāk of the Sutradharas and we should be distinguished from the Karangas of Raynagar, J. L., 91, P. S. Diamond Harbour. Our caste-crafts are divided into four wings: Kāstha, Pāsān, Mrittikā and Chitra". We can now arrange, according to the material and technique, the crafts they pursue under those heads to bring out clearly their traditional divisions.

Traditional divisions of caste-crafts		Items that may be included in each division
1. Kāstha (wood)	..	Wood-carvings, furniture-making, boat-making, execution of obelisks, wooden caskets and chiselled bowls, agricultural implements, dolls and toys, etc.
2. Pāsān (stone)	..	Stone-carving, horn industry, ivory work, etc.
3. Mrittikā (clay)	..	Terra-cotta temples and decorated friezes, reinforced clay images, earthen dolls and toys, etc.
4. Chitra (painting)	..	Painting on wooden images, walls, book covers, illustrated manuscripts, miniature and scroll paintings, etc.

This division according to the medium of work of the Sutradhara-arts clearly rescues them from the recently introduced narrow identification of them with the Chutor (a corrupt form of Sutradhara) which means a mere carpenter. Their occupations are and were not limited to carpentry alone as many of us generally assume. The term Chutor forbids us to grasp the real scope of their activities. They are really architects by profession. Besides, much of their work in the various mediums now lie unreclaimed in remote villages or have perished. Those who think that a wood-carver cannot be a carver on hard materials like horn, ivory and brick or metal; and to whom this fourfould classification of castecrafts of the Sutradharas appears to be far-fetched, to them I would prefer the following opinion of an undisputed authority. E. B. Havell says "Even now there is very little difference in the tools used in India for decorative purposes by wood, stone; and metal workers, and technical skill acquired in the material could easily be transferred to another. The technique of the Bharhut reliefs suggests that they were the work of skilled wood carvers attempting for the first time to use stone instead of wood". (*Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 93.)

The Mrittikā (clay) branch having done with temple building about a century ago it is natural for people to fail to associate them with this particular branch of art. For example, terra-cotta reliefs on the friezes of the curvilinear temple, that reached the height of excellence and workmanship about 1750 A.D. in the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura, Hooghly, Nadia, Murshidabad and Jessore were mostly executed by the Sutradharas. But it is curious that Rani Rashmani's temple at Dakshineswar established in 1854 (consecrated on 18 Jaistha 1261 B.S., or the 1st week of June 1854, and built at a cost of Rs. 600,000) contains no terra-cotta decorations as the art seemed to have suddenly and rapidly declined after 1750 for reasons which are not

*The last playing card painter of Vishnupur, Bankura, late Satish Fauzdar died a few years ago; his nephew knows the technique but he is not at all a talented artist, and we should not take this craft as a living one.

quite clear. It is possible that the art declined with the sudden and complete disappearance of its traditional patron—the wealthy hereditary landowner—as a result of the land reforms of Clive and Hastings, culminating in the Permanent Settlement of Cornwallis. These reforms wiped out the old wealthy land-owning classes, who had been allies of the Nawabs, and introduced a new class of outrè landlords, who had no roots in the cultural life of the country. What is more, the temples made during the last hundred years have no distinct religious character, all of them being made like square domestic houses in crude imitation of the 'Math' or 'Memorial type. Finally, the unique curvilinear Pancharatna, Navaratna, Jor-Bangla or Bangla type of temples went out as archetypal patterns and today people have forgotten their builders who were the Sutradharas. With the advent of the Mahomedans in Bengal they ceased to build stone temples. Many stone temples were demolished or converted into mosques. (The Tribeni mosque, for instance, was a Hindu temple). Moreover, the classical tradition of stone sculpture received a severe blow from the Mahomedans after the fall of the Senas. Illuminated book covers and illustrated manuscripts also gradually lost favour with the introduction of printed books. And by and large professionally, the Sutradharas were ultimately confined to household carpentry except in some places where they maintained the tradition of painting. For livelihood they had to depend solely on hut and cottage building for the rural and peasant community.

In the remote past the occupation of the Sutradharas was probably the building of wooden and bamboo cottages, as now. But in the intervening centuries they also worked in carved brick, stone and other hard materials for domestic and public monumental architecture. Reinforced (on *Kathamos*) and coloured image-making is also a continuation of earlier wooden or cane work.

To sum up, it may be argued that the Sutradhara (measuring tape holder), originally a builder of wooden and bamboo huts, progressively found himself handling many mediums like clay, stone, wood, and paint, by which he established four traditional wings, which, according to Shri Jiban Krishna Das, were *Kastha*, *Pashan*, *Mrittika*, and *Chitra*.

Sutradharas as cottage architects

Cottage building is the basic architecture in Bengal and has gained a wide reputation for unique beauty, a peculiar curvilinear shape, and structural variety, viz., *Ek-Chālā*, *Do-Chālā*, *Chaw-Chālā* or *Chowri* and Āt-*Chālā*. The cottage archetype was so appreciated by the English in India that they officially accepted it as a type of dwelling for governmental use and the English dictionary coined a new word "Bungalow" from it.

For the evolution of the form and structure the credit must go to the traditional 'measuring-tape-holder' or the Sutradhara. He was the 'planning' authority, the draftsman of the layout of the cottage and its appurtenances. With his tape he marked down the position of the Uttarpota, Dakshinpota, Paschimpota and Purbapota, kitchen and cow-shed, etc. The length and breadth of the Chālās (walls and roofs) and Bhittis (the plinth), the height of pillars and walls, the position of windows and doors, etc., are all laid out according to his measurement and instruction. Labourers work under him as he is the 'Mistry' or 'Baro-Gharami', i.e., the chief architect of the cottage.

The cottage architecture of Bengal falls into two distinct regional types, i.e.,

(1) Houses with curvilinear Motkā (roof)

(2) Houses with flat Motkā (roof).

Surprisingly enough, the Cossye river in Midnapur forms the line of intersection of the two types. Huts of either type, sharply contrasted, can be seen from a train that passes near the Cossye on both sides of the B. N. Railway line. From the Cossye to Birbhum and from the Cossye to the sea coast are the two distinct regions—the former having houses with curvlinear roofs, and the latter having flat roofs. The former type, No. 1, can be called the Burdwan-Birbhum-Kandi type and the latter, No. 2, can be called the Tamluk-Contai type. The two ends of the Motka or roof of the Tamluk-Contai double-storied houses are sometime slightly raised upwards to look like Indonesian or Burmese tiled houses or temples or like the *Pahari* houses of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. But the curvilinear hut is indigenous and trully unique on the soil of Bengal. We do not know anything about the origin of these two types of cottage as the 'cane-bamboo-wood' age that preceded stone or brick architecture does not preserve any record for history, but judging from the features of the present cottage architecture of Bengal we can guess that probably the curvilinear cottage of the Burdwan-Birbhum type evolved from the 'Tongs' still used by the Bediyas or as Havell thinks from boat-roofs (Chhai)*, and the flat roofed cottage evolved from the fisherman's Chābrā. Anyhow both these miniature hutments bear a close resemblance to the fullfledged cottages:

(a) The Tong of Bediyas with a pronounced curve (Rāg)

(b) The Chābrā of the fishermen having straight edges and joins without any curve (Rāg).

This Tong type cottage is to be found in its pure form in Binpur and Sharpur in the Midnapur district and in the interior villages of the Birbhum district where the traditional thatched roof has not been so much modified by modern hotch-potch types. In parts of East Bengal also the Tong type prevails and can be seen in its true form at Tippera. But the coastal districts, part of Midnapur (below the Cossye), and 24-Parganas (below Calcutta), are dominated by the Chābrā type. (Hooghly, Howrah, Nadia, Khulna, Jessore, having

*See Plate II, *The Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*, by E. B. Havell.

sometimes a mixed type). The best example of the Chābrā type can be seen at Demarihat, Nandkumar, etc., in the Tamluk subdivision. The peculiar pigeon house, store house (gola-ghar) kitchen and double-storied dormitory, etc., assume almost geometrical forms and the composition of the whole falls in with a straight linear architecture that reminds us, as I have already remarked, of the *Pahari* school of Nepali architecture, although Tamluk is far away from Nepal and intercepted by the Burdwan-Birbhum curvilinear type in between.* Anyhow this Chābrā type of houses provide an astonishing richness in the particular setting of the flora and fauna, and the geological features of lower Bengal. There is much beauty and much in it to appreciate and borrow from for our modern architecture and town planning.

Concerning the curvilinear cottage it would be best to quote here the opinion of the late G. S. Dutt:

> The beauty of the curved roofs of the cottage architecture of Bengal is well known. It furnished inspiration for certain important architectural features of Mughal architecture and also largely inspired the more modern domestic architecture of Rajputana, where this curved-roof shape is very commonly met indeed. In the villages of western Bengal this cottage architecture itself was carried to a very high degree of perfection in combination with rural paintings on the walls. This cottage architecture is, of course, only found in the thatched cottages, but although mere thatched cottages, these are very substantial in character. The walls are of mud blocks piled one upon the other and plastered over and then painted with rural designs, whilst the architecture and the pillars, as wll as the door frames, are very substantial wooden structures, beautifully carved into all kinds of artistic designs, the motifs being distinctly Bengali in character, without any trace of imitation from outside.
>
> The chief features of interest in connection with this cottage architecture are as follows : (1) the beautiful ceilings made of painted bamboo frame-work inter-twined with beautifully painted slender strips of cane ; (2) the carved wooden posts with their capitals bearing designs in carving in a great variety of patterns ; (3) the exquisite wood sculpture of the cornice brackets and friezes on the architecture and on the door frame.
>
> (P.28 Vol. X, No. 1, 1946, *Indian Art and Letters*, for examples, *see* 1,2,3,4,5,6,7 in Plates I, II, III, IV.)

The Tong type, of course, provides us with material to enable a comparison to be drawn with ancient stone monuments. "The style of the roofs and gables sculptured at Bharhut and Sanchi and painted at Ajanta must have been formed originally on the bamboo construction of Bengal." (P. 126, *Indian Architecture*—Havell.) We find traces of likeness even with the distant Gandhara School of the North Western Frontier in the second century A.D. As stated above thatched houses in Birbhum are decorated with carved wooden pillars and brackets, very skilfully carved and sculptured, the handiwork of Sutradharas. These are widely appreciated not only for their value as part of the architecture of the dwelling but also the decorative value of their designs. Among these sculptures of wooden bracket-figures (now in the G. S. Dutt collection) some bear a surprisingly close resemblance to the stone bracket-figures of the Gandhara school (now at the Indian Museum, Nos. 238, 229, 248, and 249; also *see* P. 115, *A Guide to the Sculptures in Indian Museum*, Part II, by N. G. Mazumdar). The point I wish to make is how skilfully and deftly the Bengali Sutradhara worked highly complicated and formal designs in wood which have their parallels only in stone; for example, 'Women working on the banti' (fish-carving knife used in the kitchen), etc., are very familiar subject of Bengali folk art of Sutradharas.

*To compare Nepali architecture, *see* Plate I, facing page 8 in the *Indian Arts and Letters*, Vol. X, No. I for 1936.

Sutradharas as Terra-cotta Temple Builders

Although wood-carvings of sufficient antiquity do not exist conclusively to demonstrate how carving in wood was transferred to monumental stone in ancient times, it remains undisputable that the Tong type of the curvilinear cottage or wood, bamboo and cane was responsible for the curvilinear brick temple of Bengal. The parallel is too close even now to admit of a doubt. But that it is pertinent to suppose that vernacular wood-carving in cottages and private houses provided ideas and motifs for public and monumental stone is encouraged by no less an authority than E. B. Havell who says in his book *Indian Sculpture and Paintings*: "Obviously the construction of these rails (Bharhut, Sanchi and Amrawati) is borrowed from wooden prototypes; but it is not only in the constructional forms that they give indirect evidence of the ancient crafts of India, which are frequently referred to in the Ramayana and Mahabharata. The whole technique of the sculpture is a curious rendering in stone of the draftsmanship of wood-carvers, metal-workers and painters, and as nothing similar to it is to be found in the sculpture of other countries, it will be interesting to inquire how their peculiar style originated." (P. 90). History was repeated after two thousand years. Designs were transferred from 'wooden prototypes' and the "whole technique of the sculpture was again a curious rendering in brick of the draftsmanship of ivory and wood-carvers, image-makers, and painters in a happy manner". The Bardhamana-Thak brought about a revolution in the history of temple-building in West Bengal in the 17th and 18th centuries. Their experience in cottage building and construction of the wooden Ratha was skilfully utilised in building new types of Bangla, Jor-Bangla, Pancharatna and Nabaratna temples. Friezes were worked out in relief, depicting Ramlila, Krishnalila, Mahabharata scenes, figures of Durga and Dashabataras, etc. These reliefs can well be compared with the earlier work of Sanchi and Bharhut and with Rajput paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries unique for their pictorial quality. It is a matter of regret the Bengali terra-cotta friezes have not for want of discussion and publicity received the recognition and appreciation they so richly deserve.

There was a time when a good number of Sutradharas migrated from Bengal to Mathura (modern Muttra) and still live there (they

probably went with the Vaishnaba followers of Chaitanya). In the towns and cities of Rajasthan, as G. S. Dutt has noted, we can trace the extraordinarily strong influence of the 'Tong' type in the architecture of the later periods. Recent investigation at Bundi and elsewhere in Rajasthan by the present writer revealed that the royal masons of Bundi, Kota, Joypur, etc., still call themselves 'Gauriya'. It is quite probable that in the Mughal period following the destruction of temples and public buildings by the earlier Pathans extensive building was undertaken by importing Gauriya temple builders and architects from Bengal.*

The style and treatment of the terra-cotta reliefs specially of Jessore bear a striking similarity to the ivory works of Ceylon (we should remember that the Sutradharas of Bengal are also ivory carvers) and the rock-cut temples and sculptures of Mahabalipuram† bear an extraordinary likeness to the cottage architecture of Bengal as well as to the grouped reliefs that we find in the temples of Vishnupur (Bankura), Hooghly, Nadia and Baranagar in Murshidabad all superbly executed by the Sutradharas of Bardhamana-Thak for *rahanti* (permanent) use. But towards the end of the eighteenth century, owing to loss in markets, patrons and other reasons, the manifold activities of the Sutradharas began to dwindle and they were reduced only to carpentry and the dignified title of Sutradhara gradually changed into the rather vulgar and contemptuous calling of Chhutors. It is therefore very necessary now to make a proper and correct record of the activities of the four wings of Sutradharas.

[See Plates VIII and IX]

Identification of Caste

The social position of the Sutradhara today in Bengal is not high and his 'Varna' is wrongly being counted as 'Sudra'. But outside this province his colleagues enjoy a much better social position and are known either as a special section of the Bramhana 'Varna' or the Kshatriya 'Varna'. The South Indian "Āchāri" (wood-carver, architect and image maker) claims himself to be a 'Biswa Brahmana', and in Rajasthan the royal mason claims himself a 'Gauriya-Brahmana'.

The Mānasāra Silpa-Sastra mentions the 'Sutragrahi' as the chief assistant of the Sthapati, the chief architect. Probably the caste name 'Sutradhara' was adopted from this 'Sutragrahi' which means an architectural overseer. In identifying this caste we should keep in mind the opinion of Havell who has done much research in the field of Indian architecture. He says in his book *The Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*—"The distinction made in the Mānasāra between the Sthapati and Sudras is one of the many evidences which might be cited to show that skilled craftsmen in ancient and mediaeval India took a much higher social position than that assigned to them in modern times. Literary reference to handicraftsmen as Sudras must be taken to mean unskilled labourers only. The Sthapati, in this case, was the officiating priest, and it is significant that the hereditary caste craftsmen of Southern India, who add 'Āchāri' (religious teacher) to their name, wear the sacred thread and do not employ Brahmans for their religious ceremonies. The Ramayana also states that the craftsmen who carved the sacrificial posts at the Vedic sacrifice were honoured equally with the officiating priests".

It is probable that in the Mahomedan period (or in the late mediaeval period) the Bengali architect along with many other castes including the scribes (Kayasthas) had to give up the sacred thread and call themselves Sudras, perhaps under compulsion. The attempt of the Bangiya Sutradhara Sabha to earn for their community the acknowledgment that they are Visvakarma Brahmanas may therefore receive quite plausible support on an All-India background.

*"The bent cornices and curvilinear roofs of Gour, derived from the bamboo construction of Bengal, are found in many of the buildings of the Mughals and belong to the building tradition of modern Rajputana." (P. 126, *Indian Architecture*, Havell.)

†For example, 'The Durga (Bhima) shrine' of Mahabalipuram; see *The Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India* by E. B. Havell, Fig. B in Plate IX.

Guild Organisation

Much has been written by Sutradharas themselves about their own caste and caste-orders but the discipline of the guild organisation and the caste name itself—Sutradharas—give away their identity far more correctly than anything else. We know the Acharis (Biswa-Brahmanas of South India) are their own priests on religious occasions and do not employ other Brahmanas but in Bengal the Sutradharas employ a special denomination of Brahmins and 'Gurus'. They are Acharyya Brahmanas and Sutradharas do not call in other Brahmanas to preside over their religious functions. These Acharyya Brahmanas are by profession image-makers, scroll painters, etc. (*see* Modern Review for November 1932), and we can easily identify them with the Acharis (Biswa-Brahmanas), the painters, image-makers, and architects of South India. Both of these peoples belong to the Brahmana Varna.

The guild organisation of architects in ancient and mediaeval India as described in the Manasara Silpa-Sastra can be cited and compared with the present caste system of the Sutradharas and their spiritual relation with the Acharyya Brahmanas. "Manasara Silpa-Sastra anticipating Vitruvius, first insisted upon the high intellectual and moral culture necessary for a master-builder (sthapati). He should be conversant with all the sciences; always attentive to his work; of an unblemished character, generous, sincere and devoid of enmity or jealousy. His *first assistant* who might be his *son or an apprentice*, was the surveyor or the *Sutragrahi* who must be particularly skilled in mathematics and obedient to his master. The next was the Vardhaci, or joiner, dexterous in joining wood and in combining other constructional materials with it.* He should be of a calm disposition and acquainted with drawing and perspective". (*See* page 7, *Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture,* by Mr. E. B. Havell.)

This Fifth Century Silpa-Sastra expounds the real nature of the Sthapati-group of craftsmen and we can identify the Acharies, Acharyyas, Sutradharas in the following way:

1. Sthapati = Master-builder or Chief Architect = Achari or Acharyya, Biswa-Brahmanas of South India or Acharyya Brahmanas of Bengal.

2. Sutragrahi = First assistant or son of the master-builder (Sthapati); = Surveyor = Sutradhara (of Bengal).

It will be seen that the technical designations of the craft-workers such as the 'chief' and his 'first assistant' and 'second assistant', etc., which do not exist as a separate 'caste-form' in South India, exist in Bengal in two different caste-forms, viz., the Acharyyas and the Sutradharas. Originally intended to distinguish design and execution the two terms ossified into the two rigid 'classes' and the 'overseer' or the son of the father, formed his own caste-guild or organisation under the modified name Sutradhara instead of the old Sutragrahi. Naturally we find now the old Acharyyas as their officiating priests and religious instructors, who originally had been their chiefs, gurus, colleagues, guides and Acharyyas (head of the order). No other Brahmana can be called in to perform their religious rights as none except Acharyya Brahmans belong to their own professional line or clan.

The role of the Acharyyas or Acharis and their relation with their 'first assistants', i.e., the Sutragrahis or Sutradharas definitely indicates an old form of guild organisation that existed in India. At present we only hear of their Kastha-Pasan-Mrittika-Chitra wings but even these do not function properly, and the guild organisations are disintegrating faster than ever.

The material or medium does not distinguish the families or Thaks as indeed it *cannot,* because the only classification that prevailed a few centuries ago was a practical one, relating to workshop management. Members of a family chose their own particular material to work upon according to their aptitude and disposition or alternatively with other materials. There are only two Thaks in West Bengal based on geographical distribution, viz. (1) The Bardhamana Thak which includes Bankura, Burdwan, Birbhum and Murshidabad and (2) the Astakula Thak which includes Midnapur (south of the Cossye river), 24-Parganas, Howrah, Hooghly and part of Nadia. There are two more Thaks in East Pakistan, viz. The *Brahmajajnia* (Raj Hansha) Thak which includes Jessore, Khulna and part of Nadia, etc., and the *Purbabangiya* Thak which includes Northern Bengal, Assam and East Bengal, etc. The different artistic schools can be demarcated accurately according to these geographical limits, of Thaks. But the art of the Sutradharas has yet to be properly studied to appreciate the distinctions and the regional characteristics of their production. From the specimens hitherto collected in museums and private collections, one can distinguish an example of Faridpur wood-carving from another collected from Birbhum; a terra-cotta plaque of Burdwan or Hooghly can be easily distinguished from a terra-cotta plaque collected from Jessore. These regional characteristics exhibit the merits of craftsmen of different Thaks in an unmistakable manner.

*Are the Vāddās of East Bengal (now half-Mahamadan and half-Hindu) who exhibit Gazir patas, that are supplied to them by the Acharyyas, originally belonged to this Vardhaci group?

Important Centres

The following are the important village centres of Sutradharas in Bengal:

Burdwan

- Karajgram (J.L. No. 37, P.S. Katwa), famous for richly-carved wooden pillars and ceiling beams all over the village.
- Ganfulia (J.L. No. 41, P.S. Katwa), famous for richly-carved wooden pillars and ceiling beams all over the village.
- Haripur (J.L. No. 113, P.S. Mangalkot), famous for richly-carved wooden pillars and ceiling beams all over the village.
- Birkulti (J.L. No. 15, P.S. Jamuria)
- Dainhat (J.L. No. 90, P.S Katwa)
- Kasthasali (J.L. No. 78, P.S. Purbasthali)
- Mertala (J L. No. 33, P S Purbasthali)
- Patuli (J.L. No. 17, P.S. Purbasthali)
- Nalıapur (J.L. No. 114, P.S. Ketugram)
- Nabagram (J.L. No. 16, P.S Jamalpur)
- Nutangram (J L. No. 125, P S. Katwa)
- Kalna (Town)
- Katwa (Town)
- Gorapara-Banagram (in J.L. No. 39 Bandmura, P.S. Katwa)

Bankura

- Vishnupur (Town)
- Bankura (Town)

Howrah

- Thalıa (J.L. No. 110, P.S. Amta)

Hooghly

- Serampur (Town)
- Chandernagore (Town)
- Masat (J.L. No. 16, P.S. Chanditala)
- Ilipur (J.L. No. 131, P.S. Harıpal)

Nadia:

- Nabadwip (Town)
- Ranaghat (Town)
- Krishnagar (Town)
- Santıpur (Town)

Calcutta:

- Champatala
- Entally (Ananda Palıt Lane)

Murshidabad.

- Khagra (Town)
- Beldanga (J.L. No. 51, P.S. Beldanga)
- Jiaganj (Town)

24-Parganas:

- Bhatpara (Town)
- Kanchrapara (Town)
- Hatuganja (J L. No. 114, P.S. Magrahat).

Midnapur:

- Gupiganj (Steamer Station on the bank of the Rupnarayan, P.S. Daspur)
- Kolaghat (Kola, J.L. No. 287, P.S. Panskura)
- Narajole (J.L. No. 17, P.S. Daspur)
- Daspur (J.L. No. 60, P.S. Daspur)

Birbhum:

- Majgram (J.L. No. 72, P.S. Dubrajpur)
- Rajnagar (J.L. No. 38, P.S. Rajnagar)
- Khayradihi (J.L. No. 50, P.S. Rajnagar)
- Tantipara (J.L. No. 51, P S. Rajnagar)
- Dubrajpur (J.L. No. 137, P.S. Dubrajpur)
- Kota-Sirsha (J.L. No. 158, P.S. Dubrajpur and J.L. No. 56, P.S. Illambazar). There is a beautiful *Natmandır* in this village.
- Koridhya (J.L. No. 106, P.S. Suri)
- Poro-Gopalpur (J.L. No. 6, P.S. Khayrasol)
- Sonj (J.L. No. 66, P.S. Maureswar)
- Brojergram (J.L. No. 104, P.S. Suri)
- Kalipore (J.L. No. 105, P.S. Suri)

Subjects and characteristics of terra-cotta temples

The *ratna* temple on the top of which are four convex curvatures at the corner of four walls, simulating the 'Chainches' or 'Chouchala' thatched cottages, their walls ornamented with miniature reliefs from the legends of Rama, Krishna and Dasavatara on the outer walls, with superimposed animal forms at the four corners and a narrow verandah with a plinth are the typical terra-cotta Ratna-type temples approximately made between 1600 and 1800 A.D. They originated "exclusively in the Bengali speaking area". There are also other 'A' and 'M' shaped cottage type 'Bangla' and 'Jor-Bangla' temples. Interested readers will obtain detailed descriptions of this type of temples in two well written articles, one by M. M. Chakravorty, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, May, 1909, and the other by G. S. Dutt, published in the *J.I.S.O.A.*, vol. VI, 1938.

The arrangement of the reliefs and ornaments on the temple walls can be discussed here; while the display of the reliefs is ancient, the type of the temple belongs as we know to recent periods. Reliefs are arranged on the walls in a manner similar to that of pictures juxtaposed in horizontal scroll paintings found in South India, particularly in the Andhra Desh. The figure of the main deity (Durga, Rama or Krishna) is shown boldly and in large characters, fighting or killing the demon or the Rakshasa, and is placed prominently in the centre of the front wall just above the middle door-entrance, but all other figure-groups of the story are executed in smaller size in panels running horizontally on both sides of the main and enlarged vertical figure and each panel is enclosed in two horizontal intersecting lines. Such a disposition of panels reminds us of an Egyptian system of wall painting and relief; the classical temples and temple-sculptures of India very rarely demonstrate such a system. This is actually an old 'pictorial' story-telling system that was in vogue in ancient Bengal (definitely also in South India). The Acharyyas, the Chitrakaras, and the Sutradharas all use more or less this method in drafting their scrolls and again we see an interesting document of this style in a stone of the Sena period, depicting the marriage of Siva (Kalyana-Sundaram-Murthi) now at the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.

Subjects and skill of wooden Rathas and Carvings

Bengali wooden Rathas are of two types: (1) The first is a replica in wood of the ratna temple mounted on wheels and (2) the 'step-pyramid' type. Both of them are ornamented with panels carved in relief and also in the round depicting mainly legends from the life of Lord Krishna, as the Chariot festival is connected exclusively with the Krishna cult.

The design of the former type was probably copied from terra-cotta temples (or was it the other way round) or both evolved from the Sinhasana (royal throne) or indigenous cottage architecture; but the latter type is probably a continuation of the traditional war chariot or was evolved from the memorial altar. (Designs of such memorial altars occur in the sacerdotal cloths of Bengal,—*see* Journal of Indian Art, September, 1886.) The 'steps' of the roof from the four sides successively rise upwards each smaller than the one below. These steps are often decorated with coloured figures of Gopis, Rakhals and other companions of the Lord Krishna.

The wooden doorframes, lintels and brackets of Siva temples are carved with legends and the life of Siva and Durga and also with Dasabataras. (For examples of these types of work, *see* Figures 1 and 2 in the plate V, facing page 30 in the Vol. I, 1937, The Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.) As far as possible a list of the subjects of the wood carvings found in Bengal are given below:—

Subjects of wood carvings

There is a considerable variety of subjects executed by Sutradharas on wooden Rathas, Religious Thrones, Temple Doors, and on wooden structure of cottages, etc. Some of the important subjects are mentioned here: (1) *Religious subjects*: Scenes from the life and legends of Rama, Krishna and Siva (the marriage of Siva, etc.), Durga (often fighting with the Asura), Kali, Saraswati, Lakshmi, Ganesha, Makara, Garura, etc. (2) *Social scenes*: Dancing girls, woman with pitcher, mother and child, barber toileting a bald head, barber shaving a bald Pandit and the barber's wife painting the Pandit's wife's foot with *alta*, ascetics in various poses, court scenes, hunting scene, erotic figures, etc. (3) *Miscellaneous designs and decorations*: Various ornamental designs, superimposed animal and human figures, liogryphs, griffins, *kirtimukhas*, phoenixes, Bengali boats and European type ships, etc.

These subjects are also the common property of terra-cotta brick temples made by the Sutradharas.

[See Plate VIII]

Paintings

(*a*) *Playing Cards* (*Tāsh*)—Mahamahopaddhyya Haraprasad Sastri discovered two sets of indigenous circular playing cards in Vishnupur, Bankura, and discussed them in the meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. His notes on them were published in the Journal of the Society, Vol. 64, Part I, 1895, page 284 and in Society's Proceedings, 1896, p. 2. Further investigation with regard to these cards was done by the Ashutosh Museum, University of Calcutta, in the year 1937 and it was found that these circular cards are manufactured by a few Sutradhara families of Vishnupur. They are descended from the Royal Court artisans of Vishnupur Raj, holding the honorary hereditary title of 'Fauzdar' The bigger pack of *tāsh* containing 120 cards is known as 'Dasavatara' Tāsh, and the smaller set (the second pack of Mahamahopaddhyya Sastri) containing 48 cards is called 'Nakshā Tāsh. (For the rules of the game *see* abovementioned articles by Mahamahopaddhyya Sastri.) The Mahamahopaddhyya thought that these cards originated sometime in the Pala period. We now know that similar cards are manufactured in centres outside Bengal and the tradition of card games as a whole is as old as chess.

Playing cards are prepared as follows:

Old pieces of cloth are glued together with boiled liquid *shirish* gum one to the other to the required thickness and then cut into round pieces. A few white coats are given on the whole surface to prepare the ground for the pictures. The artist drafts the design with red *alta* and the blocks and spaces are filled with different tints. The most difficult but interesting part of the work is the application of the coat of lacquer over the painted cards. They have one or two special instruments for the work. Resin-lac (chānch gālā) is liquefied by heat and then quickly spread all over the painting by rolling and pulling it with a strip of banana leaf. This gives the card strength and preserves the painting permanently.

For textile printing and printing of wall papers these cards can give new outlook to the artists who are desirous of creating new designs based on traditional forms and motifs. A grammar of Bengali ornamental art is displayed on them which needs close study and examination. On each different colour-plate colour-composition is shown with greatest surity acquired from age-old experience which will help modern craftsman-designer, no doubt, to go ahead under the guidance of a sure document.

[See Plate II]

(*b*) *Illuminated book covers and other paintings*—Illuminated book covers of palm leaves and handmade paper manuscripts used to be prepared and drawn by Sutradharas. They used to paint miniature paintings, scrolls to be exhibited by Sanakar Mals, etc., and illustrate the manuscripts. Their rival in this field were the Chitrakaras and Jādu-Patuās. (Two very interesting illuminated book covers done by Jādu-Patuās are available in a Vaishnava house at Sarpur, police-station Binpur.) The tradition of book illustration in Bengal is very old but it received a new impetus from the Vaishnava cult. Many books on Vaishnava subjects, Padabalis, etc., were written by Vaishnavas which were copied from time to time and kept in Vaishnava houses. People liked them to be illustrated or illuminated with paintings. Specimens of 17th and 18th century illuminated book-covers have now been collected by many collectors and a good number of them can be seen in the University Museum of Calcutta. The illuminated book covers made by Sutradharas are different in style from those made by Chitrakaras. Even a scroll painting made by a Sutradhara differs from one by a Chitrakara.

The 'cubistic' miniature paintings recovered by the late G. S. Dutt from the Sutradharas of Mertala and collected by the present writer for the Asutosh Museum from the last 'painter-Sutradhara' of Kasthasali (police-station Purbasthali, district Burdwan), exhibit a curious 'cubistic' style of painting. It is an interesting achievement of Bengali rural artists of the Bardhamana Thak of Sutradharas.

Much has been written on the different school of Rajput painting but unfortunately very little readable matter has yet been published on the illuminated book covers of Bengal. There is certainly much excellence in this indigenous tradition of Bengal. These illuminations are not to be despised as 'decadent' classical art but must be taken as examples of traditional art springing from the soul of a people who wanted to record the stories (*charitas*), songs (*padabalis*) and praises (hymns) of their beloved human god in paintings. They represent a distinct and articulate Vaishnava School of Painting in Eastern India.

Ivory and stone carvings

There are two centres in West Bengal where ivory carving is undertaken by Bhaskaras (Pashana branch of the Sutradharas): one at Murshidabad and the other at Vishnupur-Bankura. The tradition at the Vishnupur centre is now almost dead but that at Murshidabad is still alive. According to T. N. Mukherjee, the Murshidabad manufactures are perhaps the best in India fully displaying in them the finish, minuteness and the genuine characteristics of all true Indian Art. They are remarkable also considering the few, simple and rough tools with which they are made. (Modern Review for November 1949, p. 383.) A very formalised statuette of St. Mary made by a Sutradhara at Murshidabad was exhibited at the exhibition of the Indian Institute of Art in Industry, Calcutta, this year (March 1952) which was highly appreciated. But "want of support and appreciation (from the general public) is striking a death knell to this important art of Murshidabad". The subjects of the ivory carvings are Durga, Kali, Siva, etc., and scenes from royal processions of elephant or boats (*mayurapankhi nauka*), etc. This group of Bhaskaras of Murshidabad are intimately connected with the Dainhat group.

Metal casting is undertaken by Sutradharas but it has now become an almost dead art. Production is crude and vulgar. At Dainhat they still produce the folk type of Bala Gopala, Kali, Krishna (playing flute in *tribhanga* pose), etc., in stone. Many of them have come to Calcutta and work in the different workshops of Chitpur, Calcutta.

[See Plate VIII]

Dolls and Toys

Wooden colourned dolls and toys are made by Sutradharas all over Bengal. Details with illustrations of the various types of dolls made by Sutradharas were published by G. S. Dutt which appeared in the July (1938) issue of the Journal of Arts and Crafts, Calcutta. A peculiarly shaped wooden doll known as *Kalighater putul* is never made at Kalighat but is imported from Katwa and other places of Burdwan. This type and other varieties of wooden dolls are specially prepared by the Bardhamana Thak. Wheeled elephants and horses sometimes two feet high, are made in East Bengal (Comilla, Faridpur). On the freshly carved wooden surface of the dolls a coat of whiting is first given and then the painting is done by fine brush work all over. The shapes, forms, drapery, colour scheme, etc., of East Bengal dolls differ entirely from those made in West Bengal.

[See Plate IX]

Chiselled wooden bowls

Wooden bowls are chiselled from mango and jack wood. The main and important centres were the villages of Dacca. After the partition of Bengal many carvers have migrated into Kalna and Nabadwip. These bowls are made in various sizes but one single shape prevails which never changes. The entire bowl is carved out of a single block of wood with chisel and axe (*bāis*) after which it is given a 'smoke-bath' of straw and husk. This smoke-bath imparts durability to the bowl and protects it from whiteants.

At Dubrajpur in the district of Birbhum and at Bankura town wooden bowls are made and also ornamented with brass decorations.

[See Plate IX]

I am indebted to Shri Ashutosh Dey, Secretary, Bangiya Sutradhar Sabha, and Pandit Amulya Charan Sastrabhusan, Mahopadeshak, All-India Viswakarma Brahmin Mahasabha, for kindly supplying me many valuable information regarding the caste and caste-crafts of the Sutradharas of Bengal.

THE METAL GROUP

We have so far discussed the three major crafts, viz., painting and Chitrakaras, modelling (including pottery) and Kumbhakāras and architecture and Sutradharas. The metal crafts of Bengal are in the hands of three sections of the nine-caste-guilds who believe they have descended from the god Viswakarma. The following are the names of the castes and their caste-crafts:

1. Ironsmiths, (blacksmiths, agricultural and domestic), Karmakāras.
2. Gold and Silversmiths (gold and silver), Swarnakāras.
3. Brass and bellmetal workers (household utensils), Kāngsakāras.

The castes and caste-crafts of the 'metal group' are discussed in this chapter. But in describing these crafts, I have emphasized the aesthetic values of the forms and motifs rather than the technical details of the processes. The simple, unembellished but convincing shapes of our metal ware and implements often escape the attention of art connoisseurs. Outwardly very 'simple and plain' they have characteristic forms and are in harmony with their surroundings. They have great functional value. These simple but beautiful metal utensils are all of a piece with the habitual simplicity of the clean inhabitants of typical, clean thatched cottages of Bengal. This aspect of metal work can be well appreciated in a two-anna worth iron *khunti* which is shaped like a flower. Its bare shape abstracted from a flower is as pleasing as it is useful. The rounded upper edge exactly fits into the round-bottomed *karāi* (cooking pan) and can touch and turn the smallest thing that is cooking in it. The design of a combined *bati-khunti* (paring knife and scraper) is taken from the form of a peacock! Beauty is combined here with utility with great success and economy which is the ultimate aim of all the functional arts in the world.

I. THE KARMAKARAS (Ironsmiths)

'Karmakāra' is a 'created Sanskrit form' of the Bengali 'Kāmār'. Like the Ratha-'Kāra' (maker of Ratha) or Mālā-'Kāra' (maker of Mālā) we cannot explain this word as Karma-'Kāra' by which it becomes a tautology, the maker of 'Karma' which literally means the maker of 'work'. It does not mean any definite thing nor does it identify the caste-craftsmen with any particular craft. The meaning probably lies in its Bengali (desaja) variation 'Kāmār'. It might mean 'keeper of the workshop'. There is a current double barrelled word, 'Khet-Khāmār', which distinguishes Khet (agricultural field) from Khamar (storehouse or granary). The 'Khamar' might also mean a workshop, a place where industrial work is done, particularly in connection with this craft, where iron ores are collected and stored for smelting and extracting pure iron, or for running a smithy.

Dr. Niharranjan Roy writes in his Bāngālir Itihās that the world Karmakara is probably derived from the Dravidian 'Kormār'. But I would like to stick to my own explanation because in Telegu potters are also called 'Kāmāri'. There are many villages or suburbs of towns in Bengal named as Khamarpara or Khamargachi where artisans, mainly smiths of all description, live and work and it seems this word was used in the wider sense for factory and factory-workers.

Present occupation

The following form the present occupations of the 'Karmakaras' of West Bengal:—Manufacture of (1) agricultural implements, (2) domestic utensils, (3) weapons, industrial tools and instruments, and various kinds of fishery equipments (kāntā, borshi, kāthi), and (4) the performance of certain religious duties. The position of the Karmakaras in traditional religion is a special one. They are the authorised slaughterers of sacrificial animals and executors of wooden obelisks (memorial poles), one of the important items of the Āddya (original) Srādh (libations to the dead) ceremony.

General observations

Their occupations often corroborate or overlap the hereditary occupations of the Kangsakāras (bellmetal workers) and Swarnakāras (goldsmiths). These three groups are the 'metal workers' among the nine-caste-guilds and as ancient metal workers they were originally 'one' and the 'sreni' divisions might have come afterwards with the discovery and use of new metals and with their classified hereditary specialisations. The only difficulty arises when we see the Karmakāras professionally encroaching upon the reserve of the Sutradharas, when they execute wooden obelisks, the memorial poles, necessary for the Addya Sradh ceremony, and when their presence is required at the time of such occasions to co-operate in the rituals with the Āchāryas and to receive Dāna with the Dānagrāhi (Agradāni, Mahāpurohit or Mahā-Brāhmana and other) *patit* (degraded) Brahmanas. But he does only this particular work—making wooden obelisks—in wood and does not take to other forms of carpentry. So we can imagine that probably there was a custom of erecting memorial metal obelisks in the remote past. We must remember that iron pillars or obelisks were prepared in India as late as the 4th century A.D.

(Delhi pillar) though not for the same purpose nor in the same form.

It really is a matter of anthropological inquiry if in any other part of India such memorial obelisks are made and used in connection with Addya-Sradh. The obelisk is 6′ to 7′ long, a tall, four sided, tapering pillar, usually of a single block of wood, finishing at the top with a 'Churā-Mandir'. It is curved in four sections; in the lower half, the erect portrait of the dead man or woman is carved in the round. In the upper half, just above the head of the portrait comes a seated figure of Mahadeva, the great god, with his Vahana the Bull (sometimes a lingam is also carved); next, above them, comes the twin figure of Krishna and Rādhā, and at the very top, Churā-Mandir or temple with a Chakra on the pinacle. These obelisks are carved in wood by Karmakāras but are painted and finally finished by Chitrakaras for use. This obtains in West Bengal; in East Bengal the obelisks are made and painted generally by Sutradharas.

[See Plate IX]

Apart from making obelisks in Sradh ceremonies they perform sacrificial slaughters of goats, buffaloes, etc., (*bali*). Naturally, as metal workers, and possibly, as discoverers of metal weapons, they qualified in ancient Bengali society for such auspicious duties. The sacrificial *khāḍā* or Rām-dā (an axe or chopper fashioned in the form of a sharp and heavy blade) is manufactured by Karmakāras and thus to them has also gone the duty of performing the sacrificial slaughter. It should be mentioned here that the form of this traditional Bengali Rām-dā is surprisingly similar to the large knife used in the ritual dances of North African tribes.

Studio and guild organisations

Women never take part in the work, it is entirely a man's job. In every house there is a Hāpour-sālā (the hearth) where the bellows and anvil are installed. It is very interesting to note how our craft terminologies originated. The place where the fire shoots out of the dark coal and the flames take *'hāp'* (breath) outside, through the pressure of the bellows (*jātā*) is called Hāpour.*

At this hāpour-sālā, a 'hundred and eleven' items of articles are manufactured by our smiths. I shall mention only a few to convey an idea of the peculiar and unique shapes of Bengali iron-crafts. The illustrations only insufficiently suggest the nature and the beauty of those typical Bengali forms.

Agricultural implements

Falā (tip of ploughshare), 25 kinds of kāste (Sickle with serrated edge) kodāl (spade), khontā (shovel), dā (chopper), gāch-kātā-da (toddy taping knife), kurol or kurul (axe), bāsh (flat axe), etc.

*In a similar sense, in the flower nursery, the buds take their first breath (*hap*) when they shoot out from the seed underground. This moment in the bud's life is called 'hapour'. (*See Banglar Sabji* by Amarnath Ray, page 43, published from the Globe Nursery, Calcutta.)

Domestic utensils

Banti (fishknife or vegetable knife), bāuli or beri (wide circular pliars), hātā (spoon), khunti (flat spoon), sārāshi (hand pliars), karāi (cooking pot), tāwā or chātu (flat pan), zāti (betel nut paring knife), chhuri and chāku (knife), khur (razor), rām-dā (sacrificial blade), khāḍā (large sacrificial blade), etc.

[See Plate X]

In the beginning of the century E.R. Watson published his comprehensive report on iron and steel manufactures in Bengal. I am concerned here with the beauty and variety of shapes of domestic and agricultural implements made by Karmakāras. These designs tell us a very long and interesting story. The harvesting knife is of 25 kinds each with a different shape and type of use. Gāch-kātā-dā (which Mr. Watson unfortunately omitted from his report) used specially for paring the upper fibre of the palm tree (preparatory to tapping) is a unique contribution of Karmakāras. It is interesting to note that many of these forms and shapes of iron implements and utensils are ancient as we see them in Ālpanā decorations. For example, the hātā, bāuli or beri, etc., is not only drawn in Ālpanā exactly in similar forms and shapes to those produced by smiths but are also connected with *mantras* such as: hātā, hātā, hātā, khā Satiner māthā! (Spoon, spoon, spoon, gobble up the head of my husband's second wife) or beri, beri, beri, Satin beti cheri! (Pliars, pliars, pliars, the second wife of my husband is my maidservant), and so on. So the forms and shapes of these iron implements are as old as Ālpanā. Many shapes in iron implements were directly imitated from neoliths of Bengal.

But nature influenced ironcrafts much more seriously than anything else. I have mentioned two examples to start with and here is one more. The form of the *kājal-latā* (the kajal or eye paste stem) is copied from a "stem with flower". The forms of various dās, kāchis (scissors) or knives are taken from leaves, large seeds, and even from insects. The design of the sacrificial khāḍā was copied from the long curved *aparājitā* seed. Mock sacrifices of Dom and Domni in connection with the *Sejuti Brata* are achieved with seeds which resemble in shape the real khāḍās.*

Smiths in other provinces of Northern India are known as Lohār (those who work with iron). Bengali Karmakāras used to extract iron from the raw ore, which has now been abandoned. Karmakāras now work with ready-made iron blocks

*It is noticeable that though the sources of iron were and still are in or near the districts of Midnapur, Birbhum, Bankura and Burdwan, the finished products of those districts are rough and coarse and their shapes are more akin to the primitive microliths and we can group them as the 'flint' type but as we come lower down the delta the finished products of Hooghly, 24-Parganas, Murshidabad, Barisal and Jessore, where metals of all kinds are always imported, are surprisingly well finished and decorated and are of higher quality and their shapes are imitated mostly from nature, which can be grouped as the 'metal' type.

purchased from the market. A distinction is indicated between a digger and a smith. In many countries slaves were employed to work in quarries, and in Bengal, on the high western tracts, aboriginals like Kols, Sāntāls, etc., were probably employed in such quarries under proper guidance.

Iron smelting, preparation of steel and manufacture of iron implements were entrusted to Karmakāras in the past. But those who worked in mines and those who manufactured iron goods were altogether different. At present Karmakāras are divided into four Thaks: (1) Anorpur (in 24-Parganas and in the coastal area), (2) Bardhamāna (exactly corresponds with the present distribution of the Bardhamāna Sutradharas), (3) Māgurā (Jessore, exactly corresponding with the present distribution of the Rājhamsha Thāk of Sutradharas) and (4) the Rānā-Karmakāras, who think that they had some association with the city of 'Ranaghat' named after them (situated in the district of Nadia).* These Rānās are mainly goldsmiths. Thāks depending mainly on ironsmithing inter-marry, but exclude the Rānās (gold worker). But the Karmakāras of Kāmārpārā (Burdwan), Susuniā and Vishnupur (Bankura) and the big centres situated on the western fringes of Bengal, frequently work on metal other than iron, gold and silver, and do not have any marriage restrictions on that account among themselves. In this one finds an echo of the Kāngsakāras, the hereditary metal 'crockery makers' (cast and hammered in brass, copper and other alloyed metals). Is the 'gold' here a disqualification for the status of a blacksmith or is the Rānā-Karmakāra an offshoot of the Sutradharas, whose title of Rānā (a royal title) is well-known and who in recent years have taken to jewellery work also (Chāpātolla, Calcutta)?

So the Karmakāras as we can see are trespassing partly into the domain of Swarnakāras, Kangsakāras and Sutradharas. All these bring into relief a past forgotten age in which all the branches of the nine-caste-guilds were organised in one nest (nārā), at a period when the nine 'eggs' were placed in that big 'nārā' and were 'hatched by a common mother, namely the Āchārya-group (the guiding force). The initiation of a Sisya (student) by a Guru (teacher) is still performed throughout India by constructing a symbolical straw nest and the Guru, by certain magical performances (Nārā-Bāndhā), officially admits the student into it as one of his nest-mates.

*Watson gathered information from the district report of Khulna that the blacksmiths were divided there into four sections, *i.e.*, Jassury, Chāglāi, Saptagāin and Mamdobeday (*A Monograph of Iron and Steel work in Bengal,* page 28). These names actually are of some city guilds, who for military (manufacture of arms and ammunitions) importance were brought to Khulna by Sitaram, Pratapaditya or other Jagirdars. These divisions do not signify 'sreni' or 'thāk' but probably indicate Samaj names. In recent years Sāmājik names also have been adopted as thāk names. It is evident from my statement that the thāk names of Karmakāras roughly coincide with those of Sutradharas. So I think that the thāk names of Karmakāras given above are correct. They were received from an old man of Thākurpukur, 24-Parganas, Sri Tārāpada Karmakār. Mention of Saptagrāmias, one of the sections, shows that the Khulna report lumped the bellmetal workers with the iron workers.

Important centres

1	Rām-Dā or Khāḍā ..	Ujirpur (Barisal) now in Kalna (town).
2	Rām-Dā or Khāḍā ..	Kotalipara (Faridpur).
3	Knife and razor ..	Kanchannagar (J. L. 26, police-station Burdwan). Nabadwip (town) in Nadia.
4	Jewellery (also smithy)	Bonpas-Kamarpara (J. L. 21, police-station Bhatar, district Burdwan).
5	Scale, nikti, etc. ..	Narkeldanga, Calcutta.
6	Decorative utensils ..	Dhulian (in Samserganj town, Murshidabad). Tarakeswar (J. L. 29, police-station Tarakeswar, Hooghly).
7	Agricultural and domestic utensils	Jangipur (town), Murshidabad. Berugram (J. L. 14, police-station Ketugram, Burdwan). Rajur (J. L. 41, police-station Ketugram, Burdwan). Komarpara (J. L. 37, police-station Ketugram, Burdwan). Katwa (town), Burdwan. Merudandi (J. L. 111, police-station Basirhat, 24-Parganas). Rajnagar (J. L. 33, police-station Basirhat, 24-Parganas). Itinda (J. L. 121, police-station Basirhat, 24-Parganas).
8	Agricultural implements	Raipur (J. L. 139, police-station Raipur, Bankura). Ghutgarya (J. L. 24, police-station Barjora, Bankura). Hat-Asuria (J. L. 78, police-station Barjora, Bankura).
9	Miscellaneous ..	Ratanpur (J. L. 33, police-station Onda, Bankura). Keshabpur (J. L. 23, police-station Domjur, Howrah). Ghatal (town), Midnapur. Thakurpukur (Behala). Bhangar (J. L. 89, police-station Bhangar, 24-Parganas).
10	Saw for conch-shell ..	Village Dinanathpur (in Mouza Gopalpur J. L. 46, police-station Ausgram, Burdwan).
11	Wooden dolls and obelisks	Jaynagar-Mazilpur (town), 24-Parganas.

Methods

The accessories of the 'recognised' Karmakāras differ from the Kāikuyā Māls, 'Lohārs' and other metal workers. Mainly the bellows of the Karmakāras are more scientific, huge but easily workable. On the other hand, the bellows of the Mālā-group are primitive and manipulated by the pressures of the body. Various grades of temper are still (in some places) known to the Karmakāras, application of which is skilfully done with rain water stored for that purpose in the month of Bhadra of the rainy season.

The only method used for execution of agricultural implements and domestic utensils is by hammering on wrought iron; even the engraving is done by hammering over the bullies. The hundred-year old 'Ratha of Bankāti' (Burdwan) was made by a Karmakāra and is a unique example of hammered engraving. It shows that the art of engraving among Karmakāras was very much alive a hundred years ago. The brass Ratha of Behala is more than fifty years old but its engravings are very weak and unconvincing.

II. THE SWARNAKARAS (Goldsmiths)

Gold has a special meaning for Bengal and Bengalis, more than what it means to others. A special significance lies in the name of the country, Bāngālā and in the name of the race or nation 'Bāngāli'. Near about the Kolar goldfields and in other parts of Telengana there are a number of villages called Bāngālā. For example, the city of Bangalore is a European corruption of Bāngālā-uru (means 'city of gold' in Telegu). There are Bāngārā-palli (means 'village of gold' in Telegu) and Bāngānā-palli (small State now merged in India), etc. In Bengal itself there is a river still known as Bāngārā (correct Telegu form of Bāngālā) in the district of Khulna (*see* the large Geological Map of India, Fifth Edition, 1931, published by the Geological Survey of India). In Telegu Bāngārā or Bāngālā means 'gold'; in Rajasthan, women use a particular type of gold bangle known as 'Bāngri'; even in English this word travelled at some remote time as 'Bangle' to mean a ring [originally a gold one?]. In his Bāngālir Itihāsh (last chapter) Niharranjan Roy has pointed out the commercial and mineral importance of gold in Bengal and its influence on Bengali society. It is described in the *Periplus* "that there are gold mines [stream deposits?] near these places (mouths of the Ganges) and there is a gold coin which is called cultis". There are numerous villages in Bengal having names associated with gold, such as, Kānchannagar, Sonārpur, Sonāmukhi, Sonābere, Sonārondi, Sonākhali, Sonārgā, Sonāpur, Sonāgāchi, Kulti and in medieval times Karna-Subarna was the capital of Bengal. The Sāntāl god Sing-'Bongā' holds a gold ring in his hand (=Satyanarayan, can be seen in a painting by a Jādu-Patuā of Santal Parganās, published in the *Modern Review* for November, 1932, p. 524). So we can well assume that Bāngālā and Bāngāli mean the land of gold and the people of gold.

These ancient gold seekers, dealers or metal workers naturally mastered the metallurgy of 'gold'.* Bengali literature of later periods speaks of many ornaments (*see Brihat Banga* by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen) and the stone sculptures of Sena and Pāla periods furnish documents of many more. But in this note I want to emphasize the traditional forms that have been located in the 19th century catalogues of the jewellers of Bengal. There are elaborate descriptions and designs of typical Bengali ornaments. It is to be noted here, that even as iron implements were translated or imitated directly from neolethic stone implements of western Bengal, so have gold and silver ornaments of Bengal been copied from bead ornaments of a pre-historic period and from the designs of ancient lac, iron and conchshell bangles. Moreover, the designs of gold ornaments were, to some extent, influenced by the cire perdu castings of the 'bamboo-cane-wood' technique described earlier. As a result we see three types of ornaments, viz.: (1) the 'wire type', (2) the beaten and engraved type and (3) the embossed type. The embossed type also belongs to a very old tradition in India. Its antiquity goes back to 800 B.C. and is represented by a gold embossed plaquette of that age.

The traditional forms

'Bengal' as represented by the following typical ornaments stands out as a distinct 'School of Jewellery' in India. The forms and uses greatly differ from other parts of India, for example, the *Tikli*, which *falls down* from the parting of the hair of a Bengali woman, but *goes up* in the case of a Rajasthani woman. Both are in accordance with the nature of the garment, ethnic types and physical surroundings. In Bengal, the land of drooping creepers and the particular disposition of Bengali women, the hanging *tikli* is at home; similarly the upturned *borla* on the forehead of a Rajasthani woman lends a special beauty in hilly surroundings.

[See Plate XI]

Motifs were taken from the snake, the butterfly, the peacock and various birds, birds' feather, conchshell, fish, as well as from many flowers, creepers; particularly from the sacred sheaves of paddy (dhāner-sish). A very favourite design '*chandmala*': the moon and the stars hanging from and glittering in the dark sky. It is not a Mahomedan emblem as is often mistakenly imagined. It occurs in Ālpanās and in *solā* (pith) works. The black coiffure or hair stands for the dark sky and the *tikli* or *tāyārā* resembling the moon and the stars hang and glitter below. It may be mentioned here that many designs of gold ornaments are shown also in the Ālpanā decorations (*see Banglar Brata* by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, Viswabharati Edition, p. 22). Ālpanā designs still carry some important primitive forms of gold ornaments and speak of their long history.

This art of Bengal formed a distinctive school of jewellery in keeping with the nature of the land and the character of its inhabitants. Fortunately we still have the Journals of Indian Art published by Newman's in the nineteenth century, but many destructive

*It is very significant that a Bengali marriage is not valid until the bride is given a *khādu* (*noha*) made of iron and at least a small piece of gold ornament along with a conch-shell bangle, by her husband. This shows that *Dhātu* (metal) is intimately conneted with Bengali society. The *khādu*, as its shape and design shows, certainly is a miniature form of a discus, a weapon that we see in the hand of the goddess Durga. In the pre-metal age a wooden or cane ring used to be fitted with small teeth of stone flints, which formed a ring-saw. These ring-saws were used by primitive women as weapons of defence. In the iron age it was copied in metal.

elements have eaten into the heritage and spoiled the pure traditional forms in the name of modernism and progress. The following genres are still current:

	Name of the genre ornament	Use
1	Tikli	Hangs on the forehead from the parting of the hair.
2	Hairpin and haircomb ..	Used to tighten the locks of hair.
3	Tāyārā, Jhāplā, Sinti ..	Decorate the forehead.
4	Kānpāshā, Bālā or Mākri (Magri?) and Kundal	Ear ring.
5	Nath	Nose ring.
6	Hār, chik	Necklace, to decorate the neck and the breast.
7	Armlet, Bāk, Tābiz, etc. ..	Decorate the upper arms.
8	Ananta, Tāgā	Do.
9	Kankan, Churi, Ratan-Chur, Pātri, etc.	Decorate the lower arms.
10	Bālā and Māntāshā, Ruli, etc. ..	Do.
11	Rings	Decorate the fingers.
12	Bichē (gold and silver) ..	Decorate the waist.
13	Mall (anklets, silver) and Charan-Chur	Decorate the anklets, feet and toes.

[See Plate XI]

Studio and guild organisation

A goldsmith's work is practically a one-man show. It depends on the personal merit and knowledge of the craftsman. Women do not take part in this craft. Bengali goldsmiths are fully equipped with the necessary tools and perfectly understand casting, chiselling and soldering, etc., *i.e.*, all the branches of the craft. As talented devotees to the craft they master all the difficult stages not so much with the help of mechanical devices but with experience, use and manipulation of their indigenous tools.

The main centre of activity shifted with time from one place to other, with the change of the centre of political and commercial importance. So the guilds also shifted and a *Samaj* ring was reorganised and renamed from time to time according to the capital city of a particular period. There are a good number of Swarnakaras in Calcutta, Murshidabad and Burdwan but Calcutta being the capital city its units control the muffasil centres.

The Swarnakāras are divided into four thāks: (1) Saptagrāmi, (2) Bārendra, (3) Barāhi, and (4) Basundari (coincides with the Baropara Samaj of Chitrakaras which is also known as Basandari Samāj).

I am indebted to Shri Ramesh Chandra Patra, the President of the All-Bengal Viswa-Brahmana (Swarnakara) Sabha, for kindly supplying me all information regarding the caste and caste-crafts of Swarnakaras.

III. THE KANGSAKARAS (Makers of kangsa or kansha, an alloy)

Bengal's contribution in metallurgy

There is a particular band of people who recover the smallest particles of gold from the dirty water and mud of the street drains near goldsmiths' shops at Vishnupur. Apparently it looks an impossible task. The small gold dust that escapes the caution of goldsmiths, find its way to the drain and this they recover from that hopeless filth by washing the mud hundreds of times with fresh water in a thin cotton filter. We can well imagine how gold dusts were recovered in ancient times from stream deposits by ancient Bengalis. The extraction of pure metal from ores, the shaping and alloying of metals, the annealing, blending and joining of metals by scientific (though primitive) processes go back to very remote times. For example, kansha (bell-metal), an alloy, probably was the discovery of Indian metal workers from which a particular branch of Karmakāras came to form a separate caste (Thak?). That is, the Kangsakaras monopolised the secret of the percentage of alloy and the *maulik* (basic elements) metals required for its preparation. It is noticeable that the Santals never use any ware cast in moulds but stick to hammered and beaten primitive ware (known as zam bati) made of kansa. Hammered or beaten metal ware, as we know, prevailed before the discovery of cast metal wares. The use of hammered kānsā ware among the tribal Santals proves that 'kānsā' was discovered at a very early period. The methods of this binary alloy were mastered by metal workers early enough which gave rise to a sub-section of metal workers under the name of 'Kāngsakāra'.

Bengalis are very fond of this kansa (bell metal) and their household utensils are made almost entirely of this metal.

The method

No Kansari whether belonging to the metal group or to the pāsāna branch of the Sutradharas, casts images or utensils by the cire-perdu method. Kangsakaras and other metal workers of the nine caste-guilds as we see now have specialised in mould or die-casting but partly

stick to the old hammered processes. So we can, as I have remarked before, distinguish this group on this technical ground from the cire-perdu metal-workers of the Mālā-system. This distinction is an important one and it is one of the main factors which qualifies the nine caste-guilds into becoming a distinctively 'Bengali' group of artisans. Beaten metal ware is made in a way similar to beaten pottery (earthen ware). Instead of *dhibi*-moulds they use iron anvils and the wooden mallets are substituted by iron hammers. Turning on the wheel is supplemented by die-casting. The designs, forms and motifs of Bengal metal ware are imitations of earthenware. They are not direct transcriptions of the earlier cire-perdu tradition as it is in the case of statuary, metallic, wooden or earthen. Cire-perdu casting is only used for manufacturing rice measures, trinkets, gongs and other fantastic statuettes. On the other hand, it is not used to produce useful household (cooking or eating) utensils. The cire-perdu wares were copied from the patterns of basketry (of the Dome-Rishimuchi group?). On the contrary, the designs and shapes, forms and motifs of the craft of Kangsakāras, as is evident from their production, were evolved and copied or translated from clay pottery or wooden utensils (of Karangas?) both turned and chiselled. As a matter of fact the art of a Kāngsakāra and the art of a Kumbhakāra only differ in 'material' or medium and not so much in shapes and designs. Most productions are made by the following methods: (1) by die-casting, (2) by beating malleable metals, and (3) by shaping sheet metals (chādar).

Note on designs and shapes

Here again like iron implements and gold ornaments, the metal ware of the Kāngsakaras formed a very unique and independent school in Bengal. Bengal developed a great artistic class of metal ware which can be studied with great pleasure. The beautiful Chakai-bati of Tamluk, Chambu-glasses (Telugu, Chombu) and Pheroes of Khagra, kalsi (pitchers) or ghara of Vishnupur and various instruments used for religious functions are really great achievements of the industrial designers of the Bengali metal-groups. It is a matter of regret that designs in recent years have deteriorated to a great extent, and the old shapes have become rare and obsolete. I have taken here a few available old specimens of the 19th century for illustrating this note along with the modern ones. From these illustrations readers will find that the Kāngsakāras put more importance on 'shape' than on mere superficial decoration. This is a matter for much thought in the industrial arts. The productions can be classified into two categories: (1) ritualistic utensils made only with copper (most sacred) and (2) cooking and eating utensils made in brass and bell-metal.

The following are a list of the genres of utensils made by Kāngsakāras:

	Name of article	Use
Religious ware		
1	Puspa-pātra ..	.. Used for placing flowers.
2	Sāji ..	.. Flower basket.
3	Koshā-kushi*	.. Libation cup and spoon.
4	Pradip .	. Temple lamp.
5	Pancha-Pradip	.. Lamp with five branches or candelabra.
6	Pilsuj ..	.. Lampstand.
7	Ghat ..	.. Libation jar.
8	Kunda and Homkunda	.. Instruments for 'hom' (fire-worship).
9	Singhāsana ..	.. Throne for the deity.
Household crockery		
1	Thālā ..	.. Plate.
2	Bāti ..	.. Cup.
3	Chākāi-bāti ..	.. Cup with hoofs.
4	Khuri ..	.. Glass.
5	Phero or chāmbu-ghati	.. Drinking pot.
6	Hāri ..	. Cooking pot.
7	Bogno ..	. Do.
8	Bātā ..	.. Small plate.
9	Rekābi ..	.. Used for placing offerings.
10	Kautā ..	.. Casket.
11	Hātā and khunti	.. Spoon and ladle.
12	Jhājri ..	.. Filter.
13	Kalsi or gharā	.. Pitcher for storing water.
14	Dābor ..	.. For storing betel.
15	Gāmlā ..	.. For storing miscellaneous things.
16	Dibā (face dibā and other types)	For keeping *pan* (betel).

[See Plate XII]

Guild organisation

Metal work is an expensive craft and requires a good number of helps, and as such is liable to be controlled and financed by capitalists. Although gold work does not require a large workshop, it requires money. A blacksmith does not require much finance but sometimes a casual helper The blacksmith (Karmakāras) as a class has escaped from the clutches of the middlemen. He generally depends on his peasant customers among whom he lives in the village. That is the reason why we do not have Lauha-Banikas in Bengal as a separate Vaisya Varna. But Kāngsakāras and Swarnakāras depend on Kangsa-Banikas and Subarna-Banikas (dealers of Kānsā and gold) as well as other (now) non-traditional businessmen. Swarnakāras sometimes have their own workshops even at this stage of economic depression and distress. But the position of Kāngsakāras is different. A Kāngsakāra cannot execute his work alone, neither can he afford to keep and maintain a furnace. As a result, the condition of Kāngsakāras is very unhappy indeed. They

*The love of nature in the Bengali metal worker is again displayed in the Koshā and Kushi. Although suggesting a phallic symbol, the shape is copied from the kosa (cover) of fruits of the cocoanut or betelnut tree. In pre-metal age people probably used to drink water out of these kosas and in the copper age, for religious purposes, particularly for ancestor worship (tarpana) such familiar 'botanic' instruments had to be modelled in copper.

are at present little more than slaves in the pay of financiers. For instance, at Vishnupur (Bankura) a worker gets annas twelve for a full day's hard work with which to maintain his family, to purchase a loin cloth or a seer of rice whereas the dealer (might be now a Brahmana or Kayastha) might have a palatial house like a landlord. Such uneven conditions are seen in every metal working centre of West Bengal.

Women also take part in this craft. They prepare moulds for casting. This complicated work is done by them creditably. For every object one inner mould and two outer moulds are necessary, so it can be imagined what a large number of moulds are manufactured by the womenfolk of this community. A woman earns annas six per day for this technical work.

Readers are referred to *The Folk Art of Bengal* by Ajit Mookerjee in which he has given the descriptions of methods of cire-perdu and die-casting of metals (Calcutta University publication).

Important centres

Midnapur—

Kharar (town)
Tamluk (town)
Ghatal (town)

Bankura—

Nutan Bazar (in Bankura town)
Vishnupur (town)
Lakshmisagar (J. L. 43, p. s. Simlapal)
Malian Lalbazar (J. L. 24, p. s. Khatra)
Godardihi (J. L. 141, p. s. Borjora)
Sushunia (J. L. 89, p. s. Saluni)
Madanmohonpur (J. L. 93. p.s. Sonamukhi)
Maynagarh (J. L. 30, p. s. Simlapal)
Patrasair (P.S. Patrasair)

Calcutta—

Kansaripara (Bhowanipur)
Simla
Nutan Bazar (Jorasanko)

24-Parganas—

Basirhat (town)
Jaynagar-Mazilpur (town)

Hooghly—

Sehakhala (J. L. 12, p. s. Chanditala)
Bansberia (J. L. 53, p s. Magra)
Chandernagore (town)

Howrah—

Kalyanpur (J. L. 14, p.s. Bagnan)

Nadia—

Nabadwip (town)
Ranaghat (town)
Matiari (J. L. 89, p. s. Kaliganj)
Dharmadaha (J. L. 103, p. s. Nakasipara)
Bargachhi (J. L. 91, p. s. Nakasipara)
Sadhanpara (J. L. 3, p. s. Krishnagar)

Malda—

Kutubpur (J. L. 79, p. s. Malda)
English Bazar (town)
Kaligram (J. L. 151, p. s. Kharba)
Arapur (J. L. 56, p. s. English Bazar)

Murshidabad—

Khagra (town)
Kandi (town)

Burdwan—

Bonpas-Kamarpara (J. L. 21, p. s. Bhatar)
Dainhat (J. L. 90, p. s. Katwa)
Katwa (town)
Kalna (town)

Birbhum—

Lokpur (J. L. 14, p. s. Khayrasol)
Tinkarbeta (J. L. 62, p. s. Illumbazar)

Faridpur—

Bilasthan (p. s. Palong in Pakistan)

Dacca—

Dighali (p. s. Lauhajang in Pakistan)
Ranadia (p. s. Lauhajang in Pakistan)

It should be mentioned here that the Dacca-Faridpur centres, specialised in manufacture from sheet-metal, and the Bankura-Murshidabad centres in cast metal and beaten ware. Famous for metal wares in Bengal, these centres do not specifically belong only to Kangsakāras, one of the nine caste-guilds of craftsmen. Some of them belong to (Kāngsa-Banikas (Vaisyas) and to Karmakāras (blacksmiths).

Identification of caste

It is strange that there is hardly anybody in Bengal today who claims himself as a 'Kāngsakāra', although the Brahmabaibarta Purāna mentions the Kāngsakāras as one of the nine caste-guilds of craftsmen. The present survey has brought to light the following information with regard to these craftsmen and their castes:

(1) Shri Jagannath Kangsha-Banika, a refugee from Bilasthan, police-station Palong, Faridpur, says: "Our profession is to prepare mostly Kalshi, Dabor, Thala, etc., from sheet-metals (chādar). We do not undertake casting of metals. We are Kangsha-Banikas, but in our 50/60 years old family document, we were mentioned as 'Kānsāri'. In East Bengal, particularly in our area, we do not possess any family titles like the Kangsha-banikas of West Bengal, who use at the end of their names, Datta, Das, Nandi, Nandan, Daw, Guin, Dey, etc. So we are in difficulty here, and are trying to select a few titles for ourselves."

(2) An old man of 71 says: "We are Kangsa-banikas and belong to the Vaisya Varna. We are one of the five Banikas, namely, Subarna-banika, Kāngsa-banika (Rajasthani, Agarwal). For a sign that we are Vaisyas, we worship a boat made of sola on the last day of Paush every year. We now pursue all kinds of metal work except iron though our profession was only to trade in them. We are divided into

four *thāks*, (i) Saptagrāmi, (ii) Maity or Mahutpuri, (iii) Mahmudpuri (Mamdobeday of Watson is a corrupt form of Muhammadpuı, a name which was derived from Muhammadbazar in Birbhum) and (iv) Atrāi. There is a *thāk* in East Bengal known as Mayapuri. We are also known as 'Kānsāri'. One of our learned men wrote a book in which he said that we the Kangsa-banikas are descended from a Kshatriya named Kishor. Our caste is known in upper India sometimes as Mishir-banika."

(3) Shri Gauranga Dalal of Nutanbazar, Bankura, says: "We are 'Karmakāras' but we should be distinguished from those Karmakāras who undertake iron works. We are divided into four *thāks*: (i) Ashtāloi, (ii) Belaloi, (iii) Rānā and (iv) Kulte, and are subdivided into many sub-sections or Samajas, such as Singhazari, Barohazari, etc. We are not Vaisya or Banika. We worship Viswakarmā from whom we have originated."

(4) Sri Nagendra Nath Das of Nutan-Bazar, Jorasanko, Calcutta, says: "We are Kangsa-banikas and are divided into four divisions: Mahmudabadi, (ii) Saptagrami, (iii) Maity, and (iv) Māhinaguri. There is a separate section (patit) known as 'Andure' with whom we do not inter-marry. Our traditional work is the manufacture of metal utensils. We are not iron-smiths."

When *thāk* names are not associated with the names of geographical or political regions or countries (such as Rārh, Bārendra or Banga) but with those of ancient cities, they should be regarded as Samāj-names or city guilds. In the metal group only Swarnakāras have two such names: Bārendra and Rārhi, others are having 'city' names for their identification. These city-groups, as I personally think, are quite old although not as ancient as Rarhi, Barendra, or Banga. On the other hand, Bankura furnishes the very unusual names, Astāloi, Belāloi, Rana and Kulte. From this puzzling and anomalous information only one thing appears clear, as I have pointed out before, that these metal-groups originally were 'one' group of 'Karmakāras' or Kamars from which all of them bifurcated into separate specialized guilds. We can specially identify (1) a blacksmith = a Lauhakara, (2) a goldsmith = a Swarnakara, (3) a Kangsasmith = a Kangsakara. It does not matter whether they call themselves Karmakāras or Kāngsakāras or something else; only such social distinctions exist as they themselves obsērve. Between a Kangsa-banika and a Kāngsakāra (a branch of aboriginal Karmakāra group) the socially distinguishing factor is denoted by hereditary 'boat' worship and hereditary 'Viswakarmā' worship. The former are Vaisyas, and the latter must be of the artisan or Viswa-Brāhmana group A decade-old movement for social reforms among the occupational classes in Bengal has given rise to a new sense of dignity which led them to cast their 'Sudra' designation in favour of an upper category: that of Vaisyas or Kshatriyas, etc. An interesting point to note is that Kangsa-banikas (dealers, naturally Vaisya) declare themselves as craftsmen or workers in metal. On the other hand many families of metal workers (other than gold and iron) have assumed the designation of Kangsa-banika in many places and claim themselves to be Vaisya. There are many instances, of course, of dealers taking up the craft as their profession; witness, the Kalighat school of painting. The Ghosh and Dey families who were originally dealers in Kalighat paintings started to paint or draw pictures themselves in imitation of the Chitrakaras when they found that the making of patas was much more lucrative than trading in them. Kāngsakāra in Brahmabaibarta Purana is a Sanskrit form of 'Kansari' (Hindi, Kamshali) and if we stick only to the *Desaja* designation 'Kānsāri', we can get a large and distinguished class of metal workers in Bengal brought together under Sreni, Thāk, Samāj or Varna. It is true that the sorting of the Samāj, Thāk, Sreni or even the Varna becomes a little difficult because the ancient, medieval and Mahomedan trade organisations of metal workers have changed from time to time and have now completely disintegrated owing to the dispersal of city guilds as a consequence of the disappearance of old cities. For instance, Saptagram, a great commercial city even as late as the 18th century is now a deserted place. From the Thāk names of metal workers of Bankura, we gather that 'Kulti' was formerly a great centre of metal work. Kulti-Barakar is again having a prosperous life as an iron area.

THE MINOR ARTS

Two minor crafts, manufacture of conch-shell bangles and decorative pith (Sola) works and the artistic use of these materials are absolutely peculiar to Bengal. Conches, 'chanks', though mostly imported from South India, are put to the most artistic use in Bengal only. Bangles from these shells are manufactured in Bengal in exquisite designs by one of the nine guilds of craftsman, known as Sānkhāri or Sankhakara. Decorative Solā (pith) articles are made by a caste known as Mali or Malakara. Description of these castes and caste-crafts along with notes on the Tantubaya (weaver), and the embroidery work of weaver women of West Bengal will be given in this chapter.

I. THE MALAKARAS (makers of garlands, distinguished from Bhui-Mali)

Present occupations

Though the word 'Malakara' or Malli is used for identifying an occupational caste it does not fully denote its exact 'nature of occupation', because, literally the word means 'makers of garland' which is only a minor part of the main profession. Their present occupations are of two kinds, *viz.*, (1) complicated decorations with Kānchā-phul (natural flowers), keeping of flower gardens and culture of different flowering plants, and (2) manufacture of exquisite ornaments and decorations in Sola (*aeschynomene aspera*, linn, pith), encrusted with sequins, wires and spring coils, and Dāk (coloured or enamelled, thin mica foils) for religious, marriage and other purposes.* The word Māli or Malakara thus means both the gardener and 'decoration' of all kinds. In modern parlance the Malakaras are 'interior-decorators', and there lies the real significance of their caste and caste-craft.

In the field of Solā work, Achāryas are sometimes their rivals (Multi, J. L. 192, police-station Magrahat, 24-Parganas) and in the field of Kānchā-phul, Chitrakaras in former times were in some places (so I am told) in the district of 24-Parganas, their rivals. With the advent of British rule in India, Europeans required a special type of Sola-hats or sun-helmets (sola-topee). Raw undressed topees are now made by Malakaras in Nadia and Mahomedan workers in Calcutta finish them with cloth lining. The old *Tupi*, the Indian type of ceremonial head-dress, was the traditional handi-work of Malakaras.

General observation

The traditional modes, forms and motifs of the decorational and garland-making art of Kānchā-phul are now very much bastardised by European style and fashion. Today it is possible for a Bengali to give for a wedding present one of the English wreaths (Tārer malā) that are placed upon coffins by Europeans. The traditional 'Gore-Mālās' are of course still made, but are inferior to the beautiful mālās made by South Indian Malakaras. The art of Bengali Malakaras differs from the South Indian although many other Bengali crafts bear a great deal of resemblance to South Indian traditional arts. On the other hand, in the field of decorative Solā-work Bengali Malakaras stand out for their high excellence. The traditional Indian forms are still intact in Solā decorations, although many undesirable motifs have crept into it. In this note I desist from enlarging on garland-making and shall confine myself to Solā-work (excluding the modern European topee).

Solā is a water-plant which grows in the marshy lands of Bengal practically in the wild state. It is not properly cultivated. The owners of big bils (Bater Bil in Nadia district is an important centre of Solā-growing) lease them out every year to rich Solā traders (generally not Malakaras), and Malakaras buy from them in small quantities. The lessees of Solā fields exact heavy prices (a bundle of 5′ diameter is charged Rs. 2 to 4). Solā is very light in weight, the pith, a white substance, is covered with a thin brown bark. These long Solā reeds (sometimes 4″ to 10″ diameter) are collected, dried in the sun and then cut into pieces to size. For sizing the Solā reed a special type of sharp thin blade (kāth)* (approximately 1′ 3″ × 3″) and a few sharp tools are used. These instruments are made by local Karmakāras. With these blades Solā is cut into thin cylindrical sheets (kāp) or slices (pāturi) according to requirements. The scrolls are usually 6′ to 10′ each, but are joined end to end to make 20′ to 30′ long and look like rolls of film. Solā foils (kāp) are pasted one upon another (in the case of Manashā-Med or other images) with tamarind-seed-paste. (Nowadays flour paste has replaced tamarind-seed-paste.) For preparation of dolls and toys solid blocks are cut with one or two sure and sharp strokes of the blade. Abstract forms are achieved with a few simple strokes and it is a

*Ornaments on Solā used to be achieved originally with coloured mica foils. About 100 years ago coloured mica foils were greatly displaced by imported German coloured metal foils. Lately aluminium foils are mostly being used. Gold and silver foils were extensively used in India for embroidery work and are still used. Metal shalmās (coils) are also used to decorate Solā works and are imported from Surat.

*Kāth (blade) is of three kinds : Dhosā, Kālso and Istri. Iron pins of various thicknesses are also required for the work.

joy to watch the instrument, hand and material co-operating to produce significant form in so short a time, a product of great and traditional skill passed down from father to son. The figure of Hanumana from Bãlly (now in the Asutosh Museum), one of the greatest centres of West Bengal for decorative solã work, is a typical example of this consummate skill. From a round block of Solã a few strokes of the blade bring out the shape and character of a monkey. The economy of effort and material is amazing. We must bear in mind that the execution depends absolutely on the indigenous instrument and the local material. The two combine to produce decorative Solã ornaments and decorations of a very high excellence.

	Products	Use
1	Jhãrã	From a square Solã frame, four Kadamba flowers are let down at the four corners. Used as decorative covering over the head of the image or over Mangala-ghatas.
2	Chãndmãlã	Garlands of the moon and stars in a particular arrangement : One must be in the hand of the Durga image and others decorate the Mandapa and Mancha.
3	Mukuta or Topor	Decorated crowns and coronets for brides and bridegrooms.
4	Rãsh-mancha decorations, generally called 'indrajãl', (todãs or bunches or bouquets of Kadamba flowers, Padmas, various birds like Kãkãtuã, Tiyã, etc., ducks, elephants, crocodiles, horses, banana trees with bunches of bananas on which monkeys perch).	Prepared particularly for Rãsha-utshaba, all the decorations are connected with the Vaishnava cult (Rãsh-Lilã of Krishna). The images of Krishna and Rãdhã are concealed under a net called Indrajãl or Mãyãjãl and birds and animals are placed to hang on the net. The throne on which the presiding deities stand and the mancha which holds the whole show are decorated with Solã flowers, leaves, creepers, etc. The idea is that the soul (Krishna) unites with the body (Rãdhã) under the illusory Mãyã, a net, in this visible world inhabited by Jibas (created beings).
5	Dolls and toys	Hanumãns (monkeys), various birds (mãchrãngã, etc.), fishes, animals, etc.
6	Boats	Used for boat worship by Vaisyas (signifying sea-borne trade).
7	Karandis (in North and East Bengal only)	Used for Manashã Pujã.
8	Pratimãr Sãj	Solã and Dãk decorations for Durgã and other images.

[*See Plate XIII*]

Important Centres

Howrah	Bally (town). Amta (police-station Amta). Rameswarpur (J. L. 111, police-station Shyampur). Khurut (within the city of Howrah). Basantapur (J. L. 189, police-station Amta). Domjur (J. L. 33, police-station Domjur). Joynagar (Hakola) (J. L. 16, police-station Panchla).
Hooghly	Dankuni (J. L. 93, police-station Chanditala). Uttarpara (town). Chinsurah (town). Serampur (town). Jonai (J. L. 57, police-station Chanditola). Sehakhala (J. L. 12, police-station Chanditola). Chandernagore (town). Konnagar (town). Nababpur (J. L. 45, police-station Chanditala). Begampur (J. L. 73, police-station Chanditala).
24-Parganas	Agarpara (J. L. 11, police-station Khardah). Ariadaha (J. L. 1, police-station Baranagar).
Calcutta	Natun Bazar, Jorasanko, Kumartuli, Baghbazar. Refugee settlers now at Maniktala.
Midnapur	Tamluk (town). Midnapur (town). Garhbeta (town). Chandrakona (town).
Bankura	Vishnupur (town). Bankura (town). Maliara (J. L. 5, police-station Barjora). Saharjora (J. L. 26, police-station Barjora). Jagannathapur (J. L. 181, police-station Barjora). Raniara (J. L. 164, police-station Gangajalghati). Sonamukhi (J. L. 85, police-station Sonamukhi). Patrasayer (J. L. 49, police-station Patrasayer).
Burdwan	Burdwan (town). Katwa (town). Patuli (J. L. 17, police-station Purbasthali). Domohani (J. L. 50, police-station Barabani). Madanpur (J. L. 17, police-station Barabani). Asansole (town). Baktarnagar (J. L. 30, police-station Raniganj). Bujudiha (J. L. 76, police-station Kanksa). Panagar (J. L. 85, police-station Kanksa). Kurmuna (J. L. 150, police-station Galsi). Mandalpur (J. L. 37, police-station Jamuria). Nabagram (J. L. 112, police-station Burdwan. Hat Gobindapur (J. L. 136, police-station Burdwan). Nigam (J. L. 117, police-station Mangalkot). Bhatar (J. L. 66, police-station Bhatar).

Nadia ..	.. Krishnagar (town).
	Kaliganj (J. L. 18, police-station Kaliganj).
	Matiari (J. L. 89, police-station Kaliganj).
	Nabadwip (town).
	Santipur (town).
Murshidabad	.. Berhampur (town).
	Beldanga (J. L. 51, police-station Beldanga).
	Begunbari (J. L. 56, police-station Beldanga).
Birbhum ..	.. Balijuri (J. L. 21, police-station Khairasole).
	Paikar (J. L. 76, police-station Musaria).
	Mahula (J. L. 30, police-station Mayureswar).
	Mallarpur (J. L. 22, police-station Mayureswar).
	Nichinta (J. L. 28, police-station Khairasole).
	Dubrajpur (J. L. 137, police-station Dubrajpur).
	Suri (town).
	Rajnagar (R. S. Rajnagar).

The best Solā decorations can be seen at the time of Rāsh-Lila (approximately October-November) at Bally-Barrackpur (Howrah) and at Khardah (24-Parganas). The best Solā decorations (Pratimār sāj) can be seen at Rani Rasmani's House (Janbazar), Calcutta. Malakāras from Burdwan district (Pātuli, police-station Purbasthali) come every year to Calcutta to decorate the Durga image of Rani Rashmani's house, while Chitrakaras come from Birbhum (Ayash) to model the image.

Ten years ago the writer had occasion to collect from Chitālmari, Khulna, a few 'hanging dolls' of Solā prepared in imitation of puppets of the rural puppet shows (now in the G. S. Dutt Collection). These dolls had no legs and were suspended from the head with coiled springs. These dolls were of two kinds, one with the natural Solā surface, others with linen pasted on their surface. The makers belonged to the Malakara-caste, whose profession was puppet shows.

Barisal was a great centre of decorative Solä work but the art has suddenly slumped after the partition of Bengal. A vigorous school of decorative Solä art still exists in Northern Bengal, notably Cooch Behar.

The guild organisation

Judging from the paintings on Manasa-Med or Karandies* of Northern and Eastern Bengal it can be well imagined that once upon a time Sola-rolls (kap) were used as paper. For painting, the use of Sola as a medium is still in vogue and used extensively in Assam, the Terai region of Northern Bengal, and in Dacca, Mymensingh, Comilla in the East Bengal. But painting on Sola (Manasha-Med) is quite common in West Bengal. Its use in connection with Manasha-Puja (the snake goddess) proves that the use of Sola in Bengal is an old tradition. Moreover the Thak names of the Malakaras bespeak an ancient origin, they are of three kinds: (1) Uttar Rarhi and (2) Dakshin Rarhi and Bangaja. Marriage relations do not exist between East and West Bengal Malakaras. Rarhi Malakaras of Hooghly think that they have originated from Mahadeva and Durga. They do not observe Viswakarma Puja, but worship Maheswari (wife of Mahesha), with their tools and close their workshops every year on the fourth day following the Saraswati Puja. It is important to note that the Rarhi Kumbhakāras also claim that they have originated from Mahadeva and Mahadevi (Durga) and observe sacred days and close their workshops in their honour. But Viswakarma Puja is observed in many places by the Malakaras of Bankura, Burdwan and in many other centres of West Bengal. But Mahadeva holds a more honoured place in their pantheon everywhere than Viswakarma.

Sri Nirodaprosad Dey, the last but possibly the best living solā-artist of West Bengal, says: "I do not know of East, West, or your North or South Sreni. What is left for this unfortunate and hated caste? Everything is gone! Even our sacred-threads that we had had so long is gone, too! I belong to the great family which belonged

*Karandi probably means and represents a pit, a cavern, a cave temple. There are two types of grain houses in Bengal, one is called Marai, the other is called Koroi. Karandies have only a single decorative facade because they represent the cave-temples which can have only a frontal view. Their box-like shapes resemble the shapes of Korois made of bamboo and the word Karandi probably is another provincial form of the *desaja* word Koroi (spoken in 24-Parganas). In this connection the following lines from Sri Asutosh Bhattacharyya regarding the Karandi may be quoted here: "In the serpent-worship of the above area a peculiar ingredient, known as Karandi, forms part of the ritual. I have, however, failed to find out the derivative meaning of the word which is explained in the later Sanskrit lexicons to mean 'a small box made of bamboo'. The Karandi, I am speaking of, is not unlike a small box though not wholly made of bamboo. By Karandi, I mean a small house-shaped object, not more than two feet in height, made of Indian cork (*aeschynomene aspera*, Linn.) with sloping and triangular roofs and flat walls on each side, all made of the same substance. Only on one side of the outer roof and wall, coloured drawings of serpents, the serpent-deity and the hero and the heroine of the principal snake story are drawn, sometimes with admirable skill. Designs vary in their minute details only from place to place. Probably in earlier times such drawings were made on all of its sides, instead of one side only. Most probably it represents the iron-chamber of the Chand Sadagar, mentioned in the snake-story; but this is only my conjecture. If the derivative meaning of the word Karandi could be known its significance could have been more easily explained. At any rate it is a positive contribution to folk-art in Bengal. The subject is being discussed below in some detail." He again says: "Vijay Gupta, a composer of the serpent-narative, belonging to the fifteenth century A.D. and inhabitant of the Bakherganj district, however, mentioned this Karandi. It seems it was in use there during his time, but has gone out of use afterwards. Jivan Maitra, an eighteenth century author of the same narrative, and an inhabitant of the Bogra district in North Bengal also refers to the Karandi which is not, however, met with in that area today. Therefore, it must be admitted that the use of Karandi in connection with the serpent-festival is not only old but was also very widespread. Though it is now obsolete in most of the places due to some reason or other its use is being continued in some remote part of the country having a more conservative outlook. In it, a very ancient tradition of folk-art in Bengal continues, uninfluenced by the sophisticated outlook of modern time." [Journal of the Indian Anthropological Institute (N.S.), Vol. II, 1948, page 22.]

and began with Sudama of Lord Krishna's company. You will find this section of Malakaras all over Hooghly and Howrah districts, and the chief of our clan who was our 'king' used to live at Sehakhala. In our boyhood I have heard about Bardhamana, Tamluk and Dacca Thaks but I do not know whether they still exist! Ultimately we are one, are we not? Is it not unnecessary to think one comes from this Thak or that when as a whole we are losing our caste-craft?"

I cannot close this note without mentioning the present alarming condition of this Sola-craft. The art is dying and the craftsmen are resorting to other occupations. But a number of modern uses in interior decoration can be found for Sola and Dak, which might preserve this old caste-craft. Alpana has lost its old ritualistic value but has gained a new civic decorative importance. Similarly, Sola decorations can also be used for modern civic decorations with great effect. For example, the modern industry of Batas are using Sola work to great effect. Improvement should consist in devising new uses for Sola other than old religious ones. Even the attempt to form a 'Malakara-Sabha', similar to those of Kayastha-Sabha, Brahmana-Sabha or Swarnakara-Sabha, failed due to the extreme poverty of these caste-craftsmen.

II. THE SANKHAKARAS or SANKHARIS (Makers of conch-shell bangles)

Present occupations

Sankharis or Sankhakaras (or Sankha-banikas, 'dealers' of conch-shell, as they are called in some places) pursue the following works: (1) Cleaning the conch-shell by filing, producing round rings by transversely slicing the conch-shells with a specially prepared heavy half-moon-shaped blade known as Sankher-Karat (conch-shell saw), and (2) shaping the rough round slices of conch-shell into bangles and engraving designs on the outer surface of those plain bangles. (3) Decorating intact conches used as blowing horns.

I have divided here their occupations into two divisions because the cutting and cleaning of conch-shells are sometimes done exclusively in some centres, while the engraving on the sliced shell-rings are done in some others. This involves a division of labour. The raw material is important up to the production of crude sliced rings. The traditional engravers often get the rings from conch-shell dealers. Of course, the slicing of rings is also done by Sankharis working under dealers, who are always Nakhoda Mahomedans in Bengal. These Nakhodas import the conch-shells from South India and sell them to the Sankharis either entire or after having them sliced into rough rings. Alternatively in some village centres Sankharis cut the shells into slices and supply the rough rings to engravers of other centres The slicing of conch-shells with the special saw is a difficult job and is specialized in a few centres of which even engravers keep little news.

The slicing of conch-shells

A heavy semi-circular blade with a very sharp edge is used for slicing the conch-shell. The cutter holds the two side-handles of the blade with both hands and works (rather rocks) the saw to and fro sideways until it goes down cutting the ring off the main body of the shell. This special saw (it is not actually a saw, it is really a minutely dented blade without serrated teeth) is manufactured at Dinanathpur (in Mauza Gopalpur, J. L. 46, P. S. Ausgram, Burdwan), Burdwan, the only centre in West Bengal, by Karmakaras. This instrument cuts into the shell working left and right, both ways. There is a proverb in Bengali: 'Sankher Karat, asteo kate, jeteo kate'. This instrument is a distinctive contribution of Bengali Karmakaras, because it effectively slices the shell very smoothly with the minimum waste of material and many attempts of modern engineers to replace it by 'modern' saws have failed.

Engravings on bangle

The crude sliced rings are taken over by engravers. The method of engraving is not the same as is done on wood, metal or stone. It is more like embossing on leather. In embossed leather-work, a raised line or portion is obtained by beating down the surrounding area. In Sankha-work, a raised line or portion is obtained by filing down the surface of the surrounding area. So we can call it file-engraving, just to distinguish it from general engraving work. This file-engraving on conch-shell bangles is peculiar only to Bengal. Even in Orissa, home of so much beautiful work, engraving is very crudely done.

Conch-shell bangles are used in Bengal by every Hindu married woman as the traditional sign of marriage (Sabitri-Sankha), like a wedding ring. When the husband dies the woman should break the bangles as a sign of widowhood. Sabitri-Sankhas are always coloured red with stick lac and sindur (vermilion). The iron bangle known as Noha, Loha, or Khadu also stands for the Sankha. Khadu as I have remarked elsewhere was originally a handy weapon of defence with women and the conch-shell bangle was originally an armlet. Even as late as the nineteenth century *karis* (small special shells) were used as the lowest valued coins in Bengal and Sankhas bore the next higher value in the kari-group.* It is therefore possible to appreciate why it is so valuable, sacred and indispensable to our womenfolk. It is described in his *Patua-Sangit* by G. S. Dutt (Calcutta University publication) that one day the Goddess

*The goddess of wealth, Lakshmi, still keeps a basket made of red cloth and karis. The Kalpadruma, capital of the 2nd century B.C. (Indian Museum), taken from Kuvera (god of wealth) temple, has a kari-shell basket design.

Durga asked her husband, Siva, for a pair of conch-shell bangles. But Siva was too poor to give her a pair. So she went away to her father's house in dismay. After a few days, a Sankhari came to Durga with a box of conch-shell bangles and she most gladly sat down to him, and the Sankhari tried them on her hands. But all the bangles unfortunately broke while being fitted on. Then the Sankhari remarked that the bangles were not going over her hands, perhaps she was not faithful to her husband. This made Durgā very angry and she cast a look of fire at the man, but the Sankhari survived her look. Durga was astonished but it did not take her long to discover her husband in the survivor. They were joyfully united; Durga received a present of a box full of conch-shell bangles, and both returned home. This is the story of the origin of conch-shell bangles told by our traditional painters (Chitrakaras).

Many Sankhari caste-craftsmen believe that their caste originated in Siva and Parbati although generally Viswakarma is believed to be a rival. The Sankharis of Dacca worship Viswakarma every year with great pomp. They worship their tools on that day and close their shops for five days at a stretch in honour of the deity. Conch-shells are not touched on those days.

The following are the traditional patterns and designs of bangles: (1) lotus, (2) diamond, (3) twisted rope, (4) caterpillar, (5) paddy sheafs, (6) kankana, etc.

[See Plate XIV]

There is a story current in Vishnupur about the Kankana. It tells us that the Kankana was the special ornament of Durga. An old Brahmana in distress was saved by the kindness of Durga. She came to his rescue in the shape of a woman; brought rice, dal, etc., and cooked food for him. Afterwards she went to the river for a bathe and never returned. The Brahmana grew anxious and went to the river in search of her. A hand decorated with the Kankana rose from the middle of the water and the Brahmana immediately realised that the lady had been no less a person than Durga herself. The Kankana has a superb beauty. There is no doubt that many designs were copied from conch-shell bangles to metal, from kori to rupee, from conch-shell to gold and silver.

Important centres

1. Hatgram (J.L. 17, police-station Indpur, Bankura)
2. Vishnupur (town in Bankura)
3. Domkal (J.L. 42, police-station Domkal, Murshidabad)
4. Refugees from East Bengal in Bhadreswar (town), Hooghly
5. Refugees from East Bengal in Chandernagore, Hooghly
6. Dasghora (J.L. 29, police-station Dhaniakhali, Hooghly)
7. Jorasanko (Calcutta)
8. Keshab Sen Street (Calcutta)
9. Refugees from East Bengal at Baghbazar (Calcutta)
10. Ghoranas (J.L. 122, police-station Katwa, Burdwan)
11. Ranaghat town, Nadia
12. Bagnapara (J.L. 93, police-station Kalna, Burdwan)
13. Karidhya (J. L. 106, police-station Suri, Birbhum)
14. Baram (J.L. 139, police-station Rampurhat, Birbhum)
15. Nabadwip (town, Nadia)
16. Patuli (J.L. 17, police-station Purbasthali, Burdwan)
17. Katwa town, Burdwan.

The old division is between the craftsmen or the 'karas', and the 'banika'. The Vaishyas are engaged in recruiting craftsmen under the guise of banika. The aim of this report is not to fix an official caste hierarchy but only to trace, as far as possible, the old traditional trade organisations of the craftsmen. A particular Sabha may put the status of the craft-workers as a whole into Banika or Vaishya but that would certainly be misleading. Without going into unnecessary controversy I would rather state below my own opinion of the conch-shell workers of Bengal. Interested readers will hear in them a distant echo of the ancient guild organization of the Sankhakaras. The word 'Banika' is very vaguely used by Sankharis as well as Kansaris at least in some places in Bengal. The word 'Banika' takes them a step higher than the word 'Sudra'. It is clear from the Brahma-baibarta Purana that the Sankhakaras existed in the 13th century along with other 'karas'. The Sankha-Banikas might have also existed as one of the five Banikas. As we see them now under the common title of Sankhari, they enjoy today only the status of Sudras in Bengal. But tradition tells a different story. Sankharis are still called in the villages of Bengal Sankhari-Bawan (Brahmana) Sankhari-Thakur, or Sankhari-Bhat (Bhatta). Such a 'Brahmana' alone is eligible, according to the custom of the country, to sell conch-shell bangles or touch a faithful married woman when trying a bangle on her wrist. He is the authorised donor of an insignia (Lakshana), the 'Ayoti', and is entitled to a *pronam* (a bow of reverence) from the women of all castes. Our folk tales also speak of many Sankhari-Brahmanas. All these indicate the Viswa-Brahmana origin of the Sankhakaras, which, partly for Brahminical suppression of the caste-system, and partly for the misleading lumping of the 'karas' *en masse* with the 'Banika' Sreni or section by zealous Sabha-movement, has become indistinguishable from one another.

These two crafts of Sankha and Sola and the two occupational castes, the Sankhakaras and the Malakaras in their manners, customs, beliefs and craftsmanship are peculiar to and characteristic of Bengal and Bengali society.

III. THE TANTUBAYAS or TANTIS (weavers)

The word Tantu means natural 'fibre' (ansh). It does not only mean cotton or silk threads but also threads made from Tantu. Readers will find in this note how cotton and silk weaving developed in Bengal from primitive fibre-weaving or bark (balkal or bākal) and mat-weaving. Haraprasad Sastri has told us about a fibre (khauma-bastra) cloth that existed in Bengal in Kautilya's time. However, jute cloth (pater sari) is still known and manufactured. Mat-weaving is still a living craft in Bengal. Cotton-weaving as a whole is pursued by Tantubayas or Tantis in Bengal. In Andhra, weavers are called Devanga (part or person of divinity) and weaving is called Nata. In Bengali Nata means a piece of cloth and the weaver's family-title, particularly in East Bengal, is Deva-Nath (Nat ?). Scholars think that this title 'Nath' is connected with 'Nathapantha-cult'. But the Devanga weavers of Andhra are distinguished from the Mala-weavers and we can easily connect them ethnically with the Bengali Deva-Natha weavers. I have already shown that the Chitrakars of Andhra are identical with the Bengali Chitrakaras.

Bengal once rose to the height of excellence in the production of fine and decorative cloth. The writer had occasion in 1951 to enquire into the condition of silk-weaving at Vishnupur (Bankura), the biggest centre of silk-weaving in West Bengal, where nearly one thousand jacquard looms were at work. He could not find a single silk cloth worth purchasing from the whole town that would answer even to ordinary good taste. All of them without exception were woven in vulgar designs copied from third grade mill-woven cotton saris imported from Ahmedabad. The designs appropriate for cotton are very different from designs appropriate for silk. This difference was universally recognised even thirty years ago, but it would now annoy many persons as 'highbrow stuff' even to mention this. Even the weavers of Vishnupur, with their great hereditary tradition, have nearly one thousand jacquards now and have forgotten that distinction. The art of the Baluchar Sari is now remembered only among historians. Dacca is now in Pakistan, Santipur wallows in cheap modernism (producing Metro-sari) and the Tantubayas produce only Gamchas (linen towels) and coarse masharis (mosquito nets) and the art is dead and gone seemingly for ever. Under such decadent conditions of textile weaving in Bengal, the reader has to depend for his source upon the two monographs on cotton and silk weaving in Bengal published by the Government of Bengal in the years 1898 and 1903.* They contain a complete survey of these two crafts. But I cannot resist the temptation of reproducing here the Thak names of Bengali weavers from the monograph on cotton weaving by Sri N. N. Banerjee, which is most interesting and helps us in understanding the guild organisation of the Tantubayas:

1. Aswini or Asan Tantubayas

   Bardhamana
   Barna-Kul
   Madhyakul
   Mandarona
   Uttarkul
   Agastya Rishi
   Aladashi
   Alamyan
   Attri Rishi
   Bararashi

2. Tantubayas

   Balarami
   Banga
   Bara-bhagiya or Jhampaniya
   Barcudra
   Chhota-chagiya or Kayath-Tanti
   Kature
   Kora
   Kshir
   Madhukari
   Magi
   Mariali
   Nir
   Pattar
   Purnadari
   Purbakul
   Rarhi
   Uddhabi
   Batsya
   Bharadwaj
   Biswamitra
   Brahmarishi
   Garga-Rishi
   Gautam
   Kasyapa
   Kulya-rishi
   Madhukulya
   Parasara
   Sandilya
   Sabarna
   Vyasa

Titles

Barash, Basak, Bhadya-ban, Bit, Chand, Chhagri (goat), Dalal (broker), Das, Datta, De, Gui, Hansi, Jachandar (appraiser), Kar, Lu, Mandal, Mesha (sheep), Mukhim (supervisor), Nandi, Pal, Pramanik, Sadhu, Sardar, Sarkar, Sil.

Sri Banerjee says: "Tanti (Bengal) or Tantwa (Bihar), is the generic term for all weavers, but the Tantis in Bengal themselves form a separate caste, being one of the nine pure castes or Nabasakhas of Ballal Sen, whose social position is only next to the Kayasthas. A Brahmana can drink water drawn by a person of the Tanti caste

*By N. N. Banerjee and by N. G. Mukherjee respectively.

without being polluted, and it is no social degradation to act as a priest in a Tanti house".*

I would like to add in this note two important aspects of Bengali weaving, *viz.*, (1) the 'botanic' influence on textile weaving, and (2) indigenous colour-matching.

(1) *Botanic influence*

Threads were substituted for reeds and the weavers found their way with the new material, namely, cotton and silk, to so arrange the threads in the loom as to simulate and bring out the texture and patterns of earlier fibre cloth. Those who have seen the Tripura or Manipuri bed-spreads or Rias will find in them that cotton threads of ⅛th inch diameter are woven in imitation of thick reeds in mat-weaving. It is interesting to recall that the Bhils of Rajasthan and, as a matter of fact, all tribes instictively use very coarse and thick khaddars as they simulate woven mats and reeds. Designs from mat-weaving were later directly transferred into cotton and silk weaving which can be judged from any mat and woven coarse fabric in a 'culturally' backward area. Even the madder red colour of the Baluchar Sari is a continuation of madder red coloured mats. As a matter of fact Bengali cotton cloth weaving has not been completely weaned from 'botanic' patterns and colour schemes.

(2) *The colour scheme*

The matching and distribution of colours also followed 'botanic' patterns, but were modified and superseded later by the pictorial colour-schemes of pata, sara and particularly at Vishnupur, of Tash (playing cards). The art movements carried the weavers much further in colour-combinations than they would ordinarily have gone with the obvious limitations of their material, because weaving as a craft is essentially a geometric affair with the warp and the woof. The colours of old Bengali textiles belong to the following primitive grades: (a) blue and the blue group, (b) red and the red group, (c) yellow or ochre and the yellow group, and each group is simultaneously supported by black and the black-group and white and the white group. The old weavers had an unerring eye for matching these colours.

Weaver women's embroidery

Between 1936 and 1942 the writer was commissioned to search for Kanthas (embroidered quilts) by the University Museum, Calcutta, and by eminent scholars. It was then discovered that although the plain or simply designed Bhutia Kantha or *lep* was made practically all over Bengal by womenfolk of all classes for everyday use, the profusely ornate kanthas known as the Nakshi-kanthas were made mostly by Kayastha women of Khulna, Jessore, Faridpur and Barisal (where the last joins Khulna and Faridpur) and in the Basirhat subdivision of 24-Parganas. Brahmana women rarely tried their hand at it and most of the Kanthas recovered from Brahmana families were presents from their Kayastha Siswas or Jazmanas (disciples). The best Kanthas of Bengal were always the work of Kayasthas and came from Mulghar, Tilak and other villages of the Bagerhat subdivision (nearly 300 villages).

A number of peculiar types of Kanthas, however, were collected from Panjia, Sataskathi, Chungadanga and other neighbouring villages of police-station Keshabpur in the district of Jessore from the women of weaver families (many Nakshi-kanthas were also collected from the Kayasthas of those villages). These Kanthas of weaver women form a special school of embroidery and are characterised by a handling of the embroidery thread peculiar only to weaving. The designs were invariably copied from old Sari borders: rows of elephants, horses or birds, etc. Those types of Sari borders are not made now but the womenfolk of Tanti families still perpetuate those old textile designs in their embroidery work.*

**Monograph on Cotton Fabrics of Bengal* by N. N. Banerjee, pages 16-7.

*G. S. Dutt says: "There is, however, a very important class of Kānthās of a different type which may be described as Kānthās of the textile type and which are made by women of the weaver class, mainly in the Jessore district. These textile pattern Kānthās display the same skilful use of line and colour designs; but they differ from the 'dorokha' Kānthā of the true embroidery type in depending mainly on flat stitches running along the entire length or breadth of the Kānthās or running round the centre in concentric designs, the idea being to reproduce the same pattern in each row either in a linear or circular arrangement. The technique used in these Kānthās is practically identical with that employed in embroidering the borders of sarees, the object being to secure repetition of the same pattern in fabric. The figure designs on Kānthās of this type have a considerable resemblance to applique work and may also have been suggested originally by applique work type Kānthās.

"When a flat stitch is of considerable length, it is broken one or more times by making a short stitch on the reverse. This gives a characteristically dotted appearance to the obverse side of designs made with long flat stitches. Where the flat stitch is of short length this practice is not resorted to. The result of the above technique is that while Kānthās of the true embroidery type have a 'dorokha' character, in the textile pattern Kānthās the forms and designs which appear on one face are complementary to those on the other and the right face is easily distinguished from the reverse face in these Kānthās. The intention in these Kānthās being to make the designs themselves appear only on the right face, the spaces in the obverse of the embroidered portions of the right face are left blank on the reverse or are merely marked with small dotted short stitches.

"The repetition of designs either in a linear or in a circular arrangement gives an appearance of regimentation to Kānthās of this type which is entirely absent on 'dorokha' Kānthās of the true embroidery type where the object is to make each design different from the others and where each figure design is made with an entirely independent and integral system of stitches. The importance of the textile pattern Kānthās lies in the fact that in them we find conserved old traditional patterns of border designs of great variety and loveliness which were undoubtedly used in making saree borders in olden times but the use of many of which in the saree borders has been discontinued by the weavers, partly owing to the decline of the textile industry and partly owing to the prevailing habit of imitating foreign patterns. A special feature of the textile pattern Kānthās is the frequent and effective use of motifs representing prominent and spectacular rows of animals, such as the elephant, horse, rhinoceros, tiger or camel, etc., in marching array, the figure of one particular type of animal being repeated in the same row."—*The Art of Kantha, Modern Review,* October, 1939.

APPENDIX

RELATION OF ACHARYAS WITH THE NINE ARTISAN CASTES

We learn from Monahan's *The Early History of Bengal* that Megasthenes mentioned two distinct divisions of philosophers: (a) the Brachmanes, and (b) the Garmanes. The following lines are quoted from Monahan's history, pp. 145-6, where Megasthenes speaks of the Brahmanas (Brachmanes):

> The Brachmanes are most esteemed, for they are more consistent in their opinions. From the time of their conception in the womb, they are under the guardian care of learned men, who go to the mother and under the pretence of using some incantations for the welfare of herself and her unborn babe, in reality give her prudent hints and counsels The women, who listen most willingly, are thought to be the most fortunate in their children. After their birth, the children are under the care of one person after another, and, as they advance in age, each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor. The philosophers have their abode in a grove in front of the city, within a moderate-sized enclosure They live in simple style, and lie on beds of rushes or skins. They abstain from animal food and sexual pleasures, and spend their time in listening to serious discourse, and in imparting their knowledge to such as will listen to them The hearer is not allowed to speak, or even to cough, and much less to spit, and, if he offends in any of these ways, he is cast out from their society that very day, as being a man who is wanting in self-restraint.
>
> They marry as many wives as they please with a view to have numerous children, for, by having many wives, greater advantages are enjoyed, and since they have no slaves, they more need to have children around them to attend to their wants

Of the Garmanes Megasthenes said:

> (1) The foretellers; they communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who, through them, worship and supplicate the deity. Next in honour to them are, (2) the physicians; besides these there are, (3) diviners and sorcerers and adepts in the rites and custom relating to the dead. He says, "they are, however, engaged by private persons to offer the sacrifices due in lifetime and to celebrate the obsequies of the dead for they are believed to be most dear to the gods and to be most conversant with matters pertaining to Hades. In requital of such services they receive valuable gifts and privileges. To the people of India at large they also render great benefits, when, gathered together at the beginning of the year, they forewarn the assembled multitudes about droughts and wet weather, and also about propitious winds and diseases, and other topics capable of profiting the hearers. Thus the people and the sovereign learning beforehand what is to happen always make adequate provision against a coming difficulty, and need. The philosopher, who errs in his predictions incurs no other penalty than obloquy, and he then observes silence for the rest of his life.*

The two words Brachmanes and Garmanes have been variously interpreted by various scholars. It is very probable that Megasthenes must have had a definite class of preceptors in mind when writing of the Garmanes. It is possible, following the traces of South Indian customs and etymology that the Garmanes mentioned by Megasthenes refer to the ancient structure of the primitive priestly organisation of the country as distinct from Aryan Brahmanism which was a later order. It should be remembered that Brahmanism and priesthood are not exactly the same thing, and it is on this difference that the following observations are based. Even when there was no Brahmanism in this country priesthood in some form or other existed in primitive society. It is plausible to reflect that the Brahmanas came to be only a fraction or part of the greater priestly community embracing both the aboriginal and the Aryan. The grades and sub-grades of primitive priesthood disintegrated sometime after the 4th century B. C. probably owing to internal revolution brought about by the renewed activities of the Jains and Buddhists who continued to predominate until the time of the Senas in Bengal.

It is here that South Indian customs among the Telegus are worth recalling. In Telegu Gāru, Aye-Gār is the esteemed teacher; in Tamil Ayengār is the esteemed Acharya. It is possible that by Garmanes Megasthenes perhaps meant Guru or the Sanskrit form Acharya. The occupations and grades of the Garmanes mentioned by Megasthenes correspond exactly with the occupations of Acharyas, that is, the social and religious teachers of Bengali households. The second section of the Garmanes, according to Megasthenes, is the physicians, with whom we can easily identify the Vaidyas of Bengal. There has been much speculation on the origin of the Vaidyas, who insist on wearing the sacred-thread: but this identification of the Vaidyas, with the second subsection of the Garmanes of Megasthenes is feasible, the Vaidyas having isolated themselves from the greater Garmana community in a later age. However, the remaining sections of the Garmanes, the Acharyas of Bengal, are the traditional authorities of magico-religious rites by virtue of which they can decide the good or evil acts caused by ghosts, can stop the evil spirits from doing harm, or facilitate the good work of kind spirits, rescue a man or female from miseries cast by Sani or other evil stars or Grahas. They are our Graha Acharyas, horoscope makers, fortune tellers and professors, who know the invisible evils and ward them off. It is they who perform the *sastayana*, *marana*, *uchatana*, etc., acts which can bring salvation to men from pāpa or sin, or prevent impending evil (*amangala*).

*Monahan's *The Early History of Bengal*, pp. 142 and 147.

the *bastu debata*, the persuade him to remain ıryas are the founding altars and homestead ey are the controllers of ·ologers.

ıtten much about the Achārya) of South India cture of India, regarding occupations. Earlier in vn the relation between Acharya. It is an old *ıkara* (clay modeller or the image (*pratima*), the t, the *Malakara* could ıally the *Acharya* who *ıakshudānā*. That is to one who could bring life ıe deity. These spiritual ınd joint responsibility of Bengal (e.g. in Katwa gh, Barisal, etc.) G. S. role of the Acharya of *eview* of November 1932

to paint the *Gazir pats* had ıking the clay images of gs, *chālchitras* or ritualistic ntation of Hindu gods and ›asted on the framework he occasion of the Durga . The drawings of these f a formalised nature and ginality either in conception t is distinctly at present on f them still contain remark- draftsmanship, and of a e. The demand for the ıcreased as people are not demanded by the Acharyas ıeap foreign prints contain- *ıitra* pictures for use in

the ordinary Brahmana the rites and custom of monopoly of Acharya ere is a traditional word ntinues the verbal dis- ı and the Brahmana, a were once accustomed, gasthenes referred in the word Guru-Brahmana ems: (1) the Brahmanas of the theoretical com- was to dictate (*siksha*) through *adhyana* and *adhyapana*, and (2) the Gurus or Acharyas (Garmanes) in charge of the practical operations of applied religion and ritual through 'secret' initiation (*diksha*). Necessarily this 'secret' branch was, and is still, connected with the tradition of ritualistic, *paralaukık* (other worldly) and funerary rites. The Acharyas are Viswa (universal) Brahmanas or Viswakarma Brahmanas as they now call themselves and the nine artisan castes of Bengal were, and are, peculiarly connected to this Viswakarma. The original priestly system of the artisan castes disappeared with the crumbling of the old jealously guarded occupational guilds (the *diksha* branch) and the gradual emergence of the Brahmanic influence of the *siksha* branch. It was this process which made the Acharyas and their associates *patıt* or degenerate, and evolved the Brahmana barna.

Our mythology also tells of two different academies; one belongs to the Deba-Guru Brihaspati and the other to Daitya-Guru Sukra-Acharya, It is possible that the Acharya group originally belonged to the non-Aryan (Daitya) indigenous priestly tradition, and the Brahmana group to the foreign Aryan priesthood. Gradually the two forces made a compromise and decided to live side by side. In course of time the Acharya group was overshadowed and superseded by the Brahmana group with the progress of the Aryan conquest. But there seems to be little doubt that the Acharya group originated from 'secret' magico-religious priestly orders of the ancient primitive society of India. The peculiar relation between the Jādu-Patuās and the Santals or the Bhumijs, is a lingering trace of that ancient order. It is possible to trace the complete departure of Mauriya art to the mediaeval Brahmanical art of India in the transfer of this guiding authority from the *dıksha* branch (Garmanes or Acharyas) to the *sıksha* branch (Brachmanes or Brahmanas), who took the artisans not as their 'sons' but as 'servants' (*Sudras*) and compelled them to translate their literary philosophy into imaginary (*kalpanık*) art, instead of continuing the old visual or formal art. As a result the later art became baroque and grotesque and differed greatly from the pre-Christian art of India. Thus the son of Viswakarma no longer remained a creator but became a servant, carrying out or executing the will of his superior.

PLATE NOTES

PLATE I

1 Face-tattoo of Koniyak Nagas (courtesy of Shri Ajit Mookerjee)
2 Face-*dibba* from Vishnupur (Bankura) (courtesy of Shri Ajit Mukherjee)
3 Mummy-shaped wooden doll from Patuli (Burdwan); popularly known as *Kalighater putul*
4 Pigeon motif in brass bound wooden bowl from Birbhum and Bankura
5 Terra-cotta figure found at Mohenjodaro, believed to be the earliest remnant of moving dolls
6 Modern moving dolls of Bengal
7 Dakshin-dar, the door of the South
8 Cowheaded mother goddess from Keshabbarh (Midnapur) (courtesy of Bangia Loka Sanskriti Parisad)
9 Cowheaded doll from Tangail (Pakistan)

PLATE II

1 A lady of Chitrakara caste with dolls and toys made by her (courtesy of Department of Publicity, Government of West Bengal)
2 *Chakshudāna* painting (Author's collection)
3 *Chakshudāna* painting (courtesy of Asutosh Museum)
4 A Kalighat painting (courtesy of Asutosh Museum)
5 Playing cards from Vishnupur (courtesy of Asutosh Museum)

PLATE IIA

1 A *Chakshudāna* painting by a Jādu Patuā, painted for a Bhumij family (Author's collection)
2 The *Pisacha*, a painting from Binpur, Midnapur (Author's collection)

PLATE IIB

1 A *Lakshmi* Sara from Dacca (courtesy of Asutosh Museum)
2 A *Yama* Pata (courtesy of Asutosh Museum)
3 A *Manasa* Ghata (courtesy of Asutosh Museum)

PLATE III

1 A cane elephant from Birbhum border (courtesy of 'Art in Industry' Journal)
2 A Tangail doll showing botanic influence
3—6 Primitive metal images of West Bengal (Nahar Museum)
7 A Tangail doll showing botanic influence

PLATE IV

1—6 Different motifs from 'Alpana' designs (Author's collection)

PLATE V

1 A painting (scroll) from Midnapur district by a Chitrakara (Author's collection)
2 Gazir Pata from East Bengal (courtesy of Asutosh Museum)
3 A Vaisnaba painting (scroll) from Midnapur district by Jādu Patuā (Author's collection)

PLATE VA

A Kalighat painting *Saraswati* (courtesy of Asutosh Museum)

PLATE VI

1 Aie-hari
2—16 A few types of pottery produced in different parts of West Bengal

PLATE VII

1, 2 Painted dolls from Rajnagar (Birbhum)
3 A Tangail doll
4 A primitive animal figure from Katalia (Murshidabad)
5 Wheeled horse from Tangail (G. S. Dutt collection)
6 A primitive animal figure from Katalia (Murshidabad)
7 Pottery by Kuchol potter
8 A bird-toy from Rajnagar (Birbhum)
9 A primitive figure-toy from Faridpur (Pakistan)

PLATE VIII

1 An ivory figure from Murshidabad (courtesy of 'Art in Industry' Journal)
2—5 Architectural wood-carvings from Birbhum (G. S. Dutt collection)
6 Wooden figure from a temple in Jessore (Pakistan) (courtesy of Asutosh Museum)

PLATE IX

1 Chiselled bowl by East Bengal wood carvers
2—4 Turned utensils by Karangas of West Bengal
5 Wooden bowl mounted with brass decorations (Bankura)
6 Owl, wooden toy from West Bengal
7 Wooden obelisk (Memorial Pole)
8 Wooden doll from East Bengal

PLATE X

1—12 A few types of iron implements made at different centres of West Bengal

PLATE XI

1 A Bengali woman with 'Tickli'
2 A Rajput woman with 'Borla'
3—10 A few types of ornaments produced by the Swarnakaras
11 'Khāru'

PLATE XII

1 'Kosā', a ritualistic utensil
2 'Kosa' of beṭelnut tree
3—13 Different types of brass household utensils
14 Beaten bellmetal pot used by Santals

PLATE XIII

1, 2	Ceremonial 'Solā' mukutas for males and females
3	Chandmala (courtesy of 'Art in Industry' Journal)
4, 7	'Solā' dolls by Sri Niroda Prosad Dey of Bally (courtesy of 'Art in Industry' Journal)
5, 6	'Kath', an instrument used in 'Solā' craft
8	Karandi (courtesy of Sri Ashutosh Bhattacharyya)

PLATE XIV

1—9	Different stages of Conch-shell craft
10, 11	Instruments used in Conch-shell crafts

PLATE XV

1	A *Kantha* (embroidered quilt) by a Kayastha woman from Banagram (24-Parganas)
2	A *Kantha* by a Tantubaya (weaver) woman from Jessore (Pakistan)

PLATE XVI

An old Baluchar silk *sari* (courtesy of Asutosh Museum)
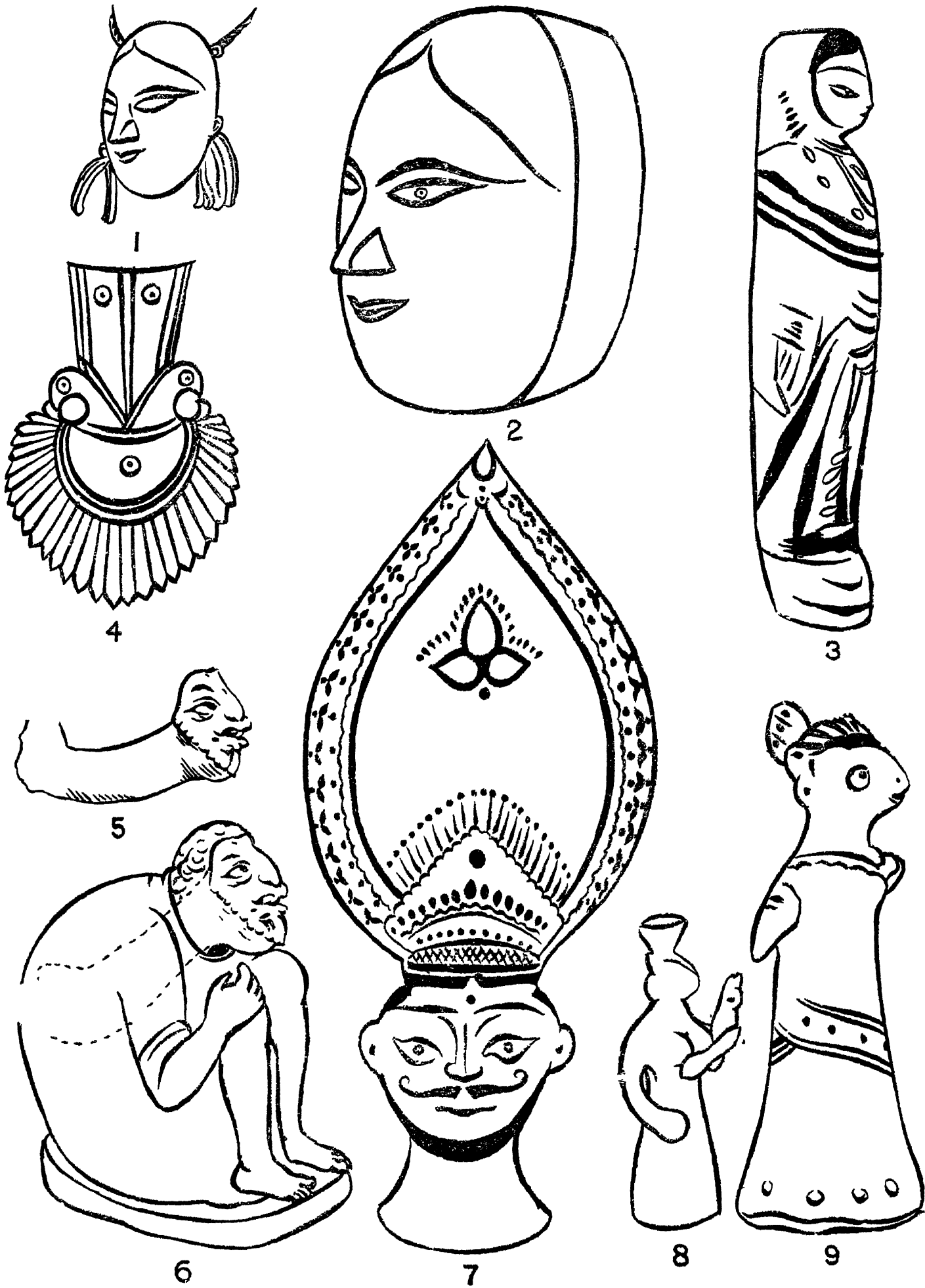
PLATE I

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PLATE II

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PLATE IIA

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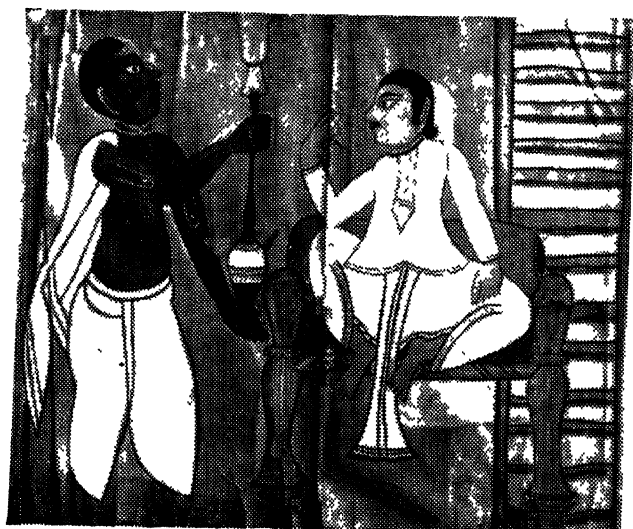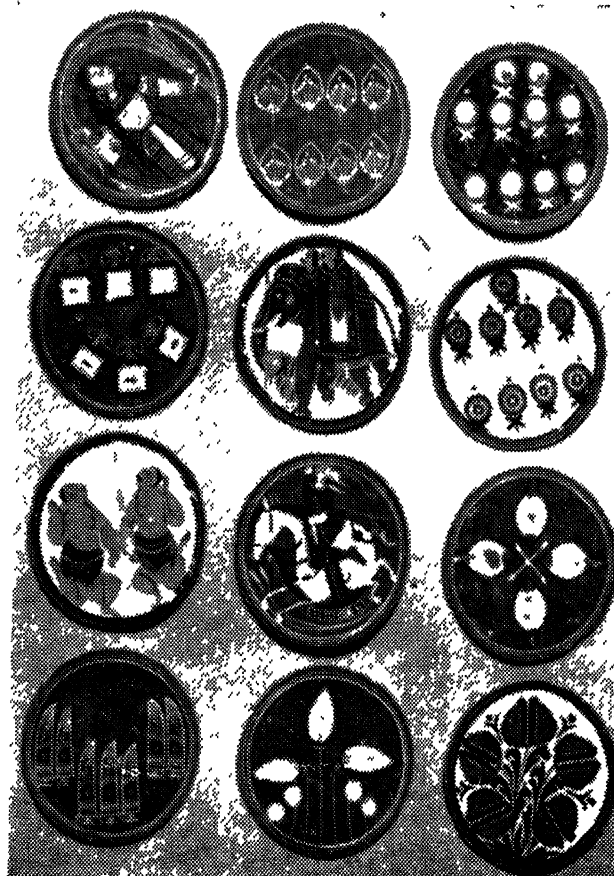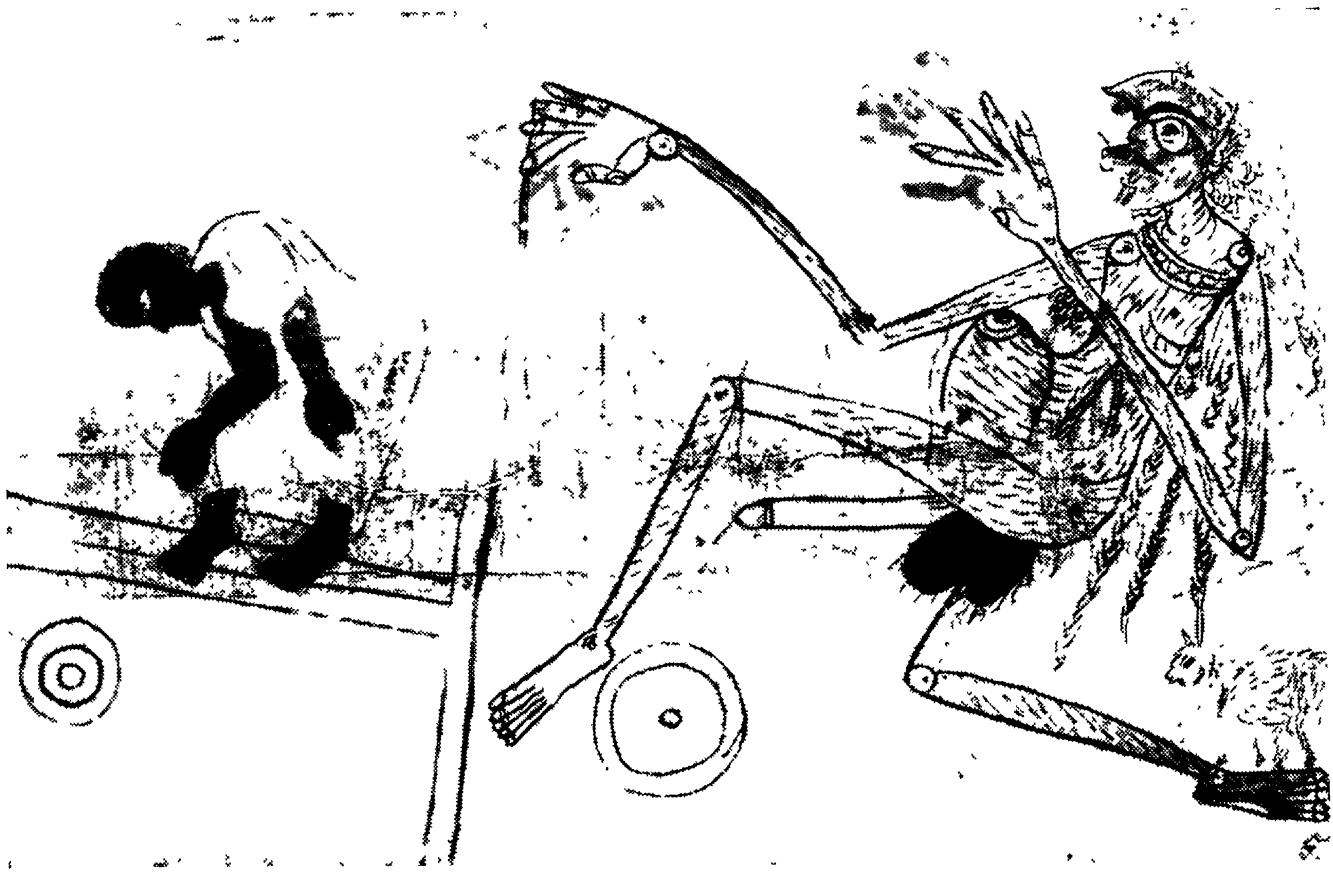
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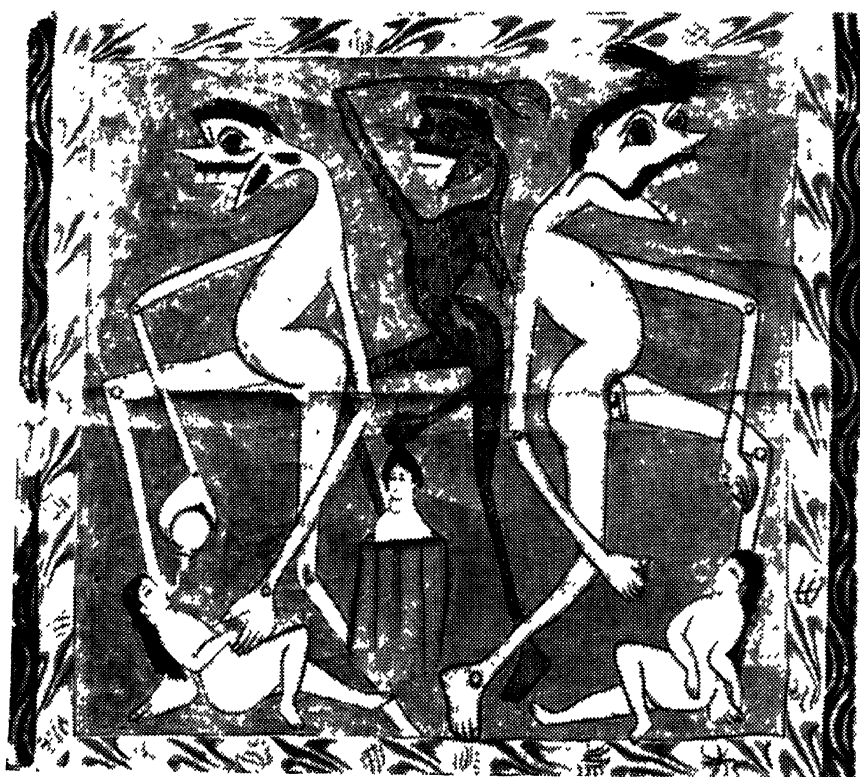
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(*iv*) *Between pages* 350 *and* 351

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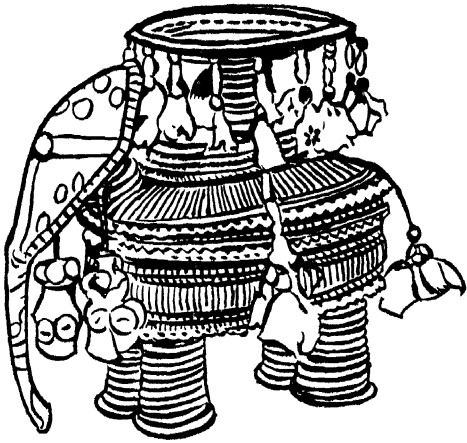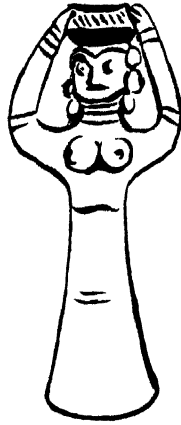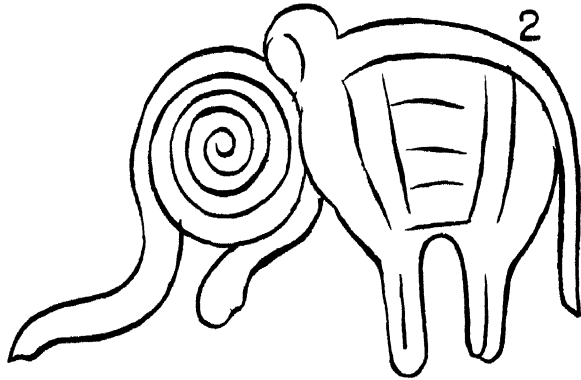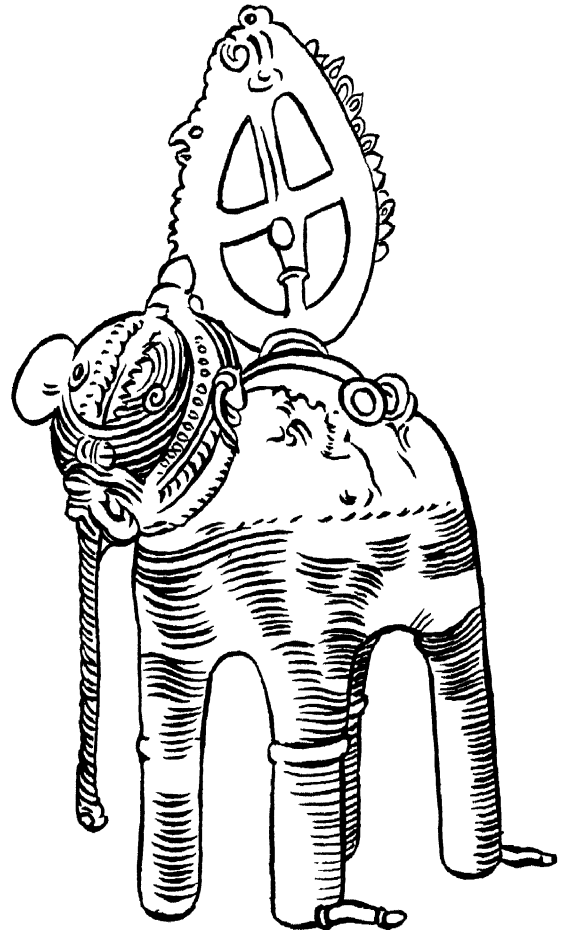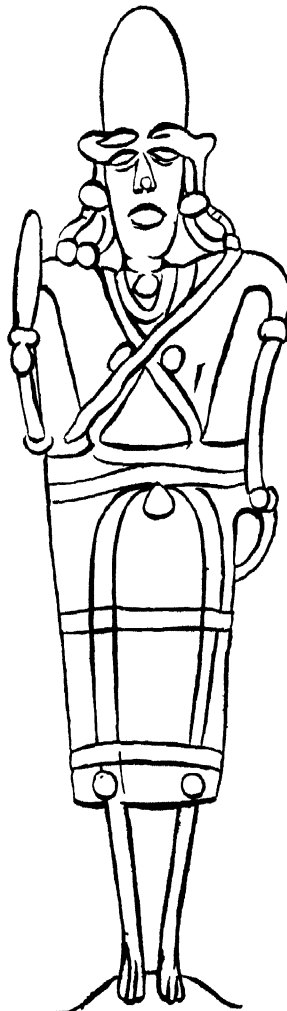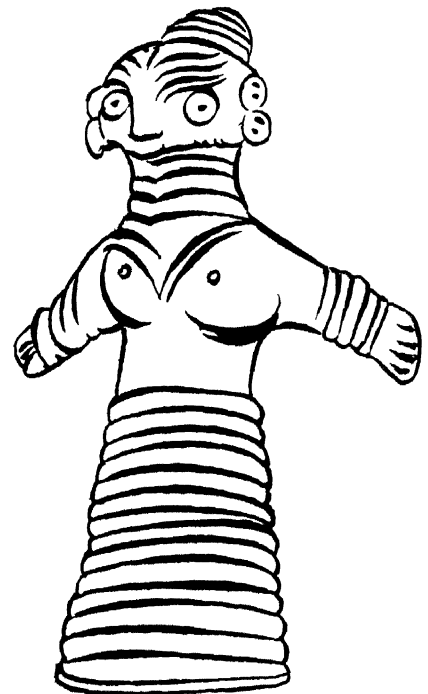
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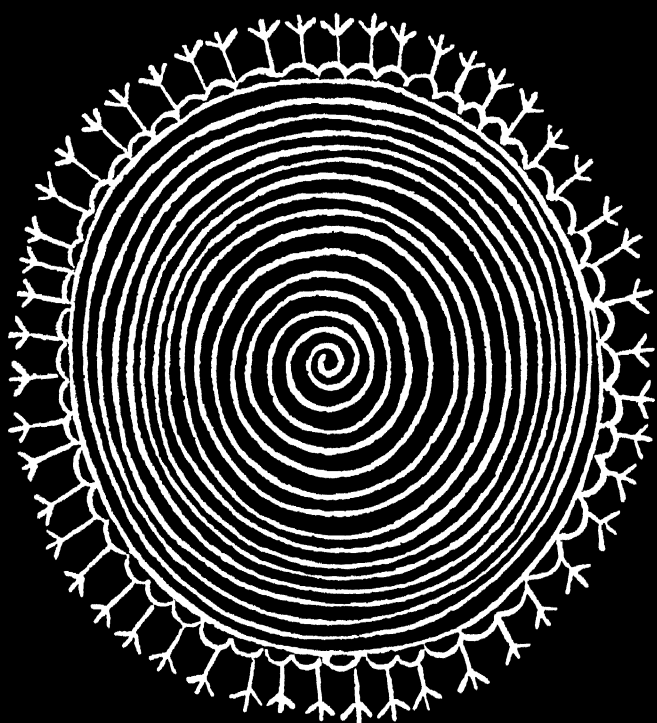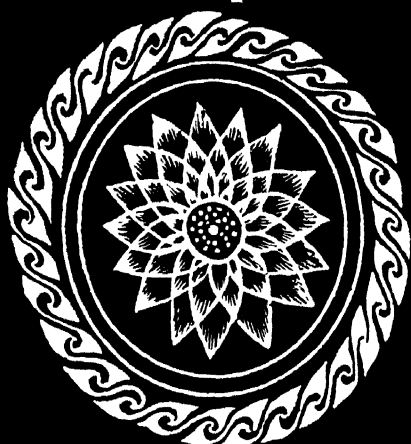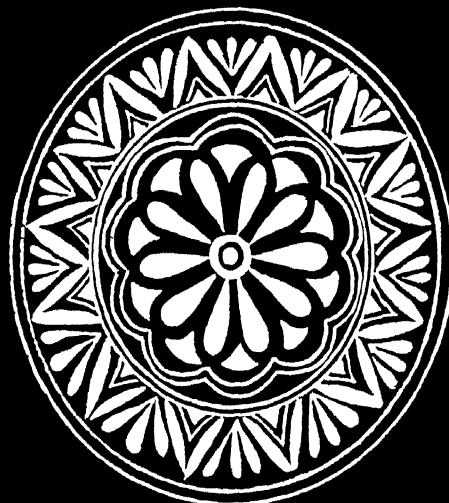
PLATE V

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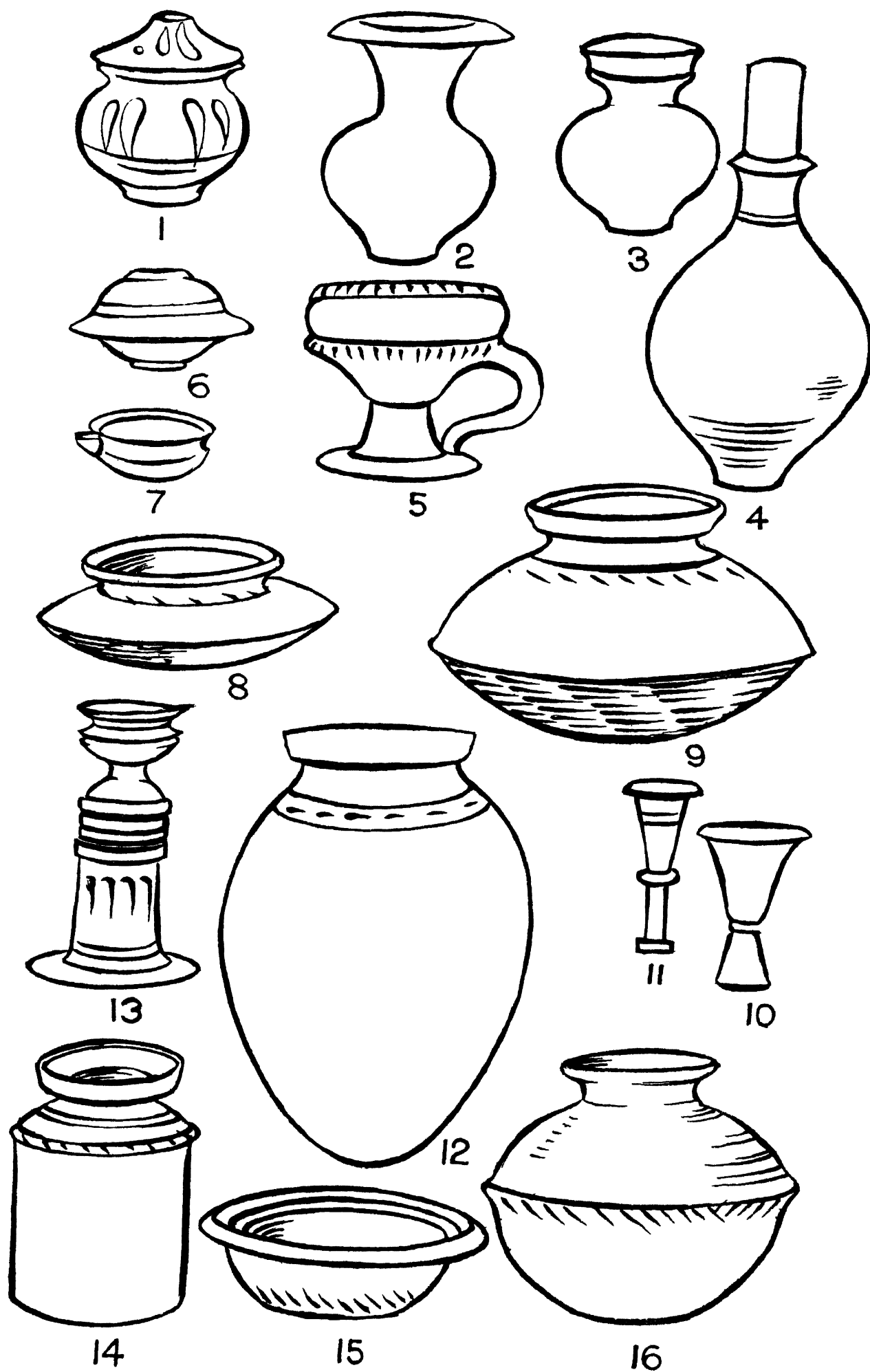
PLATE VA

PLATE VI

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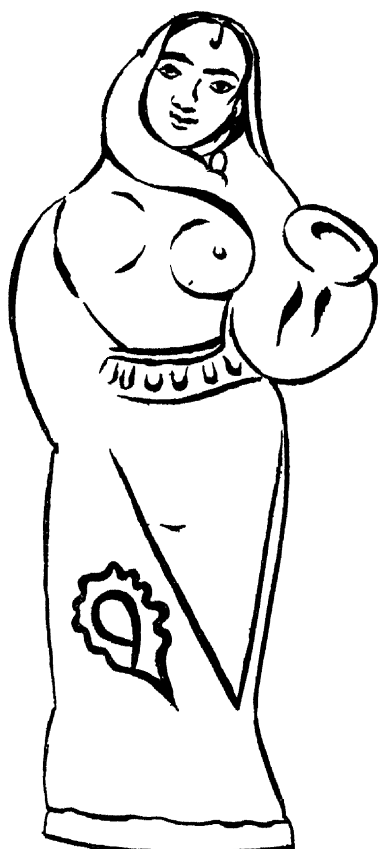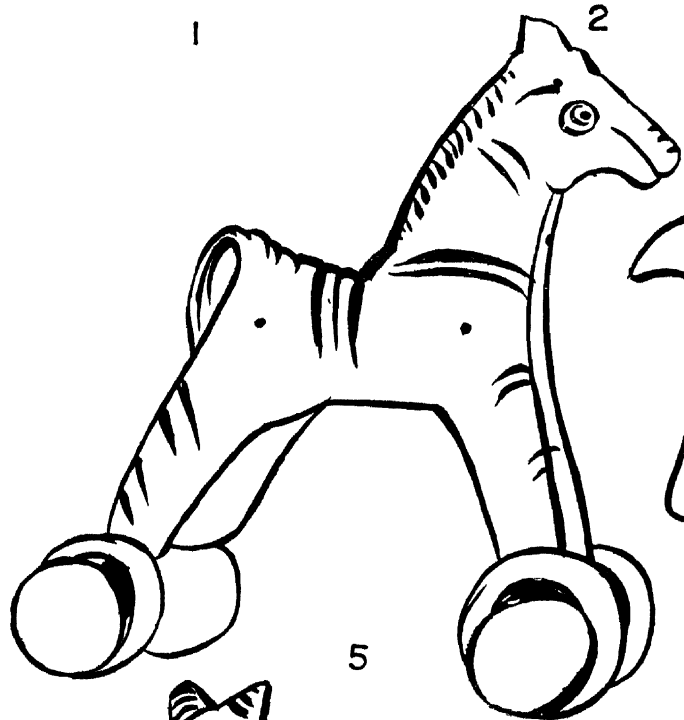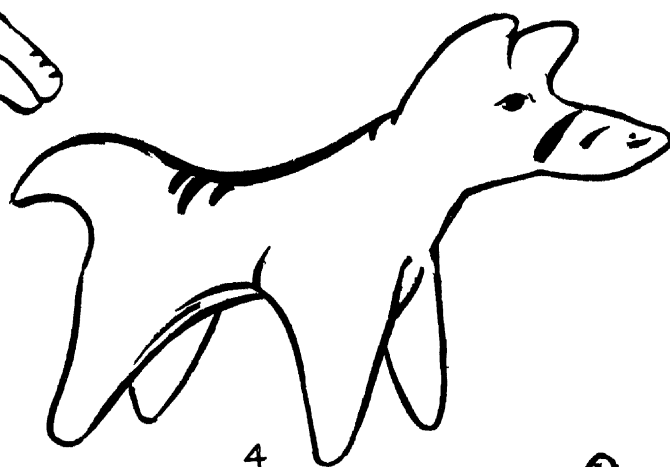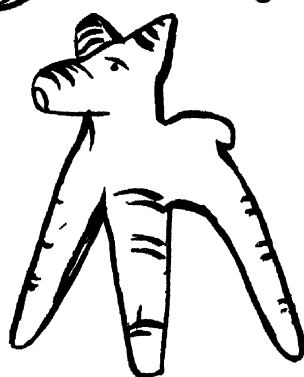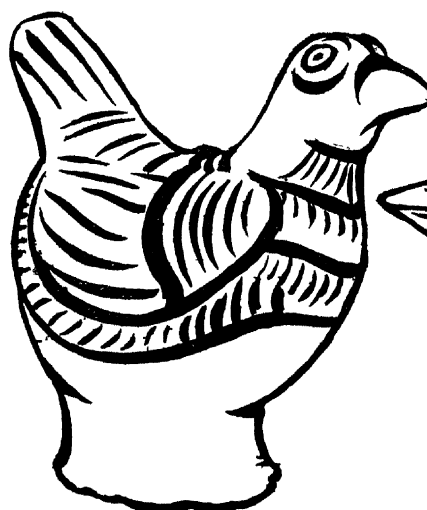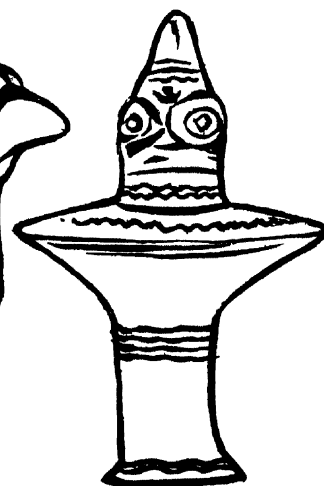
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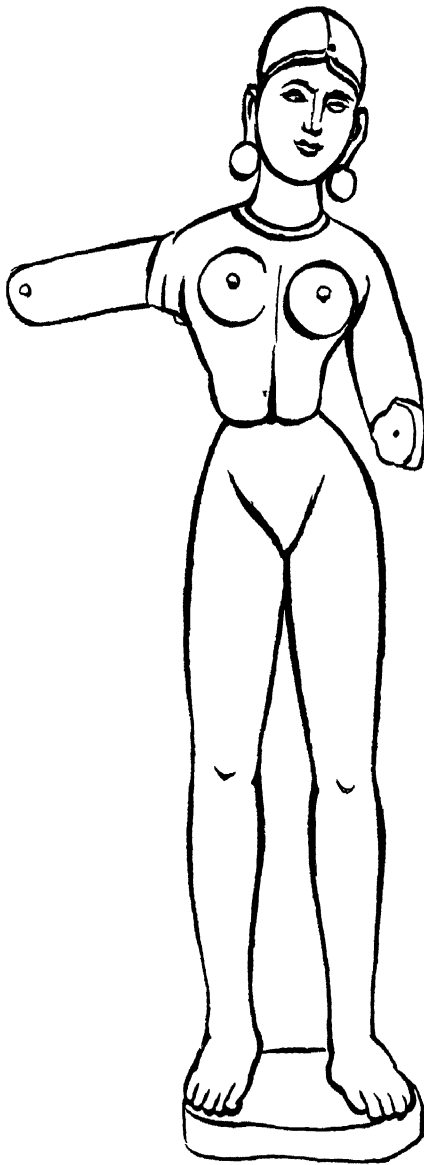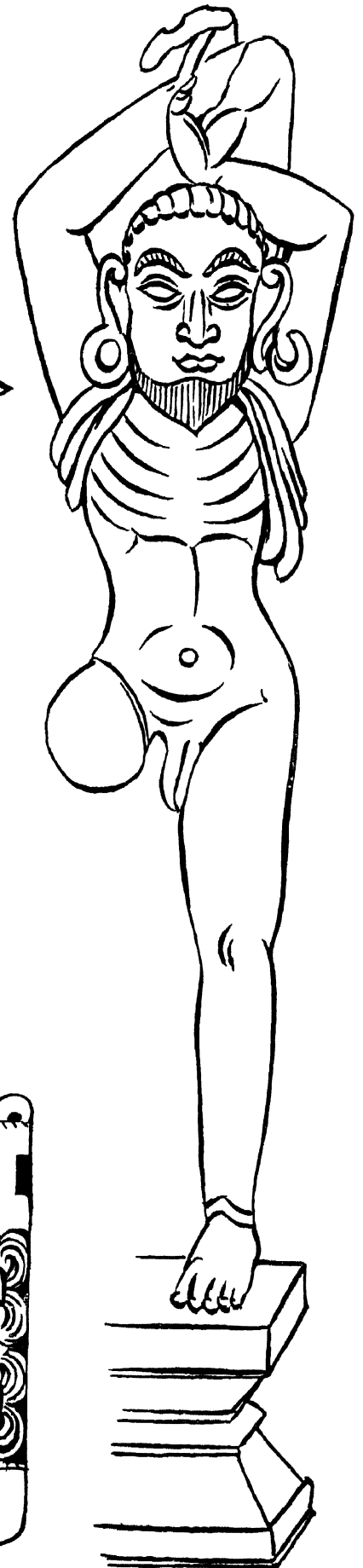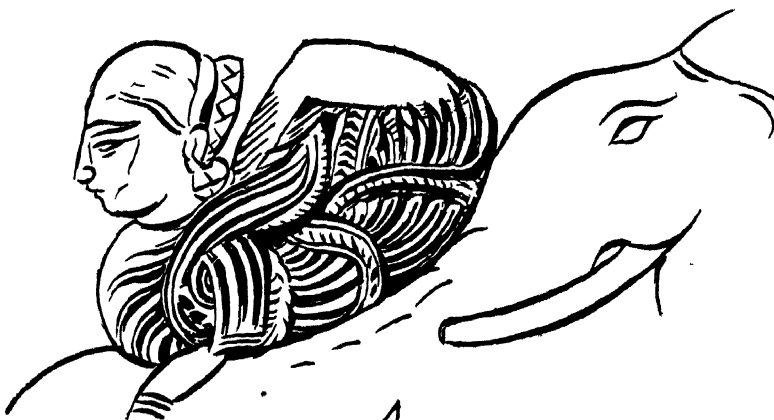
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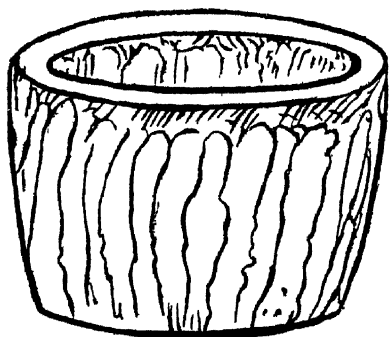
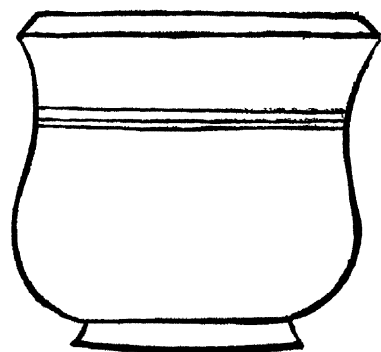
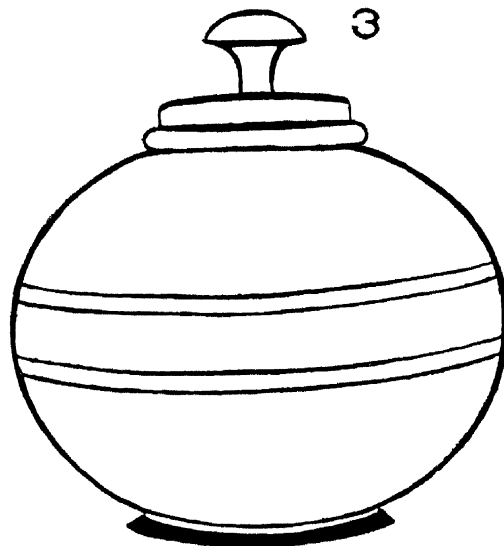
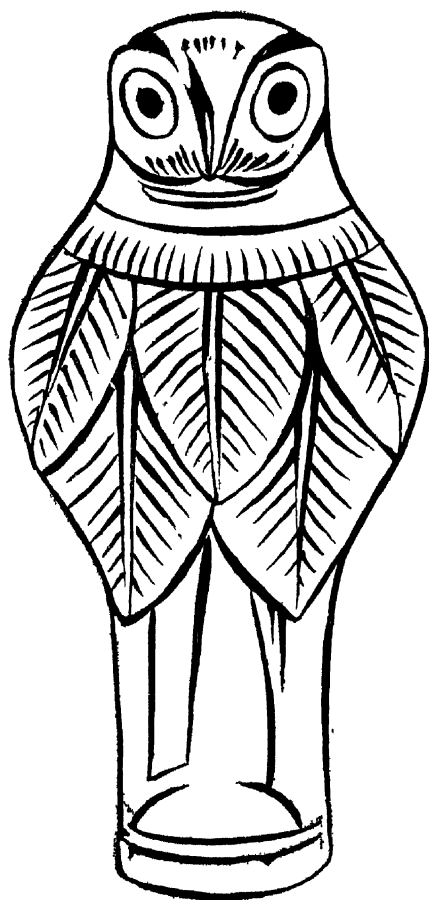
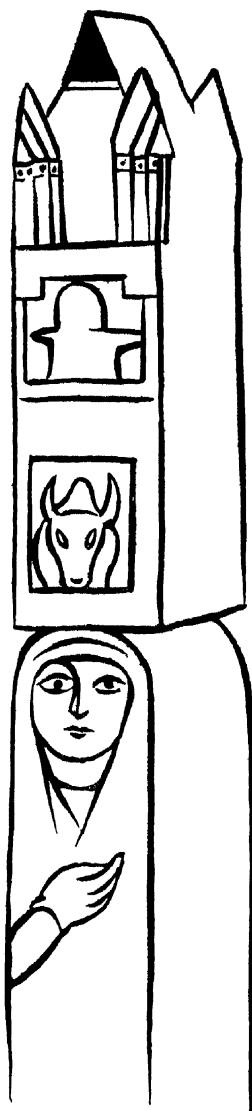
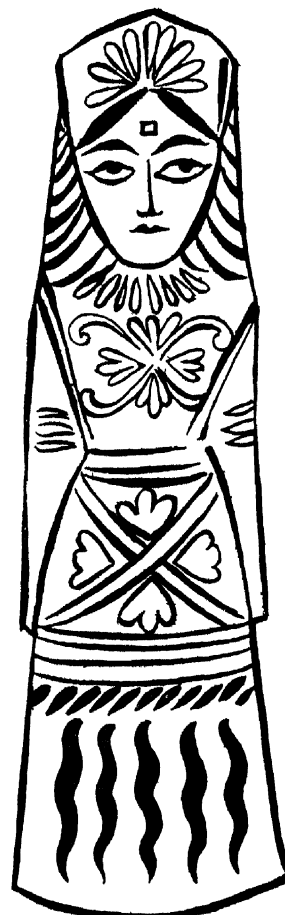
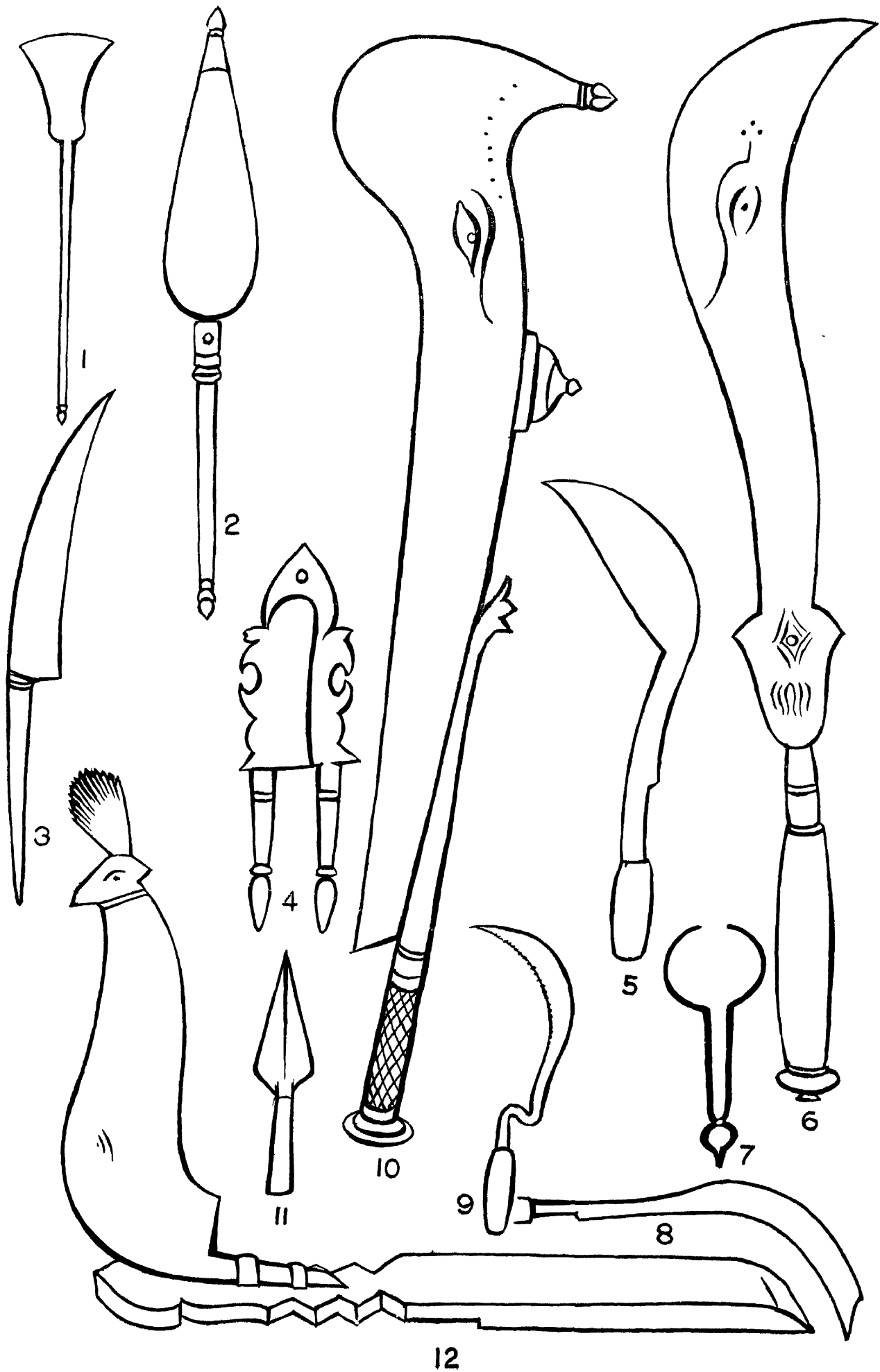
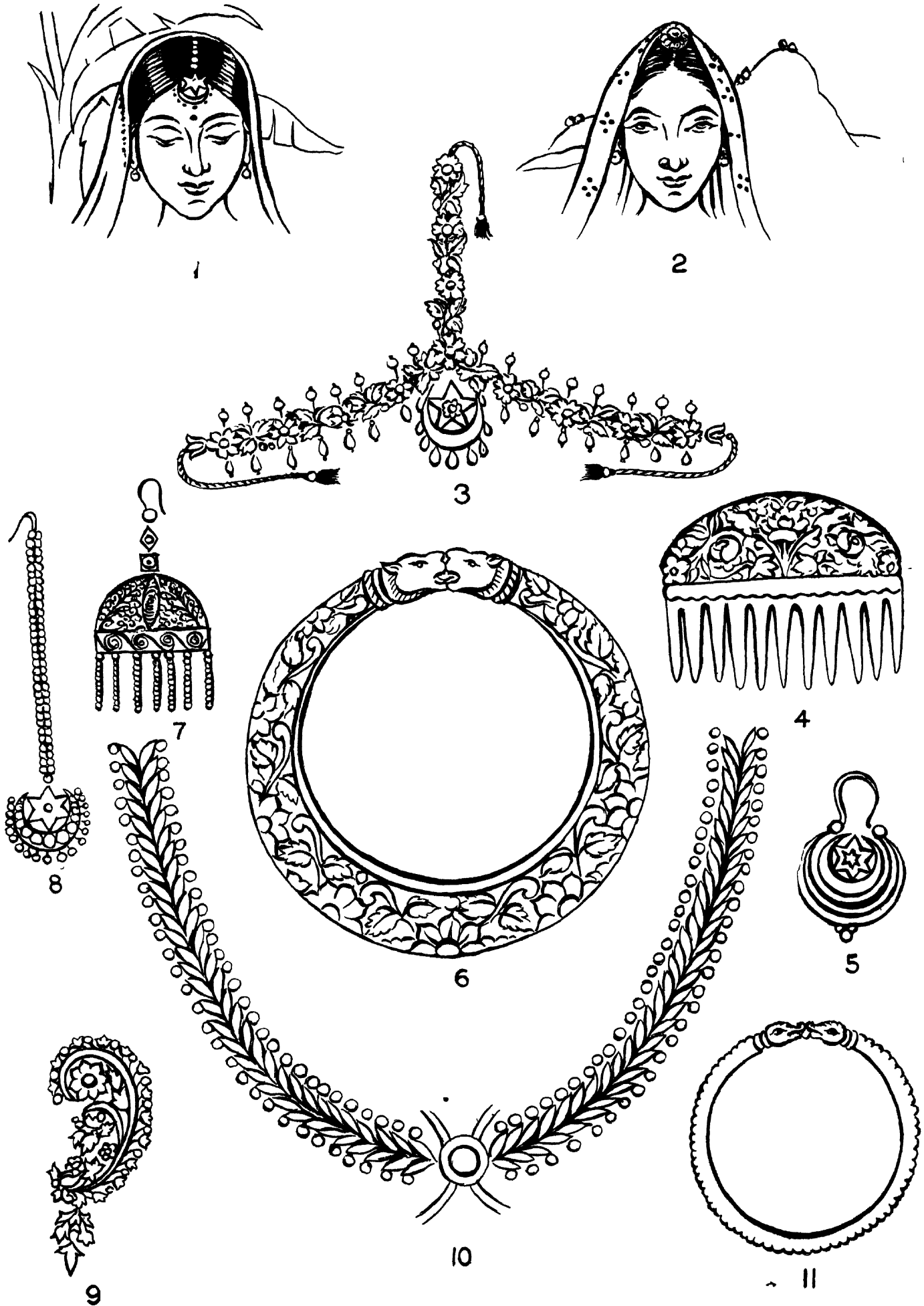


PLATE X

PLATE XI

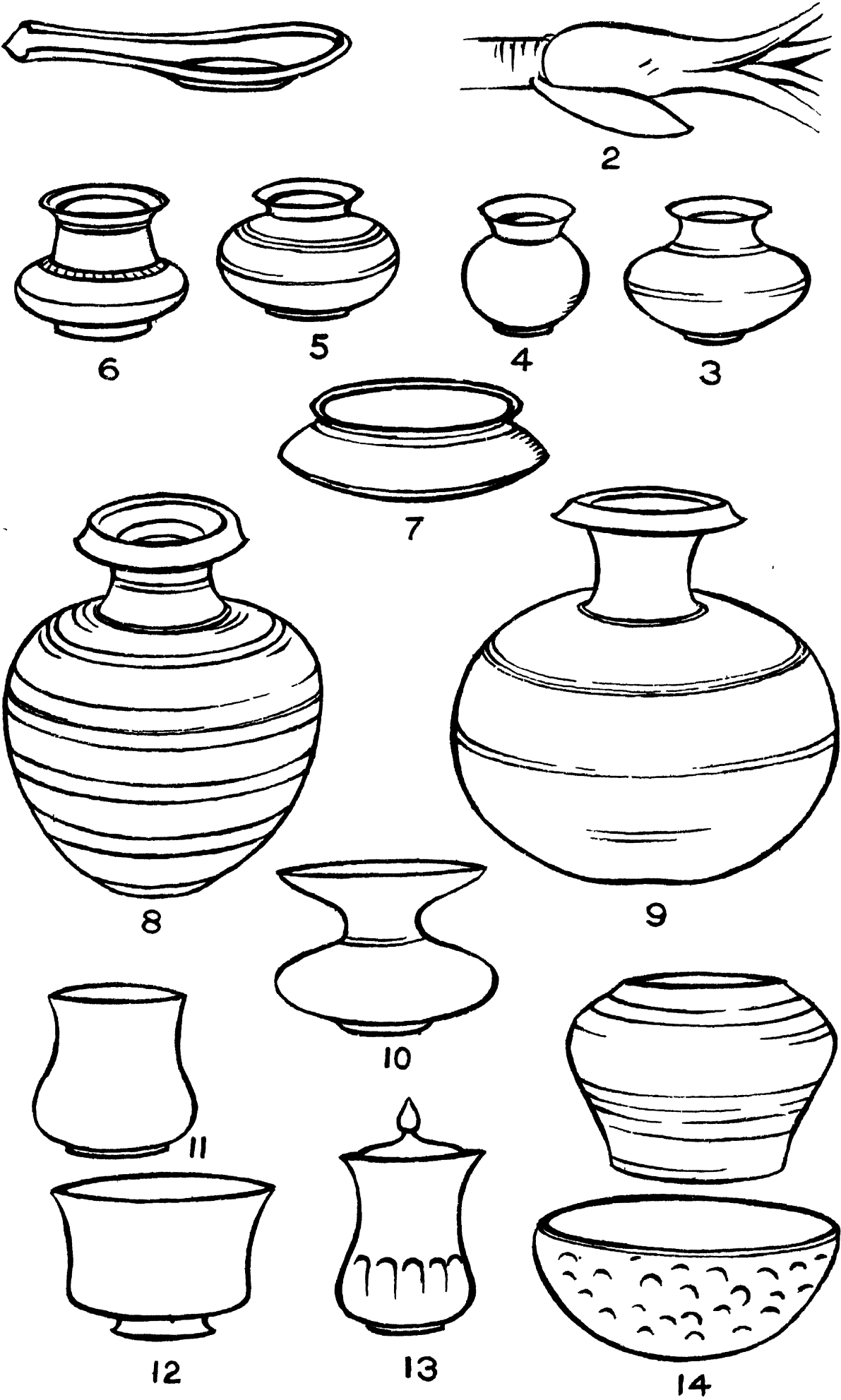
PLATE XII

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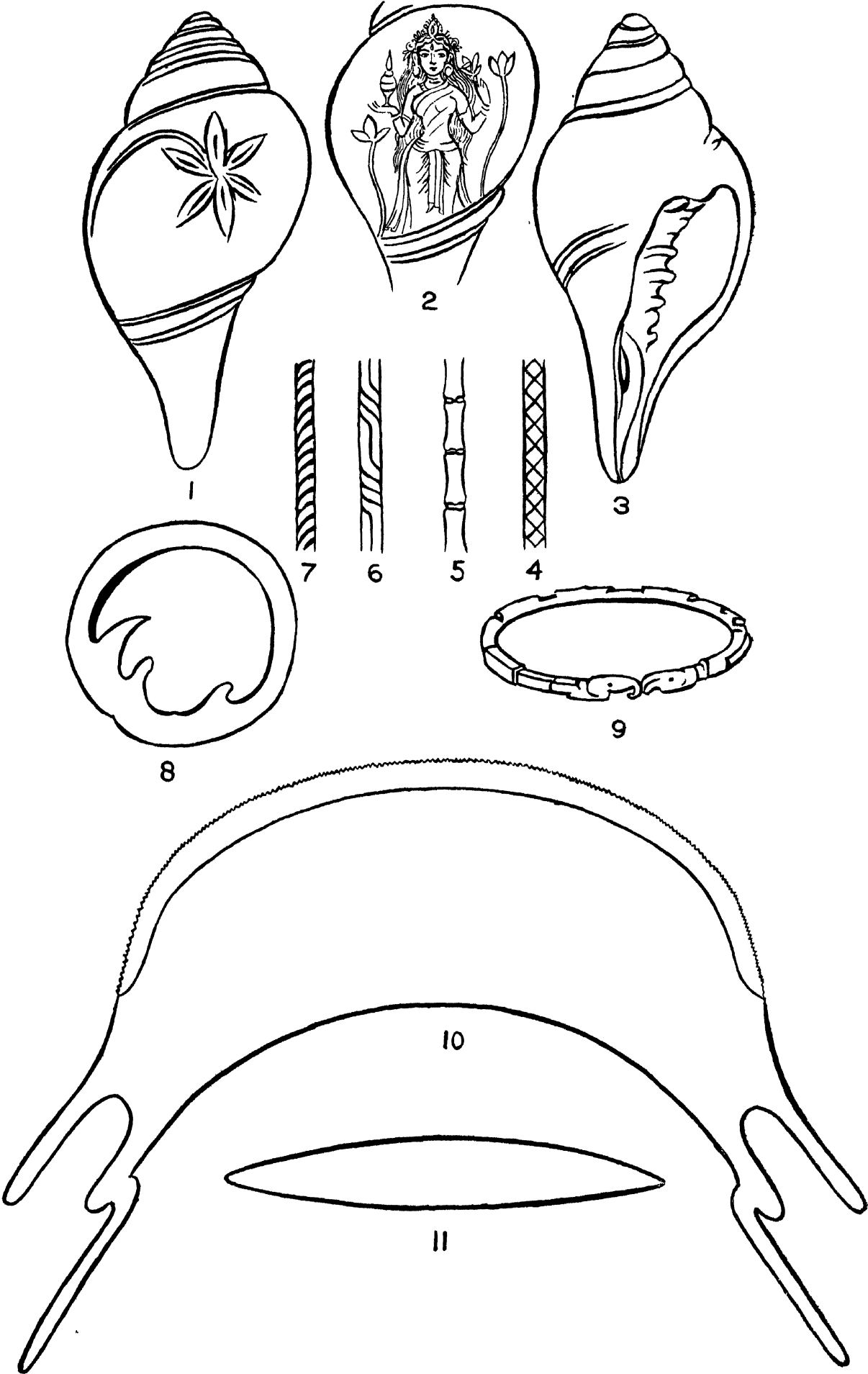
PLATE XIV

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PLATE XV

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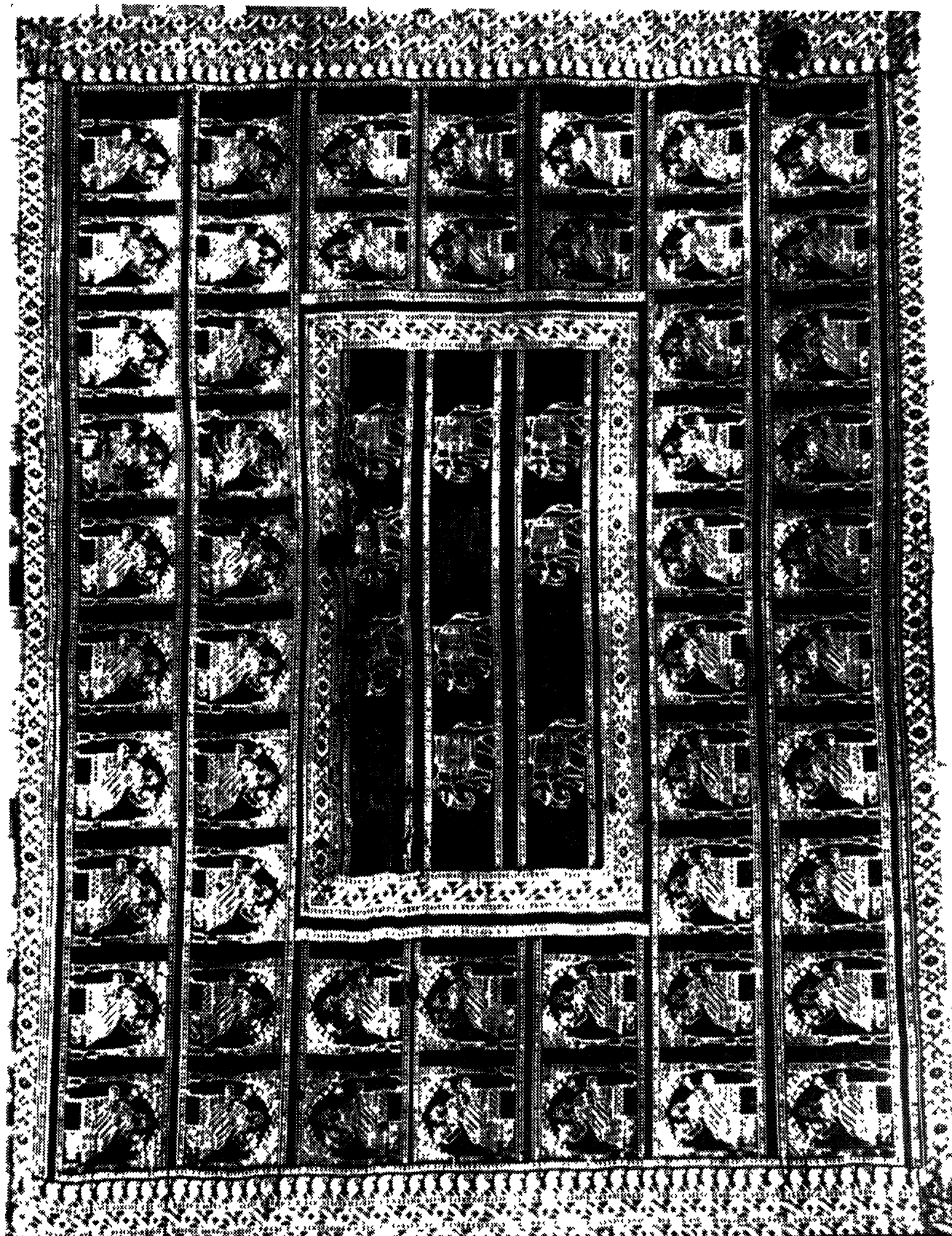
PLATE XVI

DHARMA WORSHIP IN WEST BENGAL

ASUTOSH BHATTACHARYYA

OVER A VAST AREA of West Bengal among almost all sections of the Hindus there is prevalent a religious cult known as Dharma cult. This particular cult is not only confined to the observance of a set of sectarian rituals only, but has also entered deep into the social life of the people in many ways. Moreover, it is not confined to any particular section of society alone; originating in the lowest stratum of society, as will be found in the following discussion, it has reached its uppermost layer in the course of time. Nay, sometimes its influence is felt even beyond the pale of Hindu society—the illiterate Muslim and the artless aboriginal living in this area observe some of its rituals along with their Hindu neighbours. At some period in history the elements of Hinduism were imported from outside, and as such they failed to strike deep roots, but the Dharma cult, originating in this area and incorporating into itself local elements acquired a vital force and hold. As a result more importance is attached to Dharma worship in certain places over this area than to the worship of the goddess Durga.

It is not however a fact that the cult is prevalent all over Western Bengal. Its area can be outlined in the following way. In the north it is limited by the northern boundary of Birbhum district, in the east by the river Bhagirathi, in the south by the Ghatal subdivision and the north of the Sadar subdivision of the Midnapur district and in the west by the Sadar subdivision of the Manbhum district and the western border of the Birbhum district. In early history of Bengal this area was known as Radh. It is over this area that the Dharma cult is prevalent with all its characteristics intact, though it has also been diffused to some extent in the area adjoining the above. Though the Dharma cult has not spread beyond the area described yet the name Dharma though in a different sense is prevalent practically throughout Bengal. In East Bengal by Dharma is generally meant Siva and in North Bengal it means Siva as well as some preceptor of the Nath community. The set of rituals which developed along with the cult in West Bengal is unknown both in East and North Bengal.

It is also not a fact that the cult is uniformly strong throughout the above area of West Bengal. Over the area which has been subject to the influence of Hinduism the cult has also been appreciably influenced by Hinduism. It is only over the area in which Hindu influence has not been so effective that the cult retains its original character to a very great extent. At one time certain parts of the above area were subject to the influence of Buddhism and Jainism. The Dharma cult came under the influence of both these higher religions in those parts of the above area. It is not a fact that Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism were prevalent over the above area at the same time. Had it been so the Dharma cult would have been influenced by one particular religion only in one area. But on the other hand it has been influenced successively by all these three higher religions. Therefore if we analyse today the constituent elements of the Dharma cult we find that over and above the original traits of the cult there are certain other factors which have been eventually borrowed from Buddhism and Hinduism. They have been so assimilated into it that it is now sometimes difficult to recognize their original characters.

Dharma Thakur or Dharmaraj Thakur has no anthropomorphic form; he is not therefore worshipped in any image. A piece of natural crude stone represents the deity. Sometimes more than one piece of stone is worshipped. The number three is preferred. Sometimes iron nails are stuck into the piece of stone; they are explained as the eyes of the deity. People suffering from eye diseases take a vow that they would offer 'eyes' to the deity on recovery. When the prayer is answered the deity is propitiated with the promised offering[1]. Over those parts of the above area where the influence of Puranic Hinduism has been very effective the piece of stone representing the deity is explained as tortoise-shaped[2], and as such it is identified with Vishnu of the Hindu Trinity, because Vishnu appeared in the form of a tortoise in one of his incarnations. But as a matter of fact the stone-representations of Dharma Thakur are not shaped as tortoises by any human hand—as I have already said they are pieces of crude stones picked up in their natural forms. They are generally oval, triangular or conical in shape. Or in other words they have no fixed form. Sometimes abandoned and broken images of Hindu gods are utilized as a representation of Dharma Thakur. For example, the Dharma Thakur worshipped in the village of Bele[3] in the district of

[1]There are many deities known by the name of Dharmaraj in various parts of Bankura, but the most ancient is said to be Briddhāksha, who is enshrined at Sankaripara in the town of Vishnupur. The name *Briddhāksha* means the 'old-eyed one' and the god, who is also commonly known as Bura Dharma, is represented by a piece of stone covered with vermilion and having metal eyes. The priests are a family of karmakaras or blacksmiths known as *Dharma pandits*, and the offerings consist of unboiled rice and sugar; such offerings are made even by Brahmans—A. M.

[2]*See* pages 215-17 of this volume—A.M.

[3]Belia, J. L. 139, P. S. Sainthia—A. M.

Birbhum is represented by the lower half of a broken Hindu stone-image. Therefore, Dharma Thakur is addressed by the worshipping priests as 'multi-formed' (*vahurupa*). Among the aboriginals of Chota Nagpur and Orissa the deity is addressed as Dharmes or Dharam Deota; by this they mean the sun whom they worship as their supreme god. They have no image nor any symbol to represent the god whom they offer prayer directly.

Generally these deities reside at the foot of any tree, which is the only place where the common villagers offer them worship. Except when prayers are necessitated nobody pays any attention to the deity, but during drought or scarcity of rain, the villagers offer him communal worship. When any person suffers from any chronic and incurable disease, worship is offered by him also individually in the hope of recovery. Sometimes a silent vow is taken to this effect and the worship is offered after fulfilment of the desired object. If the recovered person is rich he sometimes build 'shrines' at his own cost for accommodation of the deity. This 'shrine' may be built of mud or brick according to the circumstances of the particular person. Over the area in which there has been considerable Hindu influence the deity is sometimes installed in houses and worshipped as family deity; Brahmin priests are then engaged for his daily worship. Notwithstanding this fact sometimes the deity is offered unorthodox ingredients. In the village Khudkuri in Burdwan district (Jurisdiction List No. 69, P. S. Khandaghosh) there is a tutelary Dharma Thakur at the house of one Aguri (Ugra-Kshatriya). The deity is worshipped daily by a Brahmin priest with the offering of one seer of boiled rice instead of sun-dried rice. Needless to say, the Brahmin priest has practically identified the stone-representation of Dharma with *Salagram*, a stone symbol of the Hindu god Vishnu.

Each Dharma-slab worshipped in a village has got a distinct name of its own. The author of a narrative folk poem known as *Dharma Mangal* written in glorification of the deity mentions the different name and places in the following way:

First I adore the Supreme Being. He has various forms at various places for the sake of the extension of his glory and greatness. I adore Bankuda Ray of Beldiha with single-minded devotion. I offer endless obeisance at the feet of Sital Simha. I adore the two—Phate Simha of Phullar and Bankuda Ray of Baitad with a pure mind and prostrate limbs. I respectfully adore Buda Dharma of Pandugram and Dalu Ray of Shyambazar. I salute Jagat Ray of Depur with folded palms and then I adore Kankdabicha of Gopalpur. I adore with profound veneration Kalachand of Siyas and Bankuda Ray of Nidas. After saluting Svarupnarayan of Gopur who is seated on a golden throne, I adore Rupnarayan of Mangalpur. I shall adore Mohan Ray of village Beduja after I have paid my respects to Yatrasiddhi of Paschimpada. I adore Sital Narayan of Guchuda and also Khudi Ray of Algurichunna carefully. Singing the praises of Malla Dharma of Akutikulla, I adore Shyam Ray of Bandipur. I salute now Kalu Ray with his attendants at Jadagram, and finally I adore with a steadfast mind the Dharma temple of Jajpur.

Sometimes the deities of the different villages are supposed to be related to each other as brothers. Thus the Dharma Thakur of the village Purandarpur in the district of Birbhum is said to be the 'eldest brother' of the deities of the neighbouring villages. On a certain day in the year the 'younger brothers' come out in a procession from their respective villages to meet their 'eldest brother'. The ceremonial meeting takes place in the open air.

Unlike the gods of the Hindu pantheon, Dharma Thakur is considered as a positive force. Barren women offer their prayers to Dharma Thakur in order that they may be blessed with children. In many places it is also believed that the worship of Dharma during a period of drought will bring down heavy showers. In the village Khudkuri of the Burdwan district the Dharma slab which is worshipped by the Aguris as their tutelary deity is brought out from his mudhut in the mid-day sun as a measure of punishment inflicted on him at a time of severe drought. It is believed that this ensures an immediate shower of rain. In the village known as Damra (Jurisdiction List No. 41, P. S. Asansol), adjacent to Asansol in Burdwan the deity is pacified with special offerings so that rain may fall. Over the area influenced by later Hinduism Dharma Thakur is worshipped as a cure-deity of leprosy. People take a vow to worship the deity in order to be rid of rheumatism and eye-troubles. He is also worshipped to prevent the birth of still-born children.

Animal sacrifice is an invariable adjunct to the worship of Dharma. Over the area influenced by Hinduism it is usual now to sacrifice a goat, but as recently as fifty years ago fowls and swine used to be sacrificed to the deity. Originally it was the custom to sacrifice a white goat, but nowadays no hard and fast rule is observed with regard to the colour of the animal. Over the Hindu-influenced area the deity is presented with clay horses which are considered the proper mount of the god. Any number of clay horses heaped beside the deity can be seen in any shrine. With the increase in their number they are thrown outside the shrines in order to make room for new ones. The practice of offering clay horses to Dharma Thakur has ultimately been extended to the local deities also over this area. Therefore clay horses are here sometimes seen at roadside places sacred to all manner of local deities.

The priests of Dharma Thakur should be Doms though nowadays sometimes they hail also from the Hadi, Keyat and similar castes of the lowest stratum of the present Hindu community. The Dom priests of Dharma Thakur take the surname of pandit. Other new-comers to this profession also take identical surnames. In a village where Brahmins predominate either economically or

numerically Brahmin priests are also engaged along with Doms in order to conduct the worship. Sometimes while throughout the year Doms carry on the worship, Brahmin priests are engaged only on special occasions. The annual worship is conducted in most places jointly by Brahmins and Doms or other scheduled caste priests. These Doms are known as Bengali Doms as distinguished from Maghaiya or Turi Doms of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. It is with the Bengali Doms that Dharma worship is an essential religious duty; the Doms of other parts of North India have nothing to do with it.

The lower caste priest-*cum*-supervisors of Dharma shrines are known as *Deyasis* or *Dyasis* often Sanskritized into *Devamsi* meaning part and parcel of the deity. But the word seems to have an etymological relation with the Marathi word *Desai* which denotes a headman 'who may be said in a manner to correspond to a Justice of the Peace' in South Indian villages. The Deyasis administer various quack remedies in the name of the deity. Over the Hindu influenced area the Brahmin priest and the lower caste Deyasi have two distinct and separate functions to perform—the Brahmin offers worship to the deity, and the Deyasi administers quack medicine to the public. At village Bele in the district of Birbhum there is a Dharma shrine which is visited by hundreds of rheumatic patients from a wide area. There is a Brahmin priest and a non-Brahmin Deyasi of the shrine. Formerly the latter enjoyed the monopoly of administering quack medicine to the public against small fees in cash. Being attracted by its income the Brahmin priest also in no time started this practice. The Deyasi challenged his right, and the matter had to be taken to Court. According to its decision both the Brahmin priest and the non-Brahmin Deyasi have been declared competent to administer medicine in the name of the deity. In a pamphlet addressed to patients the non-Brahmin Deyasi however 'warned' them not to be 'cheated' by the Brahmin priest. The quack medicine of this shrine is in very great demand among rheumatic patients. It is claimed that even people from Calcutta visit the shrine for obtaining medicine and as such both the priest and the Deyasi ply a flourishing business. It is believed that the 'medicine' was revealed by Dharma Thakur through a dream.

In former times Dom priests used to be ceremonially initiated to the priesthood of Dharma Thakur. As a sign of initiation they used to put on a copper fillet and copper ring on their persons. Nowadays this practice is seldom observed. Nobody other than a Dom undergoes any initiation ceremony.

The worship of Dharma Thakur is performed in three ways which are detailed below:

First, the daily worship. In a family in which the deity is installed as a tutelary god daily worship is offered generally by Brahmin priests, and extremely simple rites are observed in such connection. There is no codified set of rituals for the guidance of such daily worship which depends on the tradition of each and every individual family. As I have already stated, in an Aguri family of the village Khudkuri in Burdwan the daily worship of the deity is performed with the unorthodox offering of one seer of boiled rice. No animal is sacrificed to the deity in the course of its daily worship, though on some special occasions additional food-offerings are given. But if any vow is taken for the well-being of any particular member of the family to this effect a goat or a pigeon is sacrificed to Dharma Thakur. Daily worship of the family deity is performed twice a day; firstly in the morning the deity is ceremonially awakened from his bed and given a ceremonial bath. After that food-offerings are made, all the rituals being performed by a competent priest. In the evening the deity is ceremonially placed in its bed for the night. Sometimes a very simple food-offering is also given to the deity before it is placed on its bed. From the above account it will be seen that it corresponds to a very great extent to the worship of *Salagram* in a Hindu house. Sometimes Dharma Thakur is perfectly identified with *Salagram* which is supposed to be a form of Vishnu of the Hindu Trinity.

There is, however, another form of daily worship of Dharma Thakur. In villages which have a permanent shrine of the deity and there is provision for it, worship is held every day. These shrines are attended almost daily by villagers, who in fulfilment of their vows taken previously for recovery from illness or any other family mishap, visit the shrines and offer their promised worship. Goats and pigeons are generally sacrificed on such occasions, and a share of the sacrificed animal and other ingredients of worships fall to the priests and the Deyasis. In a famous shrine not a day passes without an animal sacrifice, and its income from visitors is considerable. People from far off villages attend these shrines carrying their ingredients of worship. These shrines have their permanent endowments in land donated by high caste Hindu Zaminders. Hindu officials of such Zaminders generally interfere in the affairs of appointment of the priests and their assistants. As a result lower caste priests like Doms have in many places been ousted by Brahmins. But in Bankura and Midnapur Dom priests are still found to co-operate with the Brahmin interloper. Daily worship is not however held in a village unless it is sufficiently prosperous and populous. In a village where there is a permanent shrine of Dharma Thakur but no daily worship is held, it is generally utilized for the rest of the year as the village public hall where sometimes unrecognized village primary schools are held or more often the village youths and ne'er-do-wells pass their idle hours.

Next comes the annual worship. No annual worship is held of any tutelary or family deity though as I have already said, special worship is occasionally offered to him. Annual worships are held only of those deities who are the property of the whole village and not of any individual householder. Such a deity is known as *baroyari* or belonging to many. Expensive and pompous annual celebrations are always held of a *baroyari* Dharma Thakur who is supposed to be responsible for the well-being of all and sundry of any particular village. But unless there is a permanent shrine and some landed property attached no annual celebration is held, because of the expense which is beyond the reach of the villagers.

The village shrine which remains uncared for for the rest of the year becomes the centre of attraction of the whole village from a fortnight before the day scheduled for the annual worship. The shrines in which daily worships are held now attract large crowds. The annual worship of Dharma Thakur is held on any full moon day between the month of Chaitra (March-April) and the month of Ashadh (June-July) or during the months of drought. Every village has a tradition of its own in this connection. There is a wrong impression among some scholars that the annual worship of Dharma is held on the full-moon day of the month of *Vaishakh* (April-May), 'the sacred birthday of Buddha'. Though it is a fact that the largest number of worships is held on this day no uniform practice is observed in this connection over the whole area. The number of worships held on the full moon day of the month of *Ashadh* (June-July) is negligible. But at Beliatore, containing one of the most important Dharma shrines of Bankura district the annual worship is held on the full moon day of the month of *Ashadh*. The following is a detailed description of the annual worship of Dharma as held in the village of Damra only three miles away from the subdivisional town of Asansol in the Burdwan district.

The annual worship of Dharma Thakur is held on the full moon day of the month of Vaishakh (April-May) in the village Damra. Every year more than a dozen persons take a vow that they were going to be *Bhaktas* or active participants in the celebration of the annual worship. The *Bhaktas* are required to come to the shrine and accept initiation at the hands of the priest twelve days before the annual worship or on the day of *Akshay Tritiya* the third lunar day of the bright half of the month. From that day onward until the full moon day the *Bhaktas* are required to live entirely on milk and fruit and to abstain from other normal duties of their daily life. In view of the fact that milk and fruits have gone mostly beyond the reach of the common people the *Bhaktas* do not assemble at the shrine nowadays earlier than five or six days before the full moon day. On the first day of assembly at the shrine they first undergo ceremonial shaving at the hands of the village barber—they are not required however to shave their heads. Every *Bhakta* irrespective of his caste and creed is provided with a 'sacred thread' and he puts it on like a garland around his neck. All distinctions of castes among the *Bhaktas* disappear with the ceremonial acceptance of this 'sacred thread,' and a Brahmin and a Dom stand on the same footing. Untouchability disappears altogether and every *Bhakta* is entitled to touch the stone representing the deity.

From that day onward the *Bhaktas* take vegetarian diet and avoid preparations of salt. They mostly live on milk and fruit. In the evening of the day of the annual worship of Dharma Thakur the villagers assemble at the shrine carrying lamps as offerings to the deity. Hundreds of burning lamps are placed before the deity within the shrine which is practically flooded with light. The villagers, male and female, fast for the whole day and visit the shrine in the evening with their own offerings to the deity.

From three or four days before the annual worship the deity is ceremonially brought out of the shrine and taken back every evening with the loud beat of drums. This ceremony is known as *baram*. On the day preceding the annual worship the *Bhaktas* hold among themselves a mock fight with the branches of a thorny tree known as *Kantikari*. A large number of visitors is attracted to the shrine by the loud beating of drums made in the course of this mock fight. The people watch with awe and admiration the 'holy deeds' of the devoted *Bhaktas*. During the late hours of the full moon night more than one hundred goats are sacrificed to the deity in the presence of a large crowd. In the evening of the same day the ceremonial bath of the deity in an adjoining tank takes place. This is one of the most important rituals of the annual worship of Dharma. In the evening one of the stone symbols of the deity is carried in a palanquin to a neighbouring tank followed by a huge procession of villagers and accompanied by loud beat of drums not less than half a dozen in number. Barren women coming from distant villages join the procession in large numbers. The stone symbol of the deity is placed on some sun-dried rice in a cane basket. After the procession reaches the tank the cane basket, containing the quantity of rice with the stone symbol of the deity on it, is brought out of the palanquin and is carried by two persons known as the *Dhamatkanni* and the *Deyasi* of the shrine into the middle of the tank up to breast-deep water. The barren women eager to be blessed with children take particular care to follow the deity up to this point and keep themselves ready to receive the 'first drop' of water sanctified by the bath of Dharma Thakur on their heads. As a matter of fact they engage in a scramble to secure a

vantage ground for the 'first drop'. It is very strongly believed here that if the 'first drop' of water in which Dharma Thakur is bathed falls on the head of a barren woman she is sure to conceive within the year, but this 'precious' drop of water escapes through many loop-holes. The cane basket with the deity is dipped into water and immediately raised above. The barren women struggle to place their heads below it through which the water pours down in streams. Some drops of water of this sacred bath are mixed with ordinary water and put into an earthen jar —this water is distributed among the villagers who assemble at the shrine after the holy bath of the deity. The villagers devoutly receive a few drops of this water in their palm and drink some quantity out of it, placing the remaining quantity on their heads.

After the ceremonial bath of Dharma Thakur is over he is carried back to the shrine in the same way in which he was carried to the tank. A few more minor rituals are held at this point after which animals are sacrificed to the deity. The animal sacrifices practically mark the end of the ceremony. It is claimed that originally *cadak* or the hook-swinging ceremony used to be held in the shrine in this connection, which was put a stop to after a fatal accident connected with it.

The above description however does not hold good for every village of West Bengal where the cult prevails. As a matter of fact every village has its own tradition with regard to its observance. These traditions are greatly adhered to in most places. But disintegration of village life, economic distress and various other local factors have now slackened the enthusiasm of villagers in holding these performances strictly according to custom. But there are certain common attributes which have been retained in almost every village even to this day. I can mention here only two; first, the ceremonial bath of Dharma Thakur, and secondly, the idea of potency of Dharma Thakur in removing the barrenness of childless women. These two characteristics of the annual worship of Dharma Thakur are met with in every village.

There are certain features characteristic of the annual worship of Dharma Thakur in Birbhum district. First, in most places country-made wine is offered to the deity in this connection. Secondly, *Bhaktas* make an elaborate display of playing with fire including walking over burning coal or cinders.

The third form of Dharma Puja is known as *Gharbhara* which has now become almost obsolete. It is a very expensive affair and requires a large number of participants. It is held for a period covering twelve days. Two detailed accounts of *Gharbhara* held in Midnapur and Bankura districts have already been published.* The celebration is not however observed in Birbhum district nowadays. I need not go into the details of this celebration here; the interested reader is referred to the publications noted in the footnote.

Along with the development of this cult in the above area there grew up a very rich folk literature known as Dharma Mangal literature. It developed into a distinct contribution to medieval Bengali narrative poetry and it was mainly responsible for attracting the attention of scholars to the Dharma cult at a time when the study of popular religion and literature in this country was still in its infancy. Dharma Mangal is considered as the 'national poetry' of the Raḍha country or the area covered by the Dharma cult. It has incorporated the history, mythology, traditions, folklore, beliefs and superstitions of the above area, and as such it possesses an especial value. The theme of Dharma Mangal is ceremonially recited in narrative song in twenty four sittings, two on each day, in the course of the twelve days of celebration of *Gharbhara* mentioned above. It will not be out of place here to describe in brief the main theme of Dharma Mangal narrated through song and dance by professional musicians in the course of annual and *Gharbhara* celebrations of Dharma Puja.

Dharmapala's son was then emperor of Gauḍa; his prime minister was Mahāmada. One day as the emperor was out hunting on the back of an elephant he saw that Soma Ghosh, one of his most faithful and devoted subjects, was imprisoned through the machinations of none other than his prime minister. He took the prime minister to task and instantly released Soma Ghosh from prison. Then he appointed him guardian to one of his feudatory kings, Karna Sen, who lived in the fort of Trisasthi on the bank of the Ajay and posted him there. Soma Ghosh went away to his new place with his baby son Ichhai.

Karna Sen welcomed Soma Ghosh. In the course of time Ichhai, son of Soma Ghosh, grew very turbulent. He drove away Karna Sen and became the master of the fort himself. He had a new fort built and called it Dhekur. When the emperor's men came from Gauḍa to realise tribute he insulted them and drove them away.

In retaliation, the emperor of Gauḍa invaded Dhekur with an army nine hundred thousand strong but, defeated at the hands of Ichhai, he fled away. The six sons of Karna Sen were killed in battle, his daughters-in-law immolated themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands and the queen also committed suicide. Karna Sen was overwhelmed with sorrow and grief.

*K. P. Chattopadhyaya, "Dharma Worship", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VIII (1942), pp. 99-135 and Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyaya, *Mayurbhatter Sri Dharma Puran* (Calcutta, 1931), Appendix.

Out of sympathy for Karna Sen, the emperor of Gauḍa, proposed to give Ranjavati, his most lovely sister-in-law, in marriage to him. But there were difficulties in the way—on the one hand Karna Sen was old, on the other, Ranjavati was the highly beloved sister of Mahāmada, who would by no means agree to offer her hand to Karna Sen. So the emperor sent Mahāmada away in consultation with the empress and had the nuptial rites duly performed. He then appointed Karna Sen feudatory king of Maynanagar and sent him there with his family. Mahāmada was aggrieved and mortified to hear the news and, being angry with Karna Sen and Ranjabati, promised that he would never again see the face of Ranjavati who was now the wife of an old man. Ranjavati was, however, very anxious to get the news of her father's house, but Karna Sen would not go there uninvited. At last he started for Gauḍa touched by the importunities of his wife.

At the court of the emperor of Gauḍa Mahāmada insulted Karna Sen publicly and made taunting references to Ranjavati's barrenness. When Karna Sen went back to his palace and recounted everything to the queen, she was cut to the quick and began to resort to various remedies for gaining a son. Failing to achieve her end she wished to worship Dharma in order to be blest with a child. She sought the advice of Ramai Pandit in this matter. According to the instructions of Ramai Pandit, she got ready to undergo severe penances for the gift of a son. But Karna Sen prevented her from doing so. But Ranjavati grew desperate. She cited the case of Madana, wife of King Harischandra, and made up her mind to destroy herself at the stakes with the permission of her husband. Seeing her desperation, Karna Sen did not prevent her any more. Ranjavati worshipped Dharma and killed herself cheerfully at the stake. The gods were greatly moved and pleased with her devotion, Dharma Thakur gave Ranjavati the boon of a son. Ranjavati got back her life and in due course she gave birth to a lovely son who was named Lausen. As soon as Mahāmada heard of the birth of Lausen, he sent the thief Inda to Maynanagar in order to kidnap the newborn child. Inda stole off the child Lausen and as he sat on the roadside to take rest, Dharma Thakur recovered the child with the help of Hanumān. Then Dharma Thakur gave Ranjavati another son named Karpur Sen, as the playmate of Lausen. Ranjavati passed her life very happily with her two sons.

In due time Lausen and Karpur were taught the art of wrestling. Hanumān, who was sent from Vaikuntha itself, took charge of their education. By the grace of Dharma Thakur they became great wrestlers within a very short time. Greatly pleased with Lausen's intrepid character, Parvati gave him her own invincible sword.

Lausen expressed a desire to go to Gauḍa with Karpur. But Karna Sen and Ranjavati refused to let them go. At length they were persuaded to grant him permission. But the mother was on the tenter-hooks of suspense lest her children should get into trouble. On an auspicious day the two brothers set out for Gauḍa On the way Lausen had to fight a terrible battle with a tiger named Kamdal. This tiger was the special pet of Parvati. So Lausen was hard put to it to come out victorious in his fight with him. Then he had to fight a ferocious alligator also. But finally he got the better of it through the grace of Dharma Thakur. During these fights the chicken-hearted Karpur left his brother in the lurch for the sake of dear life and fled away to a place of safety.

Then the two brothers got into Jamati. This place was a very dangerous one. The women-folk here were all evil. The cuckolding of their husbands was a daily affair with them. They tried to ensnare any and every male new-comer as soon as they could lay their hands on him. Nayani of this town was the most vicious. She tried her best to tame Lausen but when she failed to achieve her end she threw her own child into a well and lodged a false complaint at court against Lausen who found himself in a helpless situation. But by the grace of Dharma he made the child speak the truth and thus extricated himself from the false charge. Now Lausen started for Golahat, which was another place where woman-folk ruled the roost and did things at their sweet will. When Lausen arrived at this place, the queen Surikṣa tried her utmost to cast a spell over Lausen. But Lausen answered the crucial riddles posed by Suriksa, achieved victory by Dharma's grace and again proceeded towards Gauḍa.

Having overcome all these dangers and difficulties on the way Lausen appeared at Gauḍa. When this news reached Mahāmada he resorted to various means in order to insult him. He had it proclaimed in the town that Lausen and Karpur were thieves, and any one who would be able to arrest them would be rewarded, and any one found guilty of giving them shelter, would be prosecuted. Lausen took shelter in the house of a blacksmith; when he heard this proclamation he left the house of the blacksmith and took shelter under a tree. Karpur, however, deserted Lausen in his difficulty and saved himself by fleeing. At Mahāmada's instance, the king's own elephant was kept tied in Lausen's presence and the following day Lausen was arrested on the charge of being an elephant-stealer and incarcerated in the king's prison. The price of freedom was a fight with this elephant. Through the grace of Dharma Thakur, again, Lausen won his fight with the elephant and then restored the dead elephant to life. All the machinations of Mahāmada were brought to light. The emperor of Gauḍa was exceedingly pleased to recognise Lausen and asked him to select a fine horse from the royal stable. Lausen chose Indra's steed, and decorated with wreaths of victory, and duly

honoured, he made for his own country. On the way he took with him thirteen Doms such as Kalu, etc., and returned to his native land. Ranjavati and Karna Sen were beside themselves with joy to have their sons back.

Mahāmada was now constantly on the look out for opportunities to do Lausen harm. He hit upon new devices to humiliate Lausen. Soon after Lausen's departure for home from the court of the emperor of Gauḍa, Mahāmada counselled the emperor to depute Lausen to Kamrupa in order to realise the tributes of that area. The emperor was a weakling and a puppet in the hands of Mahāmada. He acted on the bidding of Mahāmada. Thus he sent Lausen to Kamrupa according to the advice of Mahāmada. Lausen set out for Kamrupa with his army and Kalu Dom. In the course of his travels as he came to the bank of the Brahmaputra he found that the river was full to the brim. It was difficult to cross the river. At last he came to know that the mother of the emperor of Gauḍa possessed a billhook and a rosary—at the touch of the billhook the water of the river dried up and with the help of the rosary Kamrupa could easily be conquered. He received this information from Hanumān who was sent by Dharmaraj. Subsequently, Lausen armed himself with these two articles from the mother of the emperor of Gauda, crossed the Brahmaputra easily by means of the billhook, and conquered Kamrupa without much difficulty by removing the presiding deity of Kamrupa from the temple with the help of the rosary. Captivated by the heroism and chivalry of Lausen, the king of Kamrupa gave his most beautiful daughter Kalinga in marriage to him. Lausen returned to Gauḍa full of honours. On his way back home from Gauda, he married Amala, daughter of the king of Mangalkot, and took her with him. The king of Burdwan also married his daughter Bimala to him. Lausen returned home with his newly married wives. His parents received them with great joy.

Charmed at the youth and beauty of Kanada, daughter of Haripal, king of Simula, the emperor of Gauḍa intended to marry her in his old age and sent a match-maker to the king for that purpose. The father consented to the marriage, but Kanada took offence, loaded the match-maker with insults and drove him away. Indignant at this humiliation the emperor of Gauda went forth to give battle with an army nine hundred thousand strong. Kanada gave an iron rhinoceros to the emperor of Gauḍa and said that she had vowed to marry any one who would be able to sever the iron rhinoceros in two with one stroke of the sword. The emperor tried his best but in vain: so he became a laughing stock. Consequently, according to the counsel of Mahāmada the emperor of Gauda sent for Lausen. Lausen came along and cut the rhinoceros in twain without difficulty. So Kanada intended to choose him for her husband. This made the emperor of Gauḍa displeased with Lausen. At length Lausen entered into a fight with Kanada on the understanding that if Lausen were defeated at the hands of Kanada he would marry her. During the fight, Lausen was worsted by Kanada through the wiles of Parvati and he married Kanada. Then he went back home with Kanada, his newly married wife. When Mahāmada failed time and again to inflict injury on Lausen, he hit upon a new ruse. He advised the emperor to place Lausen in charge of realising tributes from Dhekur. So the emperor summoned Lausen. When Ranjavati and Karna Sen heard this news they were alarmed, for it was at this Dhekur that Karna Sen was once defeated and lost his six sons. Heedless of everybody's remonstrance Lausen appeared on the bank of the Ajay with nine hundred thousand soldiers with the permission of the emperor of Gauḍa. There he had a terrible fight with Lohata Bajjar, commander of Ichai. Lausen sent the severed head of Lohata Bajjar to the emperor of Gauḍa. Mahāmada made an effigy of Lausen's head with the help of this head, and sent it to Maynanagar. At its sight, Lausen's parents were beside themselves with grief and his wives got ready to mount the funeral pyre. At this juncture Dharma Thakur removed their mistake and saved them from impending calamity.

A terrible fight ensued between Ichai Ghosh and Lausen. Both of them were equally heroic. Lausen was in the good graces of Dharma Thakur, while Ichai was favoured and protected by Parvati. So this was more a fight between gods than mortals. On the one hand, Dharma Thakur was very anxious to protect Lausen, on the other, Parvati continued to join the severed head of her protege time and again and bring him back to life. Finally Lausen came out victorious. Kalu Dom displayed wonderful bravery in this fight.

Now agreeably to the advice of Mahāmada, the emperor of Gauda made grand arrangements for the worship of Dharma. Being displeased with the arrangements of this worship on various grounds Dharma Thakur placed many impediments in its way. In order to be released from sin, the Emperor of Gauḍa asked Lausen to appear before his court according to the suggestion of Mahāmada. Intent on removing all sin from the empire, Lausen went to Hakanda in order to make the sun rise in the west. Placing his reliance on Dharma Thakur, Lausen proceeded to this difficult task. He severed his own body into nine parts in the name of Dharma Thakur and underwent severe penances by making oblations therewith. When Lausen was thus engaged in such hard penances which were going to cost him his life, Mahāmada hatched up a new plot. This time taking advantage of Lausen's absence, Mahāmada himself invaded Mynanagar. His army had to wage a terrible war with Lakhai Domni, who, unaided, fought against this vast army and drove the hostile soldiers accross the river. Kalu sacrificed his life at the hands of a

traitor. Subsequently by the boon of Parvati, Kanada defeated and captured Mahāmada and subjecting him to unspeakable humiliation drove him away.

Lausen was very much aggrieved to hear of this war. Delighted at his unflagging and tireless penances Dharma Thakur ordered the sun to rise in the west on the night of the new moon. Then Lausen presented himself at the court of the emperor of Gauḍa loaded with victory. Mahāmada on his part bribed Harihar Baiti into submission in order to prove the falsity of Lausen's claim that the sun did actually rise in the west. But God-fearing Harihar spoke the truth and Mahāmada was put out of countenance by the evidence of his own man. These misdeeds of Mahāmada annoyed Dharma Thakur. As a result, he was punished with leprosy all over his body. Taking pity on him, Lausen rid him of the disease by the grace of Dharma, but a scar was left in his face as a sign of his past misdeeds. Having propagated the worship of Dharma Thakur on earth, Lausen went to heaven.

Over the last fifty years the identity of Dharma Thakur has been puzzling scholars notwithstanding the fact that the cult is one of the most developed forms of popular religion over the area described. The late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri to whom goes the credit of opening the discussion on this interesting and useful subject, came to the definite conclusion that Dharma Thakur was none other than Buddha, and 'the Dharma puja prevalent in West Bengal is Buddhism'. He contributed more than half a dozen valuable papers written in English and Bengali to establish his theory. As a result of his persistent researches in this direction his theory has been most popular with the general reader, and even today it is generally believed that Dharma Thakur is Buddha in disguise. The late S. C. Ray, the anthropologist, supposed that 'in ancient Hindu literature, the name Dharma is applied to the sun'. He was, therefore, under the impression that Dharma is none other than the sun, an important member of the Hindu pantheon. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, the linguist, supposes that the name Dharma is a Sanskritized form of some lost Austro-Asiatic (Kol-Munda) word meaning tortoise, and the Dharma cult according to him is in some way or other related to a supposed tortoise-cult[1]. Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyaya, however, supposes that Dharma is a later development of the Vedic god Varuna who used to be propitiated with human sacrifice[2]. According to him the *Loue* goat which is sacrificed at the *gharbhara* celebration is the substitute for the human victim. The priests who worship the deity to this day are also no less confused than the scholars about the identity of the deity. They confuse it with Vishnu, Yama (the king of the dead), Siva and Surya (the sun). Due to this indefiniteness of his character he is sometimes invoked as *Vahurupa* or multiform.

Of course it cannot be said that everyone accepted the view of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Sastri right from the beginning. As a matter of fact it gave rise to serious controversy even among his contemporaries, but none among them took the trouble of investigating the matter independently in order to find out the truth. Therefore in the absence of any alternative theory for a considerable period of time the late Sastri's view gained some strength. But recent investigations have minimized the value of his contentions to a very great extent.

One of the main arguments of the late Sastri in support of his theory of Dharma being Buddha is that Dharma worship is held on the 'sacred birthday of Buddha' or the full moon day of the Bengali month of *Vaishakh* (April-May). But later investigations definitely showed that it is not only on the 'sacred birthday of Buddha' or in other words on the full moon day of the Bengali month of *Vaishakh* that the Dharma worship is held, but it is held on any of the four full moon days beginning from the Bengali month of *Chaitra* and ending with the Bengali month of *Ashadh* or in other words during the seasons of drought. In the aforesaid discussion it has been noticed that there are certain rites in it which are nothing but magic to induce rain, and as such it is essentially a ceremony of the summer months. Therefore on the two full moon days of the two months of summer (*Vaishakh*) and *Jyaistha* the worship is held in most of the places. The late H. H. Risley noted more than half a century back that the Doms of West Bengal worshipped Dharam or Dharmaraj 'on the last day of *Jyaistha*'. Therefore it is obvious that the date of the annual worship of Dharma Thakur has nothing to do with 'the sacred birthday of Buddha'.

In a paper entitled *Sri-Dharma-Mangala: A Distant Echo of Lalita-vistara,* the late Sastri attempted a comparison between the *Sri-Dharma-Mangala*, 'the handbook of the Dharma worshippers' and the *Lalita-vistara*, 'the handbook of Buddha's life according to Mahayana School', and he pointed out certain resemblances between the character of Lausen, the hero of *Dharma-Mangal* and Buddha, the hero of *Lalita-vistara.* Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyaya has very ably refuted this theory of the late Sastri. He says 'the resemblance is not however very great and the similarity may be due to borrowing of details from one mythological tale by another, without the necessity of equating Buddha with Dharma. If any equation is justifiable then Lausen has to be equated to the hero of *Lalita-vistara,* which leaves the question at issue unsolved. But a detailed examination does not justify any such identification. For example, Lausen's mother sacrifices herself in order to get a son, and is again brought back to life. Buddha's mother

[1] B. C. Law, Volume I (Calcutta, 1945), pp. 79-80.

[2] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VIII (1942), pp. 132-133.

dies within a few days after the birth of her son The two circumstances are quite different'.[1]

The late Sastri did not also explain why Dharma puja which according to him was a decadent form of Buddhism should be confined to a particular area of Bengal alone. If Buddhism really culminated in the worship of Dharma Thakur in Bengal then it should have been extant in Tippera and Chittagong which were the last refuge of Buddhism in this country.

I have already stated that the late S. C. Roy, the anthropologist, supposed that 'in ancient Hindu literature the name Dharma is applied to the Sun'. Though from the following discussion it will be seen that Dharma Thakur is undoubtedly the sun yet in ancient Hindu literature the sun is never known as Dharma as has been supposed by the eminent anthropologist. In Sanskrit literature Dharmaraja is the name of Yama, the king of the Dead and also of Buddha. But by Dharma or Dharmaraj the sun is never meant there.

The supposition of Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, the philologist, that the word Dharma has been derived from some Austro-Asiatic word of the Kol-Munda family meaning tortoise and that the Dharma cult must have its basis on a supposed tortoise-cult are hardly supported by the existing facts. Dharma Thakur came to be associated with the tortoise at a much later date in certain localities only when the idea of the deity came under the influence of the Hindu Puranas in those areas. Because according to the Puranic tradition the tortoise is among the ten incarnations of Vishnu with whom Dharma Thakur came to be identified by the higher class Hindus. Therefore over the area where Hindu influence predominated the crude stone representative of Dharma Thakur began to be explained as tortoise-shaped. Notwithstanding this the deity is always addressed in the hymns by the priests as shapeless (*nirakar*), formless (*naiva rupam*), without hands and feet (*na ca karacaranau*) and cipher-shaped (*sunya-murti*). None of the above appellations can be attributed to the tortoise. Moreover though some of the aboriginals living on the western border of West Bengal use tortoise as their clan-totem and offer it only a minor place in their creation myths there is no tortoise-cult in the real sense of the term either in West Bengal or in the aboriginal area of her western frontier. Therefore the view that Dharma is related to the tortoise is hardly dependable. But there can be no doubt about the fact that the term Dharma has ultimately some Austric basis.

As regards Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyaya's theory that the Dharma cult is a later development of the Vedic cult of Varuna, question can be raised that supposing it is a Vedic cult why should it be confined to a particular area of West Bengal alone and should be more popular with the lower section of the people specially the Dom whose relationship with Vedic traditions is altogether non-existent? But the point raised by him that a former human sacrifice has been substituted here by the sacrifice of the *Loue* goat deserves serious attention.

Then who is this Dharma Thakur? Before entering into a discussion on this subject the following characteristics of the deity some of which must have been clear from the foregoing discussion should be borne in mind: (*1*) He is worshipped during the months of drought only. (2) His ceremonial bath forms a major ritual in his annual and special worship. (*3*) He is the remover of barrenness. (*4*) Animal sacrifice is an invariable concomitant of his worship. (*5*) He is conceived as all-white and he is pleased with white offerings. (*6*) He is the curer of diseases specially eye-diseases, *e.g.*, jaundice, etc., and skin-disease. (*7*) He is a malignant deity and punishes his detractors with leprosy. (*8*) Clay horses are his favourite offerings. (*9*) Twelve is the sacred number with him. (*10*) The Dom is the custodian of his worship.* (*11*) The following hymn is recited in the course of his worship:

The cipher-shaped should be meditated upon as one who has no beginning, middle or end, who has neither hands nor feet, who has no body, nor any sound, who has no form or shape, who knows neither birth nor death, who is accessible to the best of saints only in their contemplation, who pervades one and all, who is the lord of all the worlds, who fulfils the desire of his devotees, and who showers his blessings both on gods and men.

Now from the above characteristics of the deity an attempt will be made below to establish his identity.

It has been said that 'in the primitive stage of agriculture, the powers supposed to be concerned in sending rain to earth receive the largest share of worship'. The sun is rightly supposed by primitive society to regulate rain and therefore when a drought occurs it becomes necessary either to propitiate the sun by means of worship or to compel it by magical practices to cause rainfall. Therefore, over the particular area of West Bengal where rain is always scarce and drought is almost a common feature it is only natural to believe that the elaborate rituals which are performed during the period of scarcity of rain should be aimed at the sun. In the Dharma temple at Damra in Burdwan district over and above the annual worship of Dharma held during the summer on scheduled date the deity is offered special offerings of *judi* (rice boiled in milk) when scarcity of rain continues for a considerable period of time even after his annual worship. In the village named Khudkuri of the same district the stone-symbol of the deity is taken out from within the shrine and exposed to the summer sun for some time as a measure of 'punishment'

[1]*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bongal,* Vol. VIII (1942), p. 131.

*Dharma worship seems to share a great many characteristics of fertility rites in primitive society—A.M.

inflicted on the deity for extreme cases of continued drought. Had Dharma not been the sun he would not have been held responsible for the scarcity of rain.

In many Dharma shrines hookswinging ceremony (*cadak*) is still held on the occasion of the annual worship of Dharma Thakur. Hookswinging is but a popular form of sun-festival held in 'imitation of swinging of the sun at the beginning of spring or at the solstices—a piece of magic to help the sun move.' The *Bhaktas* or the active participants of the annual worship of Dharma who now gyrate in the air in the course of the hookswinging are believed to be the substitutes for the human victims used to be sacrificed to the sun on similar occasions in the past. I have already stated that the ceremonial bath of Dharma Thakur given on the occasion of his annual and *Gharbhara* forms of worship is a special feature of the Dharma cult. By giving a ceremonial bath to the symbol of the god the primitive agriculturists performed a sympathetic magic in order to cause rainfall. The deity which is given the ceremonial bath for this purpose represents the sun in almost all parts of the world. It may be mentioned in this connection that the ceremonial bath of Jagannath at Puri (*Snan Yatra*) held on the eve of the rainy season is nothing but continuance of the practice of sympathetic magic performed in order to force the sun to cause rainfall. It is still believed throughout the primitive world that the sun is responsible for fertilizing the earth. From the earth the idea has been extended also to women. Therefore the sun is believed throughout to be the remover of barrenness from childless women. Due to the existence of the above qualities in Dharma Thakur he can easily be identified with the sun.

Animal sacrifice is an invariable adjunct to all forms of Dharma worship. The detailed and complicated rituals performed in connection with the sacrifice of the *Loue* goat on the occasion of the *Gharbhara* form of Dharma worship have been rightly supposed by Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyaya as remnant of human sacrifice used to be offered to the deity in earlier times. The sun being the most useful object of visible nature specially at the agricultural stage of culture it drew the most valuable offer from its votaries for itself. A human sacrifice was naturally considered to be the most valuable offer to the 'Supreme Deity' of a primitive tribe. Therefore, it is only natural to believe that the sun was also at a time appeased with the offer of human sacrifice which has now been replaced by animal sacrifice. The rituals which were used to be observed at the now-defunct human sacrifice seem still to continue to some extent in the case of the sacrifice of the *Loue* goat. Therefore from the elaborate rituals of animal sacrifices still observed in connection with the worship of Dharma this deity is identified with the sun-god. It is needless to point out here that he is neither the Vedic nor pseudo-puranic sun-god of higher Hindu pantheon, but the tradition of Dharma is based on a primitive sun-cult though due to subsequent influence of Buddhism and Hinduism it has incorporated into itself certain elements of both of them. According to this primitive conception of sun-god the deity was all-white and he must be pleased with white offerings only. Among the various tribes living from the Madhya Pradesh up to Assam this primitive sun-god is still worshipped with the offer of white sacrifice, mostly white cocks, at the moment of sun-rise. Therefore it has been supposed that at 'some remote past there had been a people living in this Eastern India who were ardent worshippers of the sun-god, and this is the keynote of similarity about the sun-worship in tribes so widely separated from each other physically and geographically as the Khond and the Naga'*. From the association of the Dom in West Bengal with Dharma or the sun-god it is evident that over this area this particular people who are undoubtedly one of the earliest inhabitants of this country were the worshippers of the sun in this specific form. Ultimately when the Hindus came to settle over this area they were also influenced by the local people to a considerable extent. And thus the worship of the primitive sun-deity was accepted by them in a new Hindu garb. Thenceforward the deity came to be known as Dharma which is undoubtedly a Sanskritized name of some primitive non-Hindu word. From the association of the Dom and the suffix *Ray* with the local names of Dharma mentioned before I am inclined to derive the word Dharma as follows: *Domraya—Domra, Dorma*, 'Dharma. According to popular traditions it seems that during the middle ages the Dom developed into a martial race guarding the western border of Bengal in the employment of the local chiefs. With the establishment of British rule the local Dom army was naturally disbanded, but due to their martial habits the Doms failed to settle down as peaceful agriculturists. The necessity of guarding the border having permanently gone the Doms were not considered useful in any way to society. Though it is not definitely known when the migration of the Bengali Doms began, yet it is a fact that a large number of Doms left the province to seek their fortune in the neighbouring aboriginal area from time to time. In this way they spread the name of their Supreme God Dharma in the forms of Dharam Deota, Dharmes, Deramma-sun and various others over the whole of the above aboriginal area where the tribal sun-deity is now known by these Hinduized names though in some cases along with its own tribal names also.†

*See T. C. Das, 'Sun-worship Amongst the Aboriginal Tribes of Eastern India', *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XI (1924).

†Based on the author's *Vangala Mangal Kavyer Itihas* (Second Edition, Calcutta, 1950), Chapter IV.

THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF BENGALEES

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THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF BENGALEES

KSHITISHPRASAD CHATTOPADHYAY

Somatic measurements of different castes and tribes of Bengal, partly in accordance to the technique laid down by anthropologists, were first taken by Sir H. H. Risley with the help of an assistant. His data were published in 1891 (1). Risley's measurements suffered from a serious defect in that his assistant was not properly trained. Also no check was instituted regarding the comparability of measurements taken. The kind of divergences which occur even when quite well-trained anthropologists take measurements of the same subject will be found discussed in the case of four simple measurements—Stature, Head Length, Head Breadth and Head Height, by the present writer (2). The differences are greater for measurements on the nose. Unfortunately, Risley based his views regarding the ethnic origin of Bengalees mainly on such measurements of head shape and the nasal index. Risley's data furnished him with the value of 76·9 as the mean breadth/length cephalic index of 15 caste groups of Bengal and 78·7 as the nasal index. Karl Pearson pointed out some errors in Risley's calculation and the indices have been recalculated by Mahalanobis (3). He has shown the corrected figures to be 77·1 for cephalic index and 79·2 for nasal index. For Brahmans, the corresponding figures are 78·8 and 70·8 and for Kayasthas, they are 78·3 and 70·7, respectively. As Guha has noted, Risley's choice of caste groups was wrong inasmuch as they include the Rajbansi Magh of Chittagong and the Koch of Jalpaiguri, among the fifteen. This is giving undue weightage to types which are peculiar to the frontier areas where intrusion of and admixture with Mongoloid types have occurred. A second defect of Risley's choice of subjects lay in that random sampling was not followed. Also the samples were inadequate*. On the basis of such data Risley ascribed the presence of broad heads in Bengal to Mongoloid admixture.

As Guha has pointed out, the technique followed by Risley (4) in measuring nasal height (nasion to subnasale, often wrongly referred to as nasal length) was defective*. Very great pressure was exercised inwards and upwards at the base of the septum so that the true height of the nose was definitely reduced. The degree of Platyrrhiny found by Risley was, therefore, an exaggerated figure. Risley ascribed this character of the nose to "Dravidian" admixture. It is evident that the data itself is of somewhat dubious value. Also "Dravidian" is a linguistic term and its use for a race especially for one with a platyrrhine nose was unjustified*. Rai Bahadur Rama Prosad Chanda in 1916 suggested that the brachycephaly of Bengalees was of a different origin (5).

In course of the Census Operations of 1931, the Government of India arranged for a series of measurements of various castes and tribes, by its Anthropologist Dr. B. S. Guha, then attached to the Zoological Survey of India. Dr. Guha took measurement of only three Bengalee castes, "the Rarhi Brahmin, the Dakshin Rarhiya Kayasthas, and the Pods of the 24-Parganas, as representing the three sections of the Central Deltaic region removed from the zone of Mongoloid influence". In addition he used the measurements of Dr. A. K. Mitra on Rarhiya Vaidya, Bangaja Vaidya, Subarnabanik Mahisya, and Namasudra castes. The subjects measured by Guha numbered 50 for Brahmins, 50 for Pods and 100 for Kayasthas. Mitra's total was 875 for the five castes. Details of measurements have not however been published. Guha has given the standard deviations of his samples. These are not available for Mitra's subjects. The Brahmans of (undivided) Bengal number several million and include numerous groups, like Rarhi, Varendra, Vaidik, Acharya (Grahavipra) Saptasati and also Barna Brahmanas. Members of lower caste status among these groups often try to pass themselves off as pure Rarhi Brahmins; also the very numerous Srotriya group traditionally owes its lower position to some admixture with non-Brahmins or low status Brahmins. In these circumstances only a large sample taken from groups known to be fairly pure, can be said to furnish an accurate idea of the type. A selection of 50 (male) individuals is too small for the purpose.

It can represent the type of a total population of 2,500 male adults at most, i.e., of a group of size about ten thousand. Although the samples of Kayasthas and Pods are larger, they also are too small, and not being drawn on the basis of random sampling, cannot be considered representative. The Kayasthas having been measured mainly in Calcutta the sample represents the type of this caste in that city. The Pods give some idea of this caste in the 24-Parganas. Generalisations for Bengal from such data are, however, unjustifiable. Although this has been the practice among many anthropologists, their disregard of the limit of the significance of the data collected by them cannot be ignored. This does not mean that the measurements taken by Guha all over India and totalling about two thousand five hundred, are of no value. On the contrary they should be considered to be very small samples taken to some extent at random all over India amidst a population of over 350 million and showing, in a very broad way, certain general types in the population. It is not, however, justifiable to make elaborate comparisons on the basis of such meagre data as Guha has collected. This is apart from the very wrong interpretation of statistical formula made by him through ignorance of the mathematical aspects of the same. How little the type can be judged from measurements of one hundred or two hundred subjects will be apparent from a

*On these points *see* C. J. O'Donnell's Census Report on the Lower Provinces of Bengal and their Feudatories, 1893, pp. 253-63—A.M.

comparison of measurements of the same tribe Oraon by two competent Anthropologists, Dr. P. C. Basu, M.B.(6) and Prof. D. N. Mazumdar, PH.D.(7). The table below shows the head length, head breadth, stature, nasal height, nasal width and facial height for the two series:

TABLE 1

Character	Stature	Head length	Head breadth	Bizygomatic	Bigonial	Nasal height	Nasal width	Total facial height
Measurement 100 individuals, Oraon, Majumdar.	1,614·5	189·43	136·86	130·14	97·7	47·54	37·66	113·38
Oraon, Majumdar 50, individuals.	1,614·24	189·48	136·74	130·18	97·2	47·78	37·38	114·04
Oraon, Basu 250, individuals.	1,618	186·2	138·2	130·7	100·0	48·7	40·2	115·8

The extent to which individuals in the two series resemble each other can be calculated by a simple formula for each individual character. This formula is discussed later. Here the degree of resemblance (or divergence) is noted in percentage below. For Majumdar's measurements only 50 individuals (even numbers of his series) have been taken to indicate the resemblance.

TABLE 2

Character	Stature	Head length	Head breadth	Bizygomatic	Bigonial	Nasal height	Nasal width	Total facial height
Resemblance ..	71	0·14	2·9	48	10^{-2}	4·6	10^{-3}	6·1

It is clear that the Oraons of Majumdar do not at all resemble the Oraons of Basu in respect of head length, nasal width and bigonial diameter and very slightly in respect of head breadth, nasal height and total facial height. There is a good deal of resemblance only for stature and bizygomatic diameter. Other such examples are given later on.

These details have been noted so that the reader not acquainted with the subject may realise how far or how little significance can be attached to comparisons of so-called racial types. It is quite legitimate, for example, to say that the Oraons measured by Mazumdar in a particular area in Uttar Pradesh are of a certain physical type. It is equally clear from Basu's measurements that the Oraons of Ranchi district differ sharply from the Oraons of Mazumdar in type. Evidently it is not permissible, on the basis of either set of measurements to postulate a general Oraon type and theorise on the strength of such a formulation, about the racial composition of the people of the tribal belt in that part of India.

Hence, without taking a large series of measurements on subjects chosen at random, it is not desirable to put forward a hypothesis of racial types and differences. Additional complications are introduced by the well-known fact, often ignored, that head shape as well as stature does change when people emigrate to a distinctly different geographical environment (8).

Our study will, therefore, begin with measurements of much bigger groups of individuals in definite geographical areas. A fairly large series of measurements was taken during 1922-28 on students of the Calcutta University by H. N. Bose, L.M.S., under the supervision and direction of Dr. A. N. Chatterji, M.B., B.S., Lecturer in Physical Anthropology, University of Calcutta. About fifteen per cent. of the measurements was checked by Chatterji and did not vary by more than 5 mm. for stature and 1 mm. for head length and head breadth. The ages of the students varied between 19 and 25 only. Other series of measurements have also been taken since 1928. But Chatterji has published only the details of these earlier measurements recently (9). The total number of subjects measured comes to 9,226. They include 3,025 Brahmins, 716 Vaidyas, 2,504 Kayasthas, 2,091 other Hindu castes and 928 Moslems. This last group consists mainly of Bengali Moslems, and to a small extent of boys from other Provinces. A distinction of the two elements is not possible for a group of 72 Moslem subjects, who are from Calcutta. The rest can be taken as Bengalees although it must be remembered that inter-marriage being permissible among Moslems of different Provinces, the type is likely to have varied more recently than for Hindu castes. The measurements published by Chatterji are of stature, head length and head breadth. These measurements can be taken with great exactitude and as shown by the present writer (10) they are

comparable even when taken by different but trained observers. In this case a medically qualified person trained in anatomy and somatometry carried out the measurements under supervision of a competent anthropologist. The subjects, however, belong mostly to that economic stratum which can send its sons to universities. In order to dispel any wrong idea about the economic condition of families who try to educate their sons at universities, in Bengal, it should be added that the bulk of them are people of the lower middle class. They include peasants with holdings which permit a small surplus after provision of necessities and also craftsmen and petty shop-keepers in similar conditions. Naturally, sons of people much better off, including persons of wealth, also come to the colleges for university education.

Chatterji has shown his data under six zones—the five traditional divisions of Radha, Varendra, Vanga, Chattala and Samatata, and also Calcutta. The average stature and cephalic index for the whole of undivided Bengal comes out as $166 \cdot 3 \pm \cdot 0607$ and $80 \cdot 2 \pm \cdot 0419$ respectively. The analysis of the data for stature and head shape by zones indicates that:

(a) For Radha, "there is no significant variation between the groups Brahmins, Vaidyas and Kayasthas but each of these groups varies significantly from other Hindus and Moslems." The variation between other Hindus and Moslems is not significant.

(b) For Varendra, variation in stature and cephalic index is not significant except that between Brahmins and Moslems in this area there is a significant difference in cephalic index.

(c) For Vanga, the variations are not significant except that the Vaidyas are taller than the members of the other groups.

(d) For Samatata, the Brahmins are taller than members of all other groups. The Vaidyas and Kayasthas are taller than and differ significantly from the other Hindus and Moslems. The variation in cephalic index between Brahmins and Kayasthas is not significant but is appreciable between Brahmins and Vaidyas and is well marked with regard to other Hindus.

The Vaidyas and Kayasthas have no significant difference in stature and cephalic index. The other Hindus and Moslems also do not differ significantly in these respects.

(e) For Chattala, the variation in stature is not significant for different groups. But there is a definite difference in cephalic index between Brahmins and other Hindus and between Brahmins and Moslems. The difference between Vaidyas and the Moslems and other Hindus, as also between Kayasthas and the other Hindus and Moslems is also significant. As the samples for this area were of small size, further comment is not possible. With exceptions here and there most of the Moslems seem to have derived by conversion of Hindus.

Chatterji has also given the percentage distribution of individuals by stature and cephalic index. From this correlation table it is noted that for the whole Province and all groups, the medium mesocephals form the most numerous type (26·88 per cent.) closely followed by medium brachycephals (23·95 per cent). In all zones, this is also the general type of distribution, except in Calcutta where the medium brachycephals form the largest group (30·44 per cent.) with the medium mesocephals occupying second place (21·24 per cent.) Tall brachycephals are also quite numerous (16·11 per cent.) here, with a strong contingent of tall mesocephals (15·04 per cent.).

The medium dolichocephals are equally important in the zones of Radha, Varendra and Vanga. But in Calcutta and Samatata their proportion drops to half that of the three zones enumerated whereas in Chattala it doubles in value. The short dolichocephals are practically negligible in Calcutta and Samatata but are strongest in the Chattala zone. The full details are noted in the table below:

CHATTERJI'S TABLE

Zone	No.	Short			Medium			Tall		
		Dolicho-cephals	Meso-cephals	Brachy-cephals	Dolicho-cephals	Meso-cephals	Brachy-cephals	Dolicho-cephals	Meso-cephals	Brachy-cephals
Radha	1,101	2·82	6·63	4·90	10·81	28·25	18·71	6·36	12·66	8·90
Varendra	509	3·14	7·47	4·13	11·79	30·84	19·65	4·32	11·00	7·66
Vanga	2,391	2·47	8·41	4·89	11·54	27·69	20·32	4·68	12·34	7·65
Chattala	316	4·75	7·91	5·06	19·30	25·32	17·09	6·65	8·54	5·38
Samatata	3,739	0·95	5·64	6·30	4·76	27·25	26·99	2·75	13·42	11·93
Calcutta	1,130	0·53	3·54	5·31	5·49	21·24	30·44	2·30	15·04	16·11
PROVINCE ..	9,226	1·77	6·39	5·48	8·22	26·88	23·95	3·85	12·94	10·51

Analysing on zonal and group basis, Chatterji notes that in addition to the general distribution noted above:

(a) In Raḍha, the medium brachycephals are more numerous among Brahmins, Vaidyas and Kayasthas than among other Hindus and Moslems, specially the latter. The tall brachycephals are also more strongly represented among Brahmins, Kayasthas and Vaidyas than among the other two groups.

(b) In Vanga, the Brahmins and Vaidyas show a much greater incidence of tall brachycephals. The other Hindus and Moslems reveal a decrease in tall brachycephals with a greater incidence of short brachycephals.

(c) In Samatata, the brachycephals medium, as well as tall are more numerous among Brahmins and Kayasthas than other Hindu castes or Moslems.

(d) In Varendra, a special feature is the importance of medium brachycephals in all the groups, although the Brahmins and Kayasthas show a greater percentage in this respect. Also, tall brachycephals are as important among other Hindus as among Brahmins.

(e) In Chattala, the samples are smaller. Nevertheless, they show a high frequency of medium brachycephals among other Hindus and Moslems—higher than that for the other caste groups on an average, while tall brachycephals occur mainly in the group of other Hindus and Moslems.

If we take the three zones which are away from the Assam-Burma frontier, as also from the Himalayan regions, we find that in Raḍha, Samatata and Vanga, we have medium and tall brachycephals much more numerous in the higher caste groups than among other Hindus and Moslems. These two last groups in their turn show a close resemblance. This indicates the presence of a definite brachycephal element among the higher castes. At the same time, the percentage distributions reveal that the divergence in type is not large between higher and lower caste groups. In other words there has been a good deal of admixture and the major physical basis is not very different for the whole Province. In the Chattala area, brachycephaly is more frequent in the other Hindu and Moslem groups. The known fact that broad-headed Mongoloid groups from Arakan side have intermixed with the population accords with the results of measurement. To a less degree admixture with a broad-headed type of Mongoloid origin coming from the Assam side explains the fairly equal degree of prevalence of brachycephaly in all groups in Varendra. If such brachycephaly had been present in the earlier population before the immigrants responsible for this element among higher castes had come, then we should have had a higher percentage of such brachycephal elements in all the zones, among the Brahmins, Kayasthas and Vaidyas. Actually, there is a big drop in brachycephals (medium and tall taken together) in Chattala for Brahmins, Kayasthas and Vaidyas, this being the area furthest from the direction from which (Upper India) the high castes immigrants are traditionally believed to have come. Also if we exclude small samples of Vaidyas in inter-zonal comparison of higher castes, we note that the Brahmins uniformly show a higher incidence of brachycephaly (tall and medium taken together) except in Calcutta and Samatata where they are practically on the same level. The Kayasthas show, however, a perceptible and higher percentage of short brachycephals than Brahmins in all the zones (except Calcutta, which is a recent creation). Also, in the matter of tallness, the Brahmins take a lead over Kayasthas in all zones except Chattala. All these facts taken together indicate that the tall brachycephalic element has come from ancestors of people now known as high caste Brahmins. This is a justifiable conclusion as the groups live in the same climate and have the same food habits and general way of life.

The character of the population to which this brachycephal element was added has been noted earlier. Its major element is the medium mesocephal type. If we take with it the tall mesocephals, the total comes to 40 per cent. approximately of the population. There is also a much smaller component, which is dolichocephalic and of medium stature. It is weakest among higher castes in Samatata and strongest among them in Chattala. In Raḍha dolichocephalic individuals form 22 per cent. and in Samatata only 9 per cent. among other Hindus. A detailed consideration of this basic population can be taken up only with the help of local samples of various caste groups. Before doing so, it is necessary to note something about caste stratification.

In Bengal the caste hierarchy has been for some centuries past (ignoring changes in the present century) as follows:

1 Raḍhi, Varendra and Vaidik Brahmins.

2A Vaidyas and Kayasthas.

2B Kamar (blacksmith), Kansari (bellmetal worker), Tiḷi (traditional oil-maker by rendering, and trader), Barui (betel-vine grower), Kumar (potter), Tanti (weaver), Gandhabanik (spice merchant), Sankhari (conch-shell cutter), Sadgope (cultivator), Napit (barber), one section of Goalas (milkmen) and a few other castes. Water is accepted from these people by orthodox Brahmins. The Brahmins who work as their priests are pure.

3A Subarnabanik (literally gold merchants, actually big businessmen), Acharya Brahmin (astrologer, etc), Sutar (carpenter), Sekra

(goldsmith), ordinary Goalas (milkmen and cowheards) and a few other castes. In the old days, orthodox Brahmins did not accept their water. Daksinatya Vaidika Brahmins, however, took water from Subarnabaniks.

3B Sunri (liquor-maker and seller), Shaha (a section of above caste who are traders), Dhopa (washerman) and a few other castes. Water was not accepted from these groups whom the Napit would not serve by paring toe nails.

4 Kaibartta (fishermen), Pod (fishermen and cultivator), Namasudras (cultivator and fishermen), Bagdi (cultivator, fishermen, etc.) and a few other big regional castes, from whom water is not accepted, and whose touch polluted in old days. All these people do not eat beef.

5. Muchi (leather workers), Dom (basket-makers), Hari (scavengers) who are untouchables and were also "unclean" feeders.

Mr. T. C. Raychaudhury, Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta, has taken measurements of 167 Radhi Brahmins, 179 Varendra Brahmins, 114 Paschatya Vaidika and 100 Daksinatya Vaidika, 100 Vaidyas, 118 Kayasthas of two sections, 100 Goalas, 100 Pods, 100 Namasudras and 100 Bagdis. He has recently published his data (11) and included in his analysis the measurements of Capt. R. N. Basu on 100 Vangaja Kayasthas and Guha's measurements on 100 Daksin Radhi Kayasthas. Although the samples are too small to be representative for the whole of Bengal, they throw a fair amount of light on the problem of racial composition. The Pods, Bagdis, Namasudras and Goalas were measured in the area referred to as Samatata, and in the immediately adjacent area. If in these different samples, the same trend is found, we are justified in inferring the existence of such a trend in the social strata in Central Bengal. Similarly, if all the samples of high caste groups show certain common features in which they differ from the so-called lower groups, then we shall be entitled to ascribe such features to the ancestors of higher social group. In only one respect, this assumption may be questioned. It is well known that stature is influenced by bodily nutrition. The eminent German Anthropologist Martin, for example, showed (12) how the lack of proper nourishing food-supply during the First World War had reduced the stature of German youth. There are other similar cases well known to anthropologists. This point will be dealt with as it arises. Raychaudhuri's measurements on Brahmins are noted below:

	Radhi (167)	Varendra (179)	Paschatya Vaidika (114)	Daksinatya (100)
St ..	1,661·4	1,658·8	1,658·2	1,675·1
HL ..	184·9	184·5	184·6	182·1
HB ..	146·9	147·8	145·6	145·3
CI ..	79·5	80·1	78·9	79·9
NH ..	54·5	55·3	54·8	54·2
NB ..	35·9	36·1	35·3	36·6
NI ..	65·8	65·3	64·1	67·5

They show the close resemblance of Radhi, Varendra and Paschatya Vaidika Brahmins. The Dakshinatya Vaidika are slightly taller. Their heads are also slightly shorter in length but the index is about the same as there is a slight diminution in breadth. The nasal height and width are about the same and the nasal index brings the entire group of Brahmins on the average under the class of leptorrhine, i.e., fine-nosed folk. The correlation tables published by Raychaudhuri show that:

(a) The medium mesocephals are 27:6 per cent. among Radhi Brahmins, 22·8 among Varendras, 23·7 among Paschatya Vaidikas and 27 per cent. among Daksinatya Vaidikas. Nearly three-fourths of these are leptorrhine. (b) The medium brachycephals are 18:6 among Radhis, 23·4 among Varendras, 21·8 among Paschatya Vaidikas and 22 among Daksinatya Vaidikas. The leptorrhine element is equally strong in this group as in the case of mesocephals. A word of caution should be added here against possible criticism on grounds of discrepancy between the measurements of Chatterji and of Raychaudhuri. The figures given by Chatterji are on the basis of "home" districts, i.e., areas where the Brahmin and other families have been resident for some time while Raychaudhuri's figures are for the Brahmin sub-castes irrespective of place of birth and recent ancestral home. Also the latter did not select his sample from among University students.

(c) The tall brachycephals are also important among all Brahmin sub-castes except the Paschatya Vaidika who have a larger proportion of tall mesocephals than the Radhi and Varendra sub-castes. The Daksinatya Vaidika have a somewhat higher proportion of tall brachycephals but also an equally large proportion of tall mesocephals. The tall type in this sub-caste has a mesorrhine nose as frequent as a leptorrhine nose.

Raychaudhuri's measurements on Vaidyas reveal a close agreement in stature and head form with Radhi Brahmins but show a slightly broader nose just within the class mesorrhine. Mitra's measurements of Vaidyas (mean only, which is available) agree closely with that of Raychaudhuri. For Kayasthas, Raychaudhuri has included besides his own measurements of 62 Daksin Radhi Kayasthas and 56 Vangaja Kayasthas, 200 measurements of Bose and Guha as mentioned earlier. The danger of drawing

conclusions from small samples with regard to a very numerous group has been referred to in the beginning of this note. The very great difference in stature found between the samples of Raychaudhuri and Bose for Vangaja Kayasthas is another illustration of the same. In the matter of cephalic index and nasal index, however, all the four series of measurements agree closely. The nasal index is distinctly higher than that of Brahmins while the cephalic index shows no appreciable difference.

Raychaudhuri's measurements show that among the Pod, the Namasudra and Bagdi, 33, 50 and 50 per cent. are of short stature whereas Brahmins, Vaidyas and the Daksin Radhi Kayasthas have a very small proportion of such persons. The proportion of tall persons among these low castes is also very small. Such a sharp difference is not likely to be due entirely to lack of nourishing food, although it has to be admitted that on an average, the lower castes are economically worse off (13). The brachycephal element is, however, quite strong among these lower castes though not to the extent of high castes. It is much higher among Pods but comparatively little among Namasudras and Bagdis. Among these two castes the proportion of the dolichocephal element rises to 28 and 42 per cent. respectively. In the shape of the nose, we find that the Pods have a slightly greater preponderance of mesorrhine noses over leptorrhine noses, with a small proportion of platyrrhine noses. Among Namasudras, the frequency of mesorrhine noses is far greater about two-thirds of the total, while among Bagdis this proportion rises to four-fifths of the total. There are also some platyrrhine noses. The Goalas are shorter than the high caste groups but taller than the lower groups, have fine noses (71 per cent.), have a preponderance of mesocephals (59 per cent.), with a strong dolichocephal strain (24 per cent.). Individual measurements are available only for another caste, the Rajbanshis of Darjeeling district. Mr. Gautam Sankar Ray, Lecturer of the Department of Anthropology, has published his measurements of 100 Rajbanshis, along with correlation tables (14). The dolicho-mesorrhine type rises to 32 per cent. among this group and is associated with short or medium stature. The combination of medium stature mesocephalic head and leptorrhine nose is also fairly important (23 per cent.). Dolichocephals of all kinds, however, total about 51 per cent. A small proportion of platyrrhine noses is also present. The presence of a major dolichocephal element among tribal populations of Chotanagpur has been noted by more than one observer. The proportion of dolichocephals is 70:8 per cent. and 72:8 per cent. among Mundas and Oraons respectively of Chotanagpur, measured by P. C. Basu (15). The nose form varies from mesorrhine to platyrrhine. The correlation table is noted below:

Type	Dolicho-lepto-rrhine	Dolicho-meso-rrhine	Dolicho-platy-rrhine	Meso-cephal-lepto-rrhine	Meso-cephal-meso-rrhine	Meso-cephal-platy-rrhine	Brachy-cephal-lepto-rrhine	Brachy-cephal-meso-rrhine	Brachy-cephal-platy-rrhine.
Per cent. ..	1·2	43·6	28·0	Nil	16·4	8·4	Nil	7·0	·04

Majumdar's measurements of tribals of Uttar Pradesh also generally support the existence of such a type. It is evident from the foregoing data that a small proportion of a dolicho-platyrrhine element of short stature has been contributed by primitive people who lived in this part of the country or its neighbourhood before the other immigrants came. From our knowledge of the material culture of Juangs, Birhors and other tribes of adjacent areas we can postulate that these ancient aboriginal folk lived by hunting and collecting, and hence of necessity very thinly populated the country. Thereupon when immigrants with knowledge of food-growing came, these later people had a much more numerous population for the same area. Part of the aboriginals would withdraw into the fastnesses of the wild. But some would be absorbed in the new population. Since the original density was very low and only a small part of it would go to the mixture, the contribution to the racial element would necessarily be very small. This Nisadic type, so named by Chanda, does in fact appear in the population as a very low percentage.

Before discussing the origin of the other elements in the population, it is necessary to consider the historical evidence in regard to the growth of Hindu society. Chattopadhyay (16) had suggested in a paper on the origin of the caste system that there had been at least two major streams of distinctly different cultures and possibly a third stream in the period generally referred to as of Indo-Aryan immigrations. He noted evidence from the structure of the caste system itself in different Provinces in favour of his hypothesis that each immigrant group had partly intermixed with the earlier population, imparted to it a limited portion of its knowledge of material culture and developed into a society of three starta—the pure at top, the mixed in the middle, and the unmixed people at bottom, of the social scale. Due to conflict between the different immigrant cultures, the mixed group of each set seggregated itself sharply and protected itself by barriers against inter-marriage and inter-dining. Difference in food habits and sex and marriage rules as also in gods and mode of worship accentuated such isolation. From his study of Newar culture of

Nepal (17), Chattopadhyay pointed out that there was definite evidence of growth of simple horizontal strata without the bars against intermarriage at the same social level when a fine-featured superior immigrant people settled among a primitive folk. In the same paper it was shown that a people with knowledge of domestication of cattle and of hoe culture had come to Nepal before knowledge of milking and of plough cultivation had reached this country. In a recent paper (18) Chattopadhyay has discussed the relevant evidence from Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Tandyamahabrahmana, Satapatha Brahmana, Atharvaveda, different Grantha and Grihya Sutras and the Mahabharata as well as later Smritis. He has shown from ancient literary references that there had come as far as Magadha at least a tribal people from outside India with knowledge of domestication of cattle but without any knowledge of agriculture. Other evidence has also been given indicating that these culturbringers had spread among primitive folk in North-Eastern India including Bengal and Assam, as also to the Central Provinces and Chotanagpur. This immigration had occurred before the development of Ṛgvedic culture in the extreme north-western part of India and its adjacent lands.

From the evidence of Ṛgveda itself it has been shown that another section of these cattle-rearers had come under the dominance of a matrilineal hoe cultivation people some of whom lived in well-organised puras, i.e., ancient urban centres. These proto-Ṛgvedic folk mixed through inter-marriage, with the settled agriculturists, adopted their gods and some of their customs but in a modified form. A pure strain also lived in the same modified culture side by side with the mixed group. This culture is what we refer to as Ṛgvedic culture. Referring to the hoe cultivators as H people, we may say that there was a mixture of Paud H resulting in PH with strong H influence and also a modified P, folk who together constituted Ṛgvedic folk. The Ṛgveda notes that subsequently the domination of the Hoe folk was ended by war and destruction of their urban centres.

According to later tradition the groups of Paud folk who had remained unmodified and more mobile, had helped their relatives P_1 of Ṛgvedic culture. Finally trouble broke out between the PH folk and P_1 folk, both of whom had built up the Vedic culture. The PH folk were defeated at the famous battle of ten kinds and driven back downwards and to Sind. After this period the H folk are also mentioned as living in the East, beyond Magadha. The influence of the P folk who had not accepted the elements of the H culture in the Ṛgvedic period, now led to changes in rules of marriage and in other spheres. Thus widow marriage which was usual by unrestricted levirate in Ṛgvedic age, was at first limited to Niyoga form and finally put down altogether. Cross-cousin marriage which had developed among the mixed folk termed PH, was not tolerated in the central Jumna Ganges valley which became the stronghold of the P and P_1 folk. Remnants of the PH and H people survived, however, in Gandhara (Kandahar) and adjoining areas and to the east and south of the orthodox area. Some of the mixed PH folk, however, continued to live and maintain their older culture in the eastern part of what is now Uttar Pradesh, and in parts of Bihar. Some also survived in Mid-India. These people were known as Rajanyas and later were taken over into Hindu society as Rajputs.

If, therefore, there had been a difference in physical type between the Hoe cultivators and the Pastoral herders, we should find a clear indication of it in the Brahmins of Uttar Pradesh as compared to the high caste groups of the country east of Magadha, i.e., in Bengal, and also among some Rajputs in U. P. Further such a strain should be found also in Gujarat and Maharashtra as also in Sind and Baluchistan. Measurements by Guha as well as the more detailed measurements of Mazumdar reveal that the Uttar Pradesh Brahmins and Chattris are very definitely dolichocephalic. The strong brachycephal element among high castes in Bengal has, therefore, to be ascribed to the Hoe culture folk. The occurrence of brachycephaly among Uttar Pradesh Rajputs (found by Guha) and also in the high castes of the western littoral of India is to be ascribed to this race.

We have noted before that an early immigration of pastoral folk still without knowledge of cultivation is indicated by analysis of culture. Since they were of the same stock as the later P_1 people, i.e., ancestors of modern Brahmins of Uttar Pradesh, they must also have been dolichocephalic. If these earlier pastoral folk had entered India before knowledge of milking had developed, we may expect the later pastorals to be better nourished; adoption of agriculture by the latter would still further improve the physique. On the other hand the earlier pastorals would be more likely to get mixed with the tribal aboriginal folk and suffer a diminution in stature, and an increase in the nasal index. Since the later pastorals formed the dominant group subsequently, the mixed population resulting from the earlier pastoral immigration would be economically worse off. They might have adequate grain food, but milk would be much less available and possibly also flesh food of domesticated animals to a less extent than among the higher groups. Hence a difference in stature would be perpetuated. As regards the nose, the climate would tend to stabilise the width of it (19) roughly to the same aperture. The nasal height would, however, be different as depending more on the hereditary bony structure. Since this was greater for the finer-nosed immigrants the later less mixed folk would have finer noses,

and the more mixed earlier comers have medium noses. The basic population of medium to short stature with mesorrhine noses and dolichocephalic to mesocephalic seems to have developed in this way. Guha states that the Uttar Pradesh Brahmins and Sikhs of the Punjab have resulted from addition of a "longheaded strain with tall stature. In its purest form it is found (among) the Kaffirs, and the Pathan". It appears, however, from the actual measurements given by him that the 50 Uttar Pradesh Brahmins measured by him are only 1654·78±5·24 mm. in stature. On page lxii of his note Guha, however, states that "if we take the Sikhs and the Uttar Pradesh Brahmins as representatives we get the following mean value for this type. Stature 1686·39". It appears that the stature of 76 Sikh soldiers as measured by Eickstedt and corrected by Guha was 1718 mm. The alleged stature of the "mean value" is the average of 1654 mm. of Uttar Pradesh Brahmins (Guha) and 1718 mm. of Sikhs (Eickstedt). It is utterly unjustifiable to take a mean value in this fashion by lumping together a tall people from the Punjab and a caste of medium stature of the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). Majumdar's measurements of 85 Basti Brahmins mainly Sarjupuria, 92 other Brahmins mainly Kanaujia, and 139 Chattris show their average statures to be 1645·1±5·51, 1650·7±6·00 and 1633·3±4·82 respectively. The proportion of tall individuals in these groups (1700 mm. and over) is less than 14 per cent. in each case. Since the average stature found by Mazumdar among Uttar Pradesh high castes agrees excellently with that actually found by Guha, we may reject his (Guha's) forced mean which has no real significance. The actual measurements, therefore, fully support the conclusion that the pastoral folk who came were medium-statured dolichocephals with fine noses. The tall long-headed type found in the Punjab cannot be referred to the Ṛgvedic period. It is well known that from the Sunga period down to the Pathan invasion more or less large bodies of invaders have come and settled in the Punjab. It is difficult in these circumstances to disentangle the racial elements contributed by Ṛgvedic folk in this particular area which has served as the anteroom so to say to all visitors to India by the north-western land route. The population in Uttar Pradesh has been far less disturbed by later immigrations. Areas further east, and to the south have felt such effects even less. The stabilising effects of the socio-economic structure and the geographical environment have enabled the people in these areas to maintain the type through several millenia. Taller stature is in fact found further to the east, i.e., nearer Bengal. Dr. B. K. Chatterji's measurements (20) of 160 Kanaujias and 190 Maithils both of Behar, and found to be closely related racially by Statistical tests, show that the mean statures were 1650·61±2:94 and 1653·52±3:14 m.m. respectively. The average cephalic indices was 76·10±0·21 and 75·90±0·20 for Kanaujia and Maithil Brahmans. There are among them approximately 34·4 and 31·6 per cent. tall and 18·7 and 13·7 per cent. short men. The rest are of medium stature. Dolichocephaly occurs among 51·3 per cent. Kanaujias and 53·7 per cent. Maithils, while brachycephaly is found only in 11·3 and 9·0 per cent. of cases. The rest are mesocephals. Here also medium stature prevails. B. K. Chatterji's subjects were, according to him, taken round about Patna city. The incidence of tallness round about Calcutta found by Dr. A. Chatterjee (*see* earlier) seems to be paralleled here. Historically we know that the Magadha area was a place where people descended from Asuras had built empires. Hence we might expect taller people in this area than further west in Uttar Pradesh.

A few words of explanation regarding the statistical formulae used is necessary. If any series of measurements, say of stature of a group of Oraons, is represented by means of histograms on XY co-ordinates the total area will represent the total frequency. If a curve is fitted to the outline of the histogram to show the frequency distribution it can be shown that the area between any two ordinates and the curve and the X-axis will give the total frequency between such values. The spread of the curve on the two sides of the mean value is indicated in terms of the Standard Deviation. It can be proved that values differing from the mean by more than three times the Standard Deviation (=S.D.) have a frequency of only 0·3 per cent. of the total. For a value of about 0:67 times the S.D. the area outside the ordinates is equal to that inside, i.e., there is 50 per cent. chance of occurrence of such values. If two samples are taken and their means are m_1 and m_2 and the standard deviations are σ_1 and σ_2 and the size of the samples are N_1 and N_2 then it can be shown that the ratio

$$\frac{m_1 - m_2}{\sqrt{\frac{\sigma_1^2}{N_1-1}+\frac{\sigma_2^2}{N_2-1}}}$$

is the relative deviate (ratio of deviation from mean to S.D.) of one of the means, considering the other as standard or central mean. If the value of the ratio is 3 or more, it means that the frequency of the mean value is negligible being 0·3 per cent. or less. If we had drawn two (normal) distribution curves for each sample on the same co-ordinates, this final value (not the ratio) would represent roughly the overlapping of the areas enclosed by the two curves and their limiting ordinates. This will really express the degree of resemblance of the two samples in respect of the particular statistic. Chatterji in his Paper has used this old formula for each separate statistic.

The resemblance of two groups of people, however, depend on a number of features, which are measured and can be compared separately. The total resemblance had been sought to be expressed

by Karl Pearson by taking the average of a number of such ratios, subject to a correction. Mahalanobis improved on that formula by getting rid of the number expressing the size of the sample by taking an average value of S.D. from a large number of samples. Even then certain defects remain. First of all an average of separate ratios does not, even with corrections, express the total resemblance. If a reference is made to the correlation tables, it will be realised that the joint distribution of head shape and stature is different from the average of the two. We can represent the correlated distribution by showing the two values of say head length and stature on the X and Z co-ordinate and the value of frequency on the Y co-ordinate. We can erect pyramids on the rectangles on the XZ plane which can be covered over by a frequency surface. The resulting solid will have a volume equal to the total frequency. If we erect two such solids for two samples with the same co-ordinates and origin the extent of their inter-penetration will indicate the resemblance of the two samples for the two statistics taken together. Instead of a geometrical representation, the coefficient of correlation may be calculated and one statistic may be expressed approximately in term of the other. By calculation of partial coefficients, a multivariate distribution may be treated somewhat like a univariate distribution. The matter is not so simple as stated here. But a more exact presentation is not likely to be understood by the non-mathematical reader. Hence we have to be content with this somewhat inexact clarification. The necessary modification in the formula for D^2 of Mahalanobis has been made by later workers like Bose, Roy and others to take into account the correlation. Even then, however, the value of D^2 remains a ratio like a relative deviate and is not an actual measure of divergence. The actual measure has to be evaluated from this ratio. This is a difficult task, and the necessary tables are still in course of preparation. Since, however, an overall resemblance in some degree will involve also resemblance in separate characters, it is much easier to calculate the resemblance (evaluating the relative deviate) for each character separately. Only when this evaluation shows fair or some resemblance, is it worth while calculating the overall resemblance. When the evaluation shows little or no resemblance in most characters there is no point in calculating D^2 by the complex refined formula and evaluating it. It has also to be remembered that the mathematical formula used is based on assumption of distribution on what is termed a "normal" curve. Since this is only approximately true and taking into account each character in calculating the overall resemblance still more changes the "normality" of distribution, a large number of characters may render the formula inexact. A study of resemblance based on a few independent characters like stature, cephalic index and nasal index is, therefore, better suited for such analysis.

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THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF BENGALEES

A Further Note

SAILENDRANATH SENGUPTA

I

I DO NOT KNOW what led Srijut Mitra to ask me to write a further note on Professor K. P. Chattopadhyay's illuminating essay. I confess to a feeling of surprise when the invitation came, for my only adventure in anthropometry lasted for only a few months about 20 years ago, and my present occupation has nothing to do either with ethnology or with anthropology. I have read with great interest Srijut Chattopadhyay's excellent contribution which deals with all aspects of the problem—but I felt that the general reader might want to know something more in order fully to appreciate the viewpoint of the learned contributor. I am accordingly adding a few extracts from Risley, Guha and Hutton on Racial Types in India, and appending some of Risley's measurements regrouped. Srijut Chattopadhyay has made some very valuable observations on the D^2-Statistic to which I wish to add a little more by way of further elucidation. The following paragraphs are intended for the general reader and not for the 'expert'. I only hope I have made no serious mis-statement which might mislead or confuse the reader.

2. The 'racial' components of the Indian population have been variously described and analysed by scholars. On the whole subject, Risley's elaborate discussion in *Census of India*, Vol. I, Ch. xi, pp. 489-517, has not yet been surpassed in the writer's humble view for its lucidity and the objectiveness of its approach. I shall quote some extracts from this contribution for the benefit of the general reader who may not have ready access to the Report itself. But before we do so, we should have a brief survey as to how mankind has been sought to be classified by ethnologists and the basis of their classifications.

It is obviously impossible to divide mankind into a number of definite groups in one or other of which every individual will find a place. Even for the Primary Groups the number suggested ranges from two to twenty.

Linnaeus proposed four primitive types—the European, Asiatic, African and American Fowler suggested the names—I. the Ethiopian or the Negroid including the Negritos represented by the Andamanese, II. the Mongolian and III. the Caucasian. The basis of the classification appears to be mainly the colour of the skin, black, yellow or white. These main types are subdivided variously by different writers. Thus Fowler has the following classification:

I. *Negroids-(Melanoderm)*

The true Negroes, Oceanic Negroes (Papuans) and Negritos (the Andamanese, and the Negrillos, the Pygmies of Equatorial Africa).

II. *Mongolians-(Xanthoderm)*

(i) Southern, e.g., the Tibetans and the Chinese.

(ii) Northern, e.g., Tungus.

(iii) Oceanic, e.g., Indonesians—with some hill tribes of Assam as near relatives.

III. *Caucasians-(Leucoderm)*

(i) The Blonde Type (Xanthocroi)—fair hair and light eyes.

(ii) The Dark Type (Melancroi)—black hair and eyes.

Dravidians of India are included in this group.*

Later writers include a fourth group, namely:

IV. *Australians* which include the pre-Dravidians of Southern India.

Another basis of classification is the type of hair. Thus we have (i) the Ulotrichi (woolly-haired) practically identical with the Negroids, (ii) the Cymotrichi (wavy-haired) which would include Caucasians and-pre-Dravidians, and (iii) the Leiotrichi (straight-haired) which would include the Mongolians and the American Indians.

As regards the 'Caucasians' there have been other schemes of classification. Thus, Peschel has (i) Indo-Germans, (ii) Semites, and (iii) Hamites. Non-Dravidian Indians are included in the first group.

The classification generally accepted (*see* Risley) at present is a division of the 'Caucasians' into

I. The Nordics

II. The Alpines { European Alpines; Armenoids including perhaps the Semites.

*By "Dravidians" are meant the Tamils, the Telegus and other non-aboriginal populations of Southern India.

and III. The Mediterraneans which include the Hamites and according to many, the Dravidians of India.

Following Haddon, we may conveniently divide the 'Caucasians' into two broad groups, the "Long-Headed" and the "Round-Headed". The former would include (1) the Dravidians, (2) the Hamites, (3) the Semites, (4) the Mediterraneans (cf. the Brown Race of Elliot Smith), and (5) the Nordic. The latter would bring together (1) the Eurasian or the Alpine race (of which the Pamirian or the Iranian is a sub-group) and (2) the Anatolian or the Armenian.

[NOTE: Some authors, such as Giuffrida-Ruggeri and Fleure believe that there is ultimately no distinction between Nordics and Mediterraneans, while others would include the Dravidians in the Mediterraneans. "Dravidians" here mean as before, the non-aboriginal populations of Southern India.]

So far as we are concerned it is unnecessary to discuss the various groups into which Mongolians are divided by ethnologists. The Mongoloid strain in Bengal can be contributed only by the Southern Mongoloids, the Pareoean of Haddon represented by the Tibetans and the Burmese, but while the Tibetans and the Burmese are generally "round-headed", the aboriginals of Assam (Naga, Garo, Abor, etc.) are "long-headed" like the 'Nesiots' (Indonesians).

The aboriginal people of the Chhotonagpur and the Madhya Pradesh are "long-headed" and "broad-nosed" and have been termed Proto-Australoids or Pre-Dravidians. But Buxton (pp. 136, 138) considers them to be of the same racial origin as the "basic" population of South India, the Mediterraneans (Brown Race of Elliot Smith) represented by the Tamils, the Telugus and the Malayalis.

Eickstedt introduces new terms which have not yet found favour with ethnologists. His types are—

(1) Vedide { Gondide corr. to Proto-Australoids; Malide }
(2) Melanide { Melinide; Kolide }
(3) Indide { Graceful corr. to Proto-Nordics; Coarser corr. to Mediterraneans }

and so on. We need not trouble ourselves with these terms but proceed to Risley's Types.

According to Risley the Peoples of India can be divided into seven distinctive types—the descriptions of these types are given below (Census 1901, 500-1, *The People of India*, 31-3).

The seven physical types

These physical data enable us to divide the people of the Indian Empire into seven main physical types, the distribution of which is shown in the coloured map at the end of this chapter.* If we include the Andamanese, the Negritos may be disregarded. Curious and interesting as they are from the point of view of general anthropology, the Andamanese have had no share in the making of the Indian people. They survive—a primitive outlier—on the extreme confines of the Empire to which they belong merely by virtue of the accident that their habitat has been selected as a convenient location for a penal settlement.

Counting from the western frontier, we may determine the follwing distinctive types:

I. The *Turko-Iranian* type, represented by the Baloch Brāhui, and Afghāns of the Baluchistan Agency and the North-West Frontier Province. Probably formed by a fusion of Turki and Persian elements in which the former predominate. Stature above mean; complexion fair; eyes mostly dark, but occasionally grey; hair on face plentiful; head broad; nose moderately narrow, prominent and very long.

II. The *Indo-Aryan* type, occupying the Punjab, Rajputana, and Kashmir and having as its characteristic members the Rājputs, Khatris, and Jāts. This type approaches most closely to that ascribed to the traditional Aryan colonists of India. The stature is mostly tall; complexion fair; eyes dark; hair on face plentiful; head long; nose narrow and prominent, but not specially long.

III. The *Scytho-Dravidian* type of Western India comprising the Marāthā Brāhmans, the Kunbis, and the Coorgs. Probably formed by a mixture of Scythian and Dravidian elements, the former predominating in the higher groups, the latter in the lower. The head is broad; complexion fair, hair on face rather scanty; stature medium; nose moderately fine and not conspicuously long.

IV The *Aryo-Dravidian* type found in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, in parts of Rajputana, in Bihar, and Ceylon, and represented in its upper strata by the Hindustani Brāhman and in its lower by the Chamar Probably the result of the inter-mixture, in varying proportions, of the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian types, the former element predominating in the lower groups and the latter in the higher. The head-form is long with a tendency to medium, the complexion varies from lightish brown to black; the nose ranges from medium to broad, being always broader than among the Indo-Aryans; the stature is lower than in the latter group, usually below the average by the scale given above.

V. The *Mongolo-Dravidian* type of Lower Bengal and Orissa, comprising the Bengal Brāhmans and Kāyasthas, the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, and other groups peculiar to this part of India. Probably a blend of Dravidian and Mongoloid elements with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups. The head is broad; complexion dark; hair on face usually plentiful; stature medium; nose medium with a tendency to broad.

VI. The *Mongoloid* type of the Himalayas, Nepal, Assam, and Burma represented by the Kanets of Lahoul and Kulu, the Lepchas of Darjeeling, the Limbus, Murmis, and Gurungs of Nepal, the Bodo of Assam, and the Burmese. The head is broad; complexion dark with a yellowish tinge; hair on face scanty; stature small or below average; nose fine to broad; face characteristically flat; eyelids often oblique.

VII. The *Dravidian* type extending from Ceylon to the valley of the Ganges and pervading the whole of Madras, Hyderabad, the Central Provinces, most of Central India, and Chota Nagpur. Its most characteristic representatives are the Paniyans of the South Indian hills and the Santāls of Chota Nagpur. Probably the original type of the population of India, now modified to a varying extent by the admixture of

*Not reproduced—A. M.

Aryan, Scythian, and Mongoloid elements. In typical specimens the stature is short or below mean; the complexion very dark; approaching black; hair plentiful with an occasional tendency to curl; eyes dark; head long, nose very broad, sometimes depressed at the root, but not so as to make the face appear flat.

Before proceeding to describe the types in further details a few words of preliminary explanation are essential.

Limitations of the scheme

In the first place, it must be clearly understood that the areas occupied by the various types do not admit of being defined as sharply as they are shown on the map. They melt into each other insensibly, and although at the close of a day's journey from one ethnic tract to another an observer whose attention had been directed to the subject would realize clearly enough that the physical characteristics of the people had undergone an appreciable change, he would certainly be unable to say at what particular stage in his progress the transformation had taken place. Allowance, therefore, must be made for the necessary limitations of map-making, and it must not be supposed that a given type comes to an end as abruptly as the patch of colour denoting the area of its maximum prevalence. Secondly, let no one imagine that any type is alleged to be in exclusive possession of the locality to which it is assigned When, for example, Madras is described as a Dravidian and Bengal as a Mongolo-Dravidian tract, that does not mean that all the people of Madras and Bengal must of necessity belong to the predominant type. From time immemorial a stream of movement in India has been setting from west to east and from north to south—a tendency impelling the higher types towards the territories occupied by the lower. In the course of this movement representatives of the Indo-Aryan type have spread themselves all over India as conquerors, traders, landowners, or priests, preserving their original characteristics in varying degrees, and receiving a measure of social recongnition dependent in the main on the supposed purity of their descent from the original immigrants Family and caste traditions record countless instances of such incursions, and in many cases the tradition is confirmed by the concurrent testimony of historical documents and physical characteristics. Even in the provinces farthest removed from the Indo-Aryan settlements in North-Western India, members of the upper castes are still readily distinguishable by their features and complexion from the mass of the population, and their claims to represent a different race are thrown into relief by the definition now for the first time attempted of the predominant type of the province. Until the existence of a lower type has been established no special distinction is involved in belonging to a higher one. Thirdly, it may be said that the names assigned to the types beg the highly speculative question of the elements which have contributed to their formation. The criticism is unanswerable. One can but admit its truth, and plead by way of justification that we must have some distinctive names for our types, that names based solely on physical characters are practically mere bundles of formulae, and that if hypotheses of origin are worth constructing at all one should not shrink from expressing them in their most telling form.

Risley's main racial types are the Dravidian, the Indo-Aryan and the Turko-Iranian, and the two former are modified by two subsidiary elements, the Scythian and the Mongolian respectively introducing the Brachycephalic elements found in western and eastern India. It appears that to Risley all dark-skinned people were Dravidians—whether they were Santals, Tamils, or Bengalees, and that brachycephaly, though found in varying proportions throughout northern India, could be due only to the prevalence of a Mongoloid strain. We can do no better than quote Hutton (*Census of India*, 1931, p. 440) in this connection. For the general reader who does not wish to delve deep into the intricacies of ethnology, this should suffice as a summary. Dr. Hutton has given a lucid treatment of the cultural and other ethnological affinities which provide the basic material for a new interpretation of the racial composition of the Indian people:

The Census Report of 1901 laid the foundations on which has since been based all work that has been done on the racial composition of India,

Race

but the results of such work in the thirty years that have passed since that report was published have so far changed the whole complexion of the problem that a restatement of the position is now required. Risley's work remains, but his data have been supplemented and his conclusions must be revised. Roughly speaking he recognised three main racial types in India, the Dravidian, the Indo-Aryan, and the Turko-Iranian, the latter of which was confined to the North-West Frontier and the two, former of which were modified by two subsidiary elements—the Scythian and the Mongolian, respectively introducing the brachycephalic elements found in western and eastern India. Risley's deductions were coloured by an erroneous belief in the ethnic isolation of India, and an analysis of India's racial ingredients is unfortunately a far more complicated matter than was then realised. Indeed, a later writer on the subject has likened India to a net collecting in its great peninsula the flotsam and jetsam of all Asia. In any case it is necessary to clear the deck by throwing overboard some of Risley's deductions. The Dravidian, as conceived of by him, has been the first to go, and has been replaced by at least three races where he recognised only one, so that the term Dravidian has acquired in consequence an ambiguity with reference to race which makes it essential to confine its use entirely to linguistics, and (except in quotations from other writers) it is only in a linguistic sense that it will be found in this volume. The element which Risley regarded as "Scythian" must be re-classified and re-examined. It is very doubtful if any "Scythian" invaders of India were ever numerous enough to make much impression on pre-existing racial types, and secondly what we know of Scythians suggests that they were probably at least as much dolicho as brachycephalic. In the east again it is impossible to accept the view that the brachycephaly of the Brahmans of Bengal is due to a Mongolian element. If that were so the degree of brachycephaly should increase inversely with social status, whereas the contrary is the case except where genuinely Mongolian peoples are concerned like the Maghs of Arakan; also the Brahman, most brachycephalic of Bengalees, lacks the epicanthic fold. Since 1901 important work has been done on history, such as the first volume of the *Cambridge History of India*, Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Slater's *Dravidian Elements in Indian Culture*, or Chanda's *Indo-Aryan Races*, to name but four of many; on language, including the completion of the *Linguistic Survey of India* by Sir G. Grierson and Professor Sten Konow, the work done by P. Schmidt and more recently by Przyluski and others in Paris, by Morgenstierne on the Dardic languages and by Langdon on the Mohenjodaro signs; on archaeology, such as the discovery and exploration of the Indus valley cities by the Archaeological Survey, and the work done by Sir Aurel Stein in Baluchistan and the Makran, and on physical anthropology like the work of Haddon, Thurston, Dudley Buxton (*Peoples of Asia*) or Colonel Seymour Sewell's *Racial Ethnology of India* (VIIth Congress of the Far Eastern Association of Trop. Medicine, 1927) and his and Dr. Guha's *Excavations in Baluchistan* and their Chapter XXX of Sir John Marshall's *Mohenjodaro*, and Sir Arthur Keith's important appendix to Thomas' *Arabia Felix*. All this and much other such work has of necessity provided an entirely different conception of the early history of the racial composition of the Indian sub-continent. Mention has been made here of the merest fraction of the number of works that have

definitely added to our knowledge of relevant facts since Sir Herbert Risley's great report.

There has been a sharp difference of opinion whether and to what extent the Negrito element is present in the Indian population. Guha and Hutton are of the view that at any rate the Negrito element is undoubtedly present among some of the South Indian tribes.

As the present state of our knowledge stands, the oldest stratum of India's population is Austro-Asiatic or Proto-Australoid in origin. This is termed Nisadic by Chanda and others. This element is represented by the long-headed, dark-skinned broad-nosed [according to Sewell, they may originally have had narrower noses] people of the Chhotonagpur and Central India plateaux—represented by the so-called Tribal population such as Santals, Mundas and others. This stratum contributes largely to the so-called low castes of Bengal, namely, the Bagdis, the Bauris, the Chandals and others. According to Hutton these Proto-Australoids came to India from the West but it is possible that a Melanesian (frizzly-haired) element came up to Assam from the East. The next migrations, also from the West, were the long-headed matrilineal Mediterraneans of which the Tamils are the present specimen, and in their wake, the round-headed Armenoids from Asia Minor and Mesopotamia (Sumer) *via* Persia. The blend of the two races have contributed largely to some of the ancient civilizations of the world including perhaps that in the Indus valley in the fourth millennium B.C. In course of time the two races must have penetrated down the Ganges valley into Bengal itself. The next element to contribute to our racial agglomerate is the Eurasiatic Alpine type which also was 'round-headed'. Hutton thinks that this group was driven towards the east as a contributory by the Vedic Aryans. "The safest hypothesis at present therefore appears to be that the Proto-Australoid type in India is derived from a very early migration from the west and that its special features have been finally determined and permanently characterized in India itself." Ramaprasad Chanda (*Indo-Aryan Races*) was one of the earliest scholars to suggest that an 'Alpine' component rather than "Mongoloid" admixture is responsible for the brachycephaly not only in Bengal but also in Western India. Chanda thought that the Homo Alpinus came *after* the Vedic Aryans, whom they bypassed into Bengal. This view is not subscribed to by other scholars (*vide* Hutton, *Census of India*, 1931, 449).

The Mongoloid races in the Eastern hinterland are either of the tall Tibetan type or the shorter and darker Burmese type. According to Buxton (p. 143) some of Risley's Mongolo-Dravidian groups are really local varieties of the Paroean race, Haddon's name for the southern Mongoloids. Traces of the Paroean element are suspected in South India also and there is, Buxton says, reason to believe that the Munda speaking peoples are connected, 'not merely' by language, with the Paroean race. There seems to be little doubt that there is a considerable admixture of Mongoloid element among the Muslims of Northern and Eastern Bengal and among the Hindus of low status. The Mongoloid element among the Koches of Northern Bengal may be to some extent due to contact with both the Eastern tribals and the northern Tibetan variety. The Eastern tribals, especially some of the Naga tribes, contain a long-headed element which points to a "Nesiot" or "Indonesian" affinity. But it is superfluous to pursue this subject any further. For suggested cultural affinities of the early population of India with the Indonensians and Polynesians we would refer to Hutton's works, especially Census of India 1931 and his introduction to Parry's *The Lakhers*.

In 1930-31, B. S. Guha, then Anthropologist to the Zoological Survey of India, now its Director, took measurements of 18 different characters on 2,511 persons belonging to 34 groups. Of these 1,004 were Brahmins, 884 Caste Hindus and 275 Aborigines, besides five groups of 348 women. The average size of the samples was fairly large—64·4. Hutton's conclusions on the racial composition of the Indian population were based to a large extent on Guha's Report.

Thus we get the following components which, according to these authorities, contributed to the formation of the present population of Bengal, apart from its controversial Mongoloid components.

THE LONG-HEADED ELEMENT

(1) The Proto-Australoid, the Pre-Dravidian or the Nisadic Type
[Chhotonagpur Tribes, low castes of West Bengal as also of East and North Bengals].

(2) The Matrilineal Mediterranean Type
[the higher castes and to a smaller extent, the lower castes].

(3) The Indo-Aryan, Proto-Nordic or the Vedic Aryan Type
[the higher castes—but to a very small extent].

THE ROUND-HEADED ELEMENT

(4) The Armenoid Type
[the higher castes].

(5) The Alpine Type
[the higher castes].

The Tibetan type of Mongoloids forms an important component in the population of the Darjeeling district. To the Koches and the Rajbanshis, the Burmese type undoubtedly contributes another element, *via* the east. In the lower castes and among the Mahomedan population of Eastern and Northern Bengal, as

already stated there seems to be present to some extent not only the Southern Mongoloid (Burmese) or the Paroean element but also an 'admixture' of the long-headed Nesiot (Indonesian) element.

Guha [*Census of India*, 1931, Vol. III] describes these elements as follows:

A. A short-statured long-headed element with high cranial vault but faintly marked supra-orbital ridges and broad, short but orthognathous face with medium lips. The nose is prominent and long but the alae moderately spread out giving a Mesorrhine Index. The colour of the skin varies from light brown to a dark tawny brown. The eye colour is dark brown. The hair is usually black and straight but inclined to waviness and the amount is moderate both on the face and the body. [This corresponds to the Mediterranean Type.]

B. A brachycephalic element of medium stature with flattened occiput but having also high head and not infrequently receding forehead. The face is short and orthognathous but somewhat broader. The nose is long and high-pitched but often arched and convex. The skin colour varies from pale white to tawny brown. The colour of the eye is usually dark brown. The hair colour is usually black—it is generally straight and the pilous system is well developed. [This corresponds to the Armenoid and the Alpine types.]

C. A long-headed strain with comparatively lower but longer head and tall stature and possessing a long face and prominent long nose. The skin colour is a rosy-white tint to transparent brown: an appreciable number have grey blue or light eyes and chestnut or brownish hair. [This is the Proto-Nordic type.]

D. A short, long and moderately high-headed strain with often strongly marked brow ridges, broad short face, the mouth slightly inclined forward and small flat nose with the alae extended. The hair varies from wavy to curliness and the skin colour is a shade of dark chocolate brown approaching black. [This is the Proto-Australoid type.]

Guha distinguishes three Mongoloid strains:

(E) A brachycephalic type. [The Tibetan Type.]

(E_1) Same—but somewhat shorter and having a short flat nose and a tendency to alveolar prognathism—[The Burmese type, related to the Siamese and the Cochin Chinese.]

(F) A second Mongoloid strain of Medium stature, longish head and medium nose [allied to the Nesiots].

In his contribution to the *Racial Ethnology of India* (1937), Guha distinguishes between "Alpo-Dinarics" and "Armenoids". As regards the latter he says "We have no evidence of its occurrence in India before the Chalcolithic times but from then onwards it certainly had drifted along the western littoral into Kannada and Tamil lands, leaving Malabar and Andhra unaffected. An eastern movement seems to have penetrated early into the Gangetic Delta leaving a distinct train in Central India and Behar" (p. 135). Later on in the "Racial Elements in the Population of India" he distinguishes between Alpinoids and Dinarics. Here he divides Mongoloids as Tibetan Mongoloids and Paleo-Mongoloids, and the latter into "Long-headed" and "Broad-headed". Similarly he divides Mediterraneans into Mediterraneans Proper (the "Indus Valley" type of his earlier paper) and "Paleo-Mediterraneans" (the basic dolicephalics of his earlier paper). He further describes "Alpinoids", "Dinarics" and "Armenoids" as Western Brachycephals, while the Proto-Nordics of his earlier paper became Nordic here.

[NOTE: The Dinarics are considered by some authorities, e.g., Deniker, as a definite variety—their stature being higher than those of the Alpines. Risley and others consider stature to be an uncertain guide and do not believe that the Dinarics form a distinct type.]

The Armenoids are considered to be a variety of the Alpine race and are thus described by Buxton (55-56): "In the pure Armenoids it would seem as if the stature were medium to short, the hair almost black or black-brown, and eyes but seldom hazel and usually brown. The nose is very large, and differs considerably in index. The head is flattened behind, and usually very high sloping to a point well behind the bregma".

Buxton however is sceptical about the value of dividing the Mediterranean race into subgroups. He remarks (p. 56): "Although it is often possible to recognise with absolute certainty these different branches of the Alpine race, and possibly one or two other sub-branches, it seems very doubtful as to their exact value in ethnology. There is hardly, at present, sufficient data for us to be quite certain whether we are dealing with local varieties whose differences are due to particular environmental conditions or whether isolation or other causes have differentiated them for sufficiently long periods to give them the rank of a different variety of the human race".

Guha thinks that we owe the essentials of our caste system with food taboos to the Proto-Australoids while the notable cultural 'contributions' of the Paleo-Mediterraneans are pottery, matriarchy, fertility rites and the human sacrifice.

The terminology is apt to be confusing to the general reader but so far as this essay is concerned it will be enough to remember that the main constituents of the Bengali "race" are the long-headed matriarchal Mediterranean type which brings out our "Dravidian" affinity and the round-headed Mediterranean type which associates us with the peoples of Upper India. As regards the so-called lower castes of the State, these elements are of much lesser importance, the predominant element here being the Proto-Australoid in varying proportions.

With this summary as a background, we shall be able to appreciate the original contribution of Professor K. P. Chattopadhyay to the unravelling of this well-nigh insoluble problem.

The views of Buxton, Hutton, Guha and others are more or less similar. According to these authorities the first immigrants were the Proto-Australoids and the matrilineal Mediterraneans, both being long-headed. Then came the round-headed Alpines and Armenoids and

lastly the long-headed Indo-Aryans. But according to Chattopadhyay, who seems to refer only to the higher castes, the oldest population throughout Northern India was *not* the long-headed matrilineal Mediterraneans, but a *round-headed* matrilineal race who were hoe-cultivators. The *long-headed* pastorals, that is, the Vedic Aryans came later. Some of them came under the influence of the hoe-cultivators and the mixed population which resulted in the origin of the Bengalees and the Rajputs. The pastorals who remained pure are the ancestors of the up-country long-headed castes. The theory is plausible and certainly original. And Chattopadhyay finds support of his theory in the Vedas and the post-Vedic literature. Whether the theory will be generally accepted in supersession of the one now holding the field or whether the underlying hypotheses are really supported by the evidence culled in their support are matters which we are not competent to enquire but the general reader will appreciate the boldness of the writer in postulating a *brachycephalic* matrilineal hoe-cultivating stratum in our population.

3. It seems to be the fashion to decry Risley's valuable work on Indian anthropometry but I wish to maintain that in spite of its defects Risley's series of anthropometric measurements lead to certain conclusions regarding the racial composition of the Bengalee that have not yet been successfully challenged. B. S. Guha quotes Waddell to show that the measurements in Bengal were taken by Kumud Behari Samanta "under nobody's immediate supervision" but the fact remains that the Bengal measurements were taken by *one* person and as will be presently seen, there is no reason to suppose that Samanta did not do the work carefully. The taking of anthropometric measurements is not a difficult matter and any intelligent student can do the work after a short course of training. Professor Mahalanobis carefully examined the measurements for Brahmins and concluded that the measurements were taken on one definite system and under the supervision of one single individual. I think that is more than what can be said for many series of Anthropometric measurements. The technique followed was, except as regards nasal height, in conformity with the system propounded by Broca and Topinard. As regards nasal height, as has been pointed out by Guha, due to the great pressure which had to be applied at the base of the septum, the true height was reduced and in consequence the degree of platyrrhiny found by Risley was an exaggerated figure. As Table I will show, there is possibly a serious exaggeration in the case of Pods but in case of Brahmans and Kayasthas the defect is not of any consequence. In fact the platyrrhine element amounts to only one per cent. in case of Kayasthas, 2 per cent. in case of Brahmans, and 8 per cent. in case of Rajbanshis. From the broad point of racial composition this exaggeration obviously does not affect the general conclusions drawn ever so slightly. According to Risley's measurements the "Pre-Dravidian" element would be in case of Pods about 17 per cent., while according to T. C. Raichaudhuri the proportion would be only 3 per cent.

Three tables are appended. Table III gives the Average, Maximum and Minimum values of five absolute measurements, namely of Stature, Head Length, Head Breadth, Nasal Breadth and Nasal Length (more correctly Nasal Height); and of two Indices, namely Nasal Index and Cephalic Index. Table II gives the Averages values of four characters and two Indices according to Risley and the correct values computed by Mahalanobis. Table I gives a comparison of these values with those given by Guha in respect of Brahmans, Kayasthas and Pods.

Note : The usual convention as regards nomenclature is :

Stature—Short—less than 160 cm.
Medium—between 160 cm and 170 cm.
Tall—more than 170 cm.

Cephalic Index—Dolichocephalic—less than and up to 77
Meso—over 77 and up to 80
Brachy—over 80

Nasal Index—Leptorrhine—less than and up to 70
Mesorrhine—over 70 and up to 85
Platyrrhine—over 85

The other objection that Risley's means and indices are vitiated by errors in calculation was also investigated by Professor Mahalanobis (4) and his conclusions are as follows:

> "The real defect crept in during the calculation of the average values and his primary data of individual measurements can be used with safety.
>
> "Most of the individual discrepancies can be traced to obvious printing mistakes, mistakes in entering the index tables, the use of wrong figures taken from adjoining rows or columns and obvious arithmetical slips."

Risley's material consists of eleven measurements (stature and weight, and nine measurements of the head), and eight indices for 5,784 males between the ages of 25 and 45 representing 87 castes and tribes. Two more measurements and two more indices are available for 53 samples. Considering the fact that Risley had no staff trained at any statistical institute and probably no computing machines to help, it was natural that some mistakes would occur, but as will be seen from Table IV out of 90 indices for Bengal castes and tribes the discrepancy is less than 0·1 in 67 cases and less than 0·5 in 20 others. Only in two cases was the discrepancy as large as 1·0. So it is once more obvious that the mistakes are quite inconsequential.

Then again, strong objection has been taken to Risley's instruction to his assistants to exclude persons of very black complexions and with very broad and depressed noses where they occur among the higher castes, and of men of very fair complexion among the lower castes. The consequence of this instruction was slightly to exaggerate the difference between high and low castes and depress the standard deviations. As Professor Mahalanobis remarks "But how far, if at all, the samples have been actually vitiated cannot be determined on *a priori* grounds and without comparison with unbiassed measurements". In Table I will be found the averages and standard deviations of stature and four other characters together with the Cephalic and Nasal Indices based on measurements by Risley and Guha for Brahmans, Kayasthas and Pods.

It is interesting to note that the averages based on the two series of measurements are practically identical except for nasal length in the case of Pods. Here the Nasal Index is much higher (76·1 against 71·8) for Risley's measurements than for the other series. In case of Brahmans and Kayasthas there is proportionately much greater discrepancy in the average for Nasal Length than for others, but the effect on Nasal Index has not been very appreciable.

As regards Standard Deviations Table III shows some significant differences; but in only six out of twenty-one is the value greater with Risley's series than Guha's and the criticism seems to be to some extent justified.

The lowest value of Nasal Height (Length) is about 40 and the defect would be of the order of 2mm. only if Risley's instructions were followed in taking the measurement. The resulting exaggeration in the value of the Nasal Index would therefore be of the order $(\frac{1}{40}-\frac{1}{38})$ or only 0·13. So only the measurements 85·0 will be affected. Obviously the number of such measurements will be very few indeed as shown below:

Bagdi ..	0	Male ..	0
Brahman ..	0	Mal Pahari ..	2
Chandal ..	0	Pod ..	3
Kayastha ..	0	Rajbanshi ..	1
Koibarta ..	1	Munda ..	2
Mahomedan ..	2	Santal ..	3

From all these considerations, it seems that Risley's measurements still remain the most useful series of measurements yet made of the castes and tribes of Bengal, and that Risley does not deserve all the opprobrium showered on him by later writers.

Considered strictly in the light of the probability theory of errors, that is, if the formula mentioned in Professor Chattopadhyay's paper

$$\frac{m_1 - m_2}{\sqrt{\frac{\sigma_1^2}{n_1 - 1} + \frac{\sigma_2^2}{n_2 - 1}}}$$

were applied, it would seem that Risley's Brahmin and Kayastha series are differentiated from those of Guha for every character, but all the four series would be *generally speaking* described as Fine-nosed, Medium-headed, Medium-statured people (Leptorrhine, Mesocephalic, Tall). So, according to the convention still accepted, the four series are "racially" not differentiated, although "statistically" Risley's series would be substantially different from those of Guha. This raises a fundamental question in methodology. Before we introduce the "probability" theory in anthropometry we must *define* anthropometrically what the terms "Race" or "Racial" character should denote.

II

4. Stature, Shape of Head and Shape of Nose have long been accepted as "racial characters"—in the sense that various racial groups broadly conform to certain mean values of the stature and the Cephalic and the Nasal Indices. There must of course be wide variations from the mean values within the group but the variability (measured by the coefficient of variation) would be much smaller for a racially homogeneous group than for a group formed by an admixture of two or more "races".* It would be readily seen that this criterion of racial homogeneity evolves as a matter of course if "races" are broadly characterised by specified ranges of the three measures. We have seen that the accepted divisions are Stature—Tall and Short; Head Shape—Long-and Broad-Headed; and Nose Shape—Fine-nosed and Broad-nosed; resulting in only eight primary "races". If we include another division for each—Medium Stature, Medium Cephalic Index (Mesocephaly) and Medium Nasal Index (Mesorrhiny), we would have then twenty-seven racial groups. Clearly more than one ethnic people would be found to have the same three racial "characters"—they can then be distinguished, if at all, mainly on cultural grounds. If two groups fall within the same "Racial Group" as defined by the *ranges* of the three characters, it is obviously inappropriate to differentiate further the mean values of the characters with the aid of their standard deviations—yet, unfortunately, some writers have actually done so. To define a "Race" by only the mean values of some characters is altogether different from defining a "Race" by conventional *ranges* of the mean values of these characters. To confuse the two is methodologically unsound and what is more

*It is quite possible that with regard to some characters a group may have comparatively small coefficients of variation, while with regard to others they may be larger than for other groups. But it would be unreasonable to conclude that the group is homogeneous with regard to some characters but heterogeneous with regard to others. Mere statistics often lead to such anomalies.

serious, it is apt to confuse the general reader. If on the basis of head shape we distinguish only two 'races'—the Broad-headed and the Long-headed,—it is altogether unreasonable to distinguish between two Long-headed groups on the ground that the mean values are 'significantly' different—for then any group would be differentiated from any other if both samples or groups are large enough.

A hypothetical example will perhaps make the point clear. The standard deviation of the mean is $\frac{s}{\sqrt{n}}$ and if the standard deviations are of the same order, the standard deviation of the difference of two means $(m_1 - m_2)$ would be approximately

$$\sqrt{\frac{s^2}{n}+\frac{s^2}{n}} \text{ or } \frac{s}{\sqrt{n}}\sqrt{2}$$

when the samples are of the same size : The difference will be significant if

$$(m_1 - m_2) > 2\sqrt{2}\,\frac{s}{\sqrt{n}}.$$

For nasal index the *s. d.* is of the order 6 and so m_1 and m_2 will be significantly different from each other if

$$(m_1 - m_2) > \frac{16.8}{\sqrt{n}}$$

So if m_1 and m_2 differ only by one, being say 70 and 71, they will be 'significantly' different even if n is so low as 300. But does such 'significant difference' signify anything at all? A difference of even 0·1 will be significant if n is very large (more than 29,000 say). Statistical tools are very powerful but unless proper precautions are observed they are apt to be dangerous as well.

5. The immigrants into India—call them Aryans, Alpines, Armenoids or anything else, were fine-nosed people and the so-called aborigines were certainly broad-nosed and evidently if a group shows a *large* element of broad-nosed individuals it would broadly follow that the group contains a large proportion of the platyrrhine aboriginal element. This is the basis of Risley's interesting thesis that "in Eastern India a man's social status varies in inverse ratio to the width of his nose" (*T. C. I.*, Vol. I., xxxiv). Hence "if we take a series of castes and arrange them in the order of the average nasal index so that the caste with the finest nose shall be at the top and that with the coarsest at the bottom of the list, it will be found that this order substantially corresponds with the accepted order of social precedence". Social hierarchy in this part of the country was determined by or determined the degree of "Aryan" blood in the social groups. That the thesis is very substantially corroborated by the facts can hardly be gainsaid.

Thus leaving aside the mongoloids, we get the following order (Table III).

	Nasal Index (mean)		Caste or Tribe	
I	70·3	..	Brahman,	Kayastha
II	73·9—76·2	..	Sadgop	Goala
			Koibarta	Pod
III	80·5—82·6	..	Bagdi	Kurmi
IV	84·1—89·9	..	Bauri, Mal,	Oraon
			Bhumij, Santhal,	Munda
			Male	Malpahari

The Nasal Index of the Chandals (73·9) and of the Muchis (74·9) are not in accord with their social positions and may suggest their later formation after aryanisation had considerably progressed. The 'tribal' population is clearly differentiated from the non-tribals.

The Mongoloids show two distinct types—the comparatively fine-nosed groups of the North, Koch, Lepcha, Murmi and Limbu; and the more broad-nosed groups of the Arakan hinterland, Chakma, Tipara and Magh.

The range of variation of the Cephalic Index is very small, 74·5 to 78·7. If we arrange the Indices into two groups (*a*) up to 76·1 and (*b*) above 76·1, we get the following:

(*a*) up to 76·1—Malpahari, Mali, Oraon, Santal, Kurmi, Bhumij, Bauri,

(*b*) Above 76·1 Brahman, Kayastha, Koibarta, Sadgop, Goala, Pod, Mal, Chandal, Bagdi, Muchi.

The 'tribal' population is again clearly differentiated from the non-tribals. It is obvious that the two indices have been rightly considered to be the most important criteria for differentiation of the various ethnic groups.

It is again very important to note that the highest Cephalic Indices in respect of Hindu castes are those for Brahmans and Kayasthas. How this blatant fact could escape the notice of Risley is surprising. If brachycephaly in Bengal is due to Mongoloid admixture, how could such admixture be most prominent in the highest castes? Table A shows the extent of brachycephaly among some of the castes. Thus we have:

Caste	Brachycephaly (per cent.)
Brahman	31
Kayastha	37
Bagdi	13
Koibarta	27
Pod	27
Chandal	12
Goala	2·5
Muchi	11
Sadgop	8

The brachycephaly among the higher castes can be reasonably supposed to be due to the admixture only of an adventitious element from the West.*

Table III gives the various elements which go to the composition of the several castes of Bengal. This will enable the general reader to appreciate the analysis of racial elements proposed by the various authorities.

III

6. We have seen that Stature, Nasal Index and Cephalic Index are useful criteria for the differentiation of ethnic groups. On the basis of these three factors alone it is possible to analyse broadly the racial components of any group.

Mathematically-minded statisticians are however not satisfied with such simple tests. Karl Pearson devised his famous C^2 or the Coefficient of Racial Likeness which in its crude form was:

$$c^2 = \frac{1}{p} \Sigma \left(\frac{m_l - m'_l}{\sqrt{\frac{s_l^2}{n_1} + \frac{s'_l{}^2}{n_2}}} \right)^2 - \left(1 - \frac{1}{p}\right)$$

where p is the number of characters measured, m_l, m'_l are the average values of the i-th character for the two groups, s^2l, s'^2l are the variances and n_1, n_2 the sizes of the samples. Thus differences of the mean values of the characters are expressed in terms of the standard deviation of the differences. These differences are then squared and the average of the sum of these squares calculated. It is customary to use the idea of a general human variability obtained from large samples for s_l so that $s_l = s'_l$ and so we have

$$c^2 = \frac{1}{p} \Sigma \frac{n_1 n_2}{n_1 + n_2} \left(\frac{m_l - m'_l}{s'_l} \right)^2 - \left(1 - \frac{1}{p}\right)$$

But since the values of the Crude Coefficient are found to be affected by the size of the samples, Professor Pearson introduced a correction reducing the Crude Coefficient to the value it would otherwise have when each of the samples was of a standard size of 100 individuals. Thus,

Reduced C. R. L. is given by

$$c'^2 = 50 \frac{\bar{n}_1 + \bar{n}_2}{\bar{n}_1 \bar{n}_2} \cdot \frac{1}{p} \Sigma \frac{n_1 n_2}{n_1 + n_2} \left(\frac{m_l - m'_l}{s_l} \right)^2 - \left(1 - \frac{1}{p}\right)$$

where $\bar{n}$ is the *average* number of measurements made of the p characters.

The standard error is

$$50 \frac{n_1 + n_2}{n_1 n_2} \sqrt{\frac{2}{p}\left(1 - \frac{1}{p}\right)}$$

If all the characters have been measured on all the individuals constituting the groups,

$$c'^2 = \frac{50}{p} \Sigma \left(\frac{m_l - m'_l}{s_l} \right)^2 - \left(1 - \frac{1}{p}\right)^*$$

B. S. Guha calculated the Reduced Coefficients of Racial Likeness in respect of 34 Castes and Tribes based on eighteen characters and eleven indices derived from these characters. No account was taken of the correlations between the different characters. This also does not much affect the results as the correlations are usually small and the effect of the correlations is to *reduce* further the Coefficients. Guha selected the standard deviations of the Nagar Brahmans for calculation of the Coefficients. Bengal is represented by only Brahmans, Kayasthas and Pods but very interesting affinities, never suspected before, have been brought out by these Coefficients. Thus the nearest relatives of Tadjiks and Khos of the North-West Frontier are found to be the Kayasthas of Bengal. Then again the Bengali Brahmans are seen to be close relatives of Tamil Brahmans—an unexpected confirmation of Risley's much maligned classification! Nairs of Madras are similarly related to U. P. Brahmans. We know for the first time that Chitpavan and Desasth Brahmans of Bombay are cousins of the Bengali Pods while Gaur Brahmans of Western India are their own brothers! Pods claim to be Kshatriyas but "anthropometrically" their claim to be Brahmans, if made, would have been more justified! The Coefficients do not inspire much confidence in non-mathematicians, and we feel that the Racial Problem, complex as it is, is rendered more so by mathematical manipulation. Guha is fully aware of the limitations of the "Statistical" method, for he says "though the help given by the Statistical method is a substantial one it is still only a rough measure, and the results obtained by its aid should be taken with a little caution unless corroborative evidence is forthcoming".

7. Prof. Mahalanobis devised the D^2 to measure "Group Divergence". If we take into account p characters, a group defined by the measures of these characters may be considered to be a point in the p-dimensional space. The distance between these two points will measure the affinity or the divergence between the groups. D in D^2 stands for Generalised Distance and in the p-dimensional space, the correlation between the characters can be easily represented. The

*This is also borne out by Raichaudhuri's researches, though the proportions are somewhat different.

Brahman—22·2%

Dakshin Rarhi Kayasthas—20·9%

Bagdis—Nil

Pods—12%

Namasudras—Nil

Goalas—12%

Chatterjee's Table C shows that Brachycephaly is most prominent in Samatata and Calcutta regions, farthest removed from Burma.

* There will be little difference in the conclusion if the constant term $\left(1 - \frac{1}{p}\right)$ is ignored.

formula for the calculation of D^2 is similar to that of C^2, and the correlation is represented by the term s^{ij} in the formula which is—

$$D^2 = \sum^{p} \sum^{p} s^{ij} d_i d_j$$

where s^{ij} is "the matrix inverse to the pooled dispersion matrix" and d_i is the difference in mean values for the i-th character. If the characters had been independent then the formula would be simply the sum of squares of differences in mean values. Except for a constant, the distribution of D^2 and C^2 are practically identical as may be expected from the fact that both are sums of squares, like χ^2.

A fairly simple method for the calculation of the D^2 with correlation coefficients taken into account, will be found in the U. P. Anthropometric Survey 1941, Sankhya IX, pp. 151-2 and 251-2. The correlations among the characters measured are fairly small—only ten out of sixty-six being more than 0·3. For Bengali Brahmans, however, Mahalanobis & Bose (Sankhya V, 249-66) found as many as five out of eighteen coefficients of correlation more than 0·4.

A yet more powerful method recently introduced is that of Canonical Vectors. It is indeed a very powerful method for when the characters are more than five in number, the vectors can be calculated only with the aid of the Mallock's machine at Cambridge.

For progress in physical anthropology in India it is essential that attempts should be made to set up a standard list of characters. This is a subject of great difficulty and requires much patient investigation (*vide* U. P. Anthropometric Survey, Sankhya IX. 122-3). For reasons of purely computational nature, the number of characters so selected should be limited to only a few. Out of twelve characters measured in this Survey, only nine were found to have a sufficiently high discriminating power, but as Mahalanobis & Rao (*op. cit.*, p. 123) point out it is not certain that these characters are necessarily the most suitable characters. Further investigations may show that there are other characters which would serve the purpose still better.

It will be recalled that Guha took into account as many as eleven indices in the computation of the Reduced Coefficients of Racial Likeness but Rao (*op. cit.*, 243-6) found that no *additional* information is obtained in the problem of classification by the inclusion of indices together with the original characters. It may very well be so but the same investigation shows that the nasal and cephalic indices still remain the most powerful statistics for detection of racial heterogeneity in the hands of anthropologists not initiated into the mysteries of Canonical Variates and Matrix Calculus. The distribution in respect of Nasal Index and Elevation is found to yield practically the same picture as that in respect of the two Canonical Variates of the nasal characters, and in essentials D^2-Statistic does not afford any important additional information. In respect of the U. P. Castes and Tribes, Nasal Index is sufficient to show that the Tribal and the Artisan groups form separate clusters, and that the Degraded Castes form a kind of fringe. The additional information contributed by the D^2 is that Muslims and Chhatris are first cousins while the Nasal Indices would make Muslims and Habrus practically blood brothers.

Much has been claimed for the D^2-Statistic and perhaps justifiably. Its mathematical elegance and conceptual simplicity are remarkable but anthropologists will not yet be misled if they still differentiate human groups with the aid of stature, nasal index and cephalic index only. For further details of D^2 and canonical variates the reader's attention is invited to Rao's *Advanced Statistical Methods* in *Biometric Research* (Wiley, 1952), Chapter 9.

The common criticism against C^2 and D^2 is that neither gives a ready answer to our queries. In detail, neither 'Statistic' is always consistent. If the statistics are arranged in increasing order of magnitude, in respect of each group the sequence may vary in detail though broadly there would be a fair agreement. Thus though the difference between the Ahirs and Kurmis is non-significant, Mahomedans are much closer relatives of the latter than of the former. Kahars are practically first cousins of Kurmis but Ahirs are found to have closer affinities with Bhatus, Habrus and Brahmans! After all it seems that the background of social history is much more important than either mathematics or crude anthropometry.

Yet social workers are apt to feel disheartened, for the Mallock machine of Cambridge is about to supersede the lifelong labours of anthropologists and economists. Mathematics has invaded the social sciences. The depth and comprehensiveness of the latter is in danger of being overwhelmed by the shallow precision of the former. Statistics instead of being a handmaid of the sciences have become the monopoly of a few mathematicians. Whether this is a healthy sign or not is for others to say. To the general reader interested in the social sciences it would seem that were the invasion of mathematics not curbed and canalised it would overthrow the discipline perfected by the painstaking labours of generations of brilliant sociologists.

IV

8. I have briefly touched on the problem of selection of characters for differentiation of racial groups. In-this connection it will be readily seen that if the variability of a particular character among the members of a particular group is not significantly less than the variability of the mean value of the character among different comparable groups, such a character would not be of much value in differentiation of the groups themselves. In other words, we must compare '*inter*-racial' and '*intra*-racial' variances of a character

before it can be chosen for the purpose of racial differentiation.

In this connection we may refer to an interesting study by Miss Tildesley published in *Man* (February 1940). She gives the values of "Inter-racial" and "Intra racial" standard deviations for a large number of characters derived from a large number of series—as many as 573 in the case of Stature. A selection of the values is given below:

	Character	No. of series	Inter-racial mean	Inter-racial standard deviation	Mean intra-racial standard deviation	(5)/(4)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	Nasal Breadth	370	37·1	3·71	2·87	0·774
2	Head Breath	441	150·4	5·47	5·21	0·953
3	Sitting Height	266	864·3	31·93	33·44	1·047
4	Nasal Height	255	53·4	3·37	3·82	1·134
5	Bizygomatic Breadth	402	139·2	4·55	5·23	1·150
6	Stature	573	165·2	49·75	58·87	1·183
7	Span	147	174·0	59·85	71·81	1·200
8	Head Length	478	187·9	4·90	6·32	1·292
9	Minimum	..	..	..	..	..
10	Frontal Breadth	183	106·9	3·68	4·77	1·296
11	Upper Face Height	56	71·9	3·28	4·95	1·511

In U. P. Anthropometric Survey, 1941, (Sankhyā, IX) SH was found to be the best discriminating single character for non-tribal groups, HL, NL, St, and FB coming next in order of importance. In the case of tribes, NB was found to be the best and SH, FB and NL next in order of importance. The result corroborates Miss Tildesley's findings very materially. Obviously further investigation is indicated.

The special importance of Nasal Breadth will be readily observed. A rough calculation shows that the value of the ratio (5)/(4) for Nasal Index will be also less than unity while that for Cephalic Index will be more than one. This shows that the Nasal Index is an efficient criterion for "racial" differentiation—theory in this case amply corroborating experience.

9. We have to speculate about the racial composition of a people from measurements of characters of the present day representatives of that people. We assume that these characters are hereditary but how far the assumption is correct yet remains to be fully investigated.

If long-headed and broad-headed people intermarry what would be the shape of the heads of the children? Will the shape be medium broad in all cases, or will some be long-headed, some broad-headed and the rest medium-headed? If so, what would be the proportions of the three varieties? Then again, are the medium-headed people a different type or are they due to admixture of the long-headed and broad-headed people?

Note:

(*i*) Characters measured by Risley.

(*ii*) Characters measured by Guha.

(*iii*) Characters considered in the computation of D^2 in U. P. Anthropmetric Survey, 1941.

(*i*) Characters measured by Risley:

(1) Nasal height
(2) Nasal width
(3) Bimalar breadth
(4) Nasomalar breadth
(5) Cephalic length
(6) Cephalic breadth
(7) Minimum frontal breadth
(8) Maximum bizygomatic breadth
(9) Height, vertex to inter-supercilliary point
(10) Height, vertex to tragus
(11) Height, vertex to chin
(12) Stature
(13) Weight

(*ii*) Characters measured by Guha:

(1) Stature
(2) Auricular Height
(3) Maximum Head Length
(4) Maximum Head Breadth
(5) Minimum Frontal Breadth
(6) Maximum Bizygomatic Breadth
(7) Bigonial Breadth
(8) Inter-orbital Breadth
(9) Orbito-nasal Breadth
(10) Orbito-nasal arc
(11) Nasal Length
(12) Nasal Breadth
(13) Nasal Height
(14) Upper Facial Length
(15) Total Facial Length
(16) Hor. Circumference of the Head
(17) Sagittal Arc
(18) Transverse Arc

(*iii*) Characters considered in the computation of D^2 in U. P. Anthropometric Survey, 1941.

(1), (3) – (7), (11) – (15) of (*ii*) above.

Similar questions arise in case of other characters and indices as well. As our knowledge now stands racial anthropologists have to proceed on assumptions, not yet fully investigated.

It is also too generally assumed that most characters (that is, their mean values) are not affected by environment—but as regards nasal index, it is held that in countries where the air is moist and hot it tends to be high. We do not know yet what duration of residence or how many generations in a hot and moist country would effect the change.

Frets (1925) studied the Cephalic Index of 3,100 persons and concluded that the Index is hereditary but brachycephaly is dominant in case of large heads and dolichocephaly in case of small heads.

So in anthropometry as in many other social sciences all conclusions are little more than broad generalisations. We know so little that we cannot afford to be dogmatic about anything.

Nature is no doubt a great mathematician but the secrets of creation have not yet been wrested from her by the greatest of human mathematicians —and it is still doubtful whether the evolution of the human form and the basis of human behaviour can be successfully expressed through mathematical formulae.

V

10. We have briefly referred to Guha's extensive work. Professor Chattopadhyay has referred to the recent works of Chatterjee and Raichaudhuri. These are important contributions to our knowledge about the racial composition of the Bengalees.

Chatterjee has considered only the Stature and the Cephalic Index of five groups, Brahmans, Vaidyas, Kayasthas, other Hindus and Moslems. He has studied the distribution of the Cephalic Index and the stature of these groups by zones—Radha, Varendra, Vanga, Chattala, Samatata and Calcutta. He has compared the Frequency Distributions by zones and found that these distributions in respect of Radha, Varendra and Vanga are remarkably similar, while in Samatata and Calcutta the distributions are also very closely so. The distributions are practically symmetrical and fairly normal. The results of the survey are so interesting and important that no apology is needed to reproduce more of his tables. The sample is large—9,281 in all being distributed zonewise and groupwise as follows:

	Brahman	Vaidya	Kayastha	Other Hindus	Moslems	Total
Radha	379	45	230	328	119	1,101
Varendra	178	16	82	101	132	509
Vanga	650	395	659	466	221	2,391
Chattala	37	24	112	67	76	315
Samatata	1,515	193	1,026	792	308	3,834
Calcutta	266	43	395	354	72	1,130
Total	3,025	716	2,504	2,108	928	9,281

The high percentage of brachycephaly in all the six zones must be noted as also the fact that the highest percentages are in Samatata and Calcutta, and the lowest in Chattala. The theory of Mongolian origin of brachycephaly is thus disproved by the survey. The other interesting fact to note is the high percentage of dolichocephaly among the three "higher" castes Brahmans, Vaidyas, and Kayasthas in the Chattala zone, as also its low incidence in Calcutta and Samatata. This raises another difficult problem in the racial history of Bengal. The reader will find various other interesting features in Dr. Chatterjee's Presidential Address. Dr. Chatterjee has also calculated the standard deviations of the mean values of Stature and Cephalic Index. As indicated before, because of the large size of the sample, the standard deviations are very small, but even then the mean values of the Cephalic Index for Samatata and Calcutta indicates a much stronger brachycephalic element in the two zones. Further discussion of Chatterjee's work will be found in Professor Chattopadhyay's contribution. *See* Tables A, B and C attached to this note.

Raichaudhuri's material is more comprehensive than Chatterjee's. He classifies the groups not only by Stature and Cephalic Index but by Nasal Index as well.

As regards Brahmans, he finds Dakshinatya Vaidiks significantly taller than the Radhi Varendras and Paschatya Vaidiks. Dakshin Rarhi Kayasthas are also found to be differentiated from Vangaja Kayasthas containing a larger proportion of medium statured broad-headed element than the other.*

*Analysis of variance does not, however, point to any significant heterogeneity.

	D.F.	*Stature* Sqq	Variance
Groups ..	4	54·7	13·68
Zones ..	5	51·7	10·34
Residual ..	9271	317231·	34·22
	9280	317337·	

	D.F.	*C-I* Sqq	Variance
Groups ..	4	5·35	1·34
Zones ..	5	10·71	2·14
Residual ..	9271	151191·	16·31
	9280	151207·	

For method, *see* Kendall—Advanced Theory of Statistics II. 220—222.

Broadly Raichaudhuri's analysis supports all that has been stated before but some of his proportions differ, rather largely, from Risley's. We give below some of these proportions (percentages).

Thus:

	Risley	Raichaudhuri
I Tall Stature—		
Brahman	14	9
Kayastha	11	9
Goala	7	8
Pod	2	13
II Dravidian Element (Long-headed, medium-nosed)—		
Pod	31	14
III Nisadic Element (Long-headed, broad-nosed)—		
Bagdi	17	3

In addition, Raichaudhuri's survey shows a much higher proportion of the Fine-nosed element among the Pods than was found by Risley.

11. It would appear that all the investigations beginning from Risley's and ending with Raichaudhuri's are agreed as regards the elements constituting the population of Bengal. But at the same time it is evident that further investigation is indicated. Randomness in the selection of subjects in an anthropometric survey must always be a difficult ideal to attain* but if the sample is large enough (say 250 or more), it may be expected that the distribution would be approximately normal. Chatterjee's investigation points out that in all future surveys, the samples must be so selected that various zones are suitably represented in the sample. The sample must be broad based and their selection carefully planned beforehand with proper regard to the modern ideas of statistical design.

A sample of less than 100 is usually considered to be insufficient "to show either the full range of variation or a representative distribution of physical characters found in the population from which it is drawn". On this standard most of Guha's samples are too small. So also are most of Risley's. Chatterjee's samples are, however, large and this makes his work an extremely valuable contribution to the analysis of the racial composition of the Benaglees.

With a fairly large sample to work on, the present writer thinks that even without Mallock's machine, matrix calculus and canonical variates, much useful work may be done by trained students. Even as regards analysis, the simple technique of the conventional three-way classification—Stature × Cephalix Index × Nasal Index, appears to be satisfactory enough for most purposes. On any showing field work and basic data are always more important than subsequent analysis.

*Guha's Maratha measurements were from Maratha students of the Fergusson College, Poona. The Bengali Brahmans and Kayasthas were partly measured by Guha from the employees of the Textile Mills at Ahmadabad (Bombay) — (Sankhyā, ix. 97).

CHATTERJEE'S TABLE—A

MEANS AND STANDARD ERRORS

Zone	No.	Stature Mean and St. error	C-I Mean and St. error	Stature (per cent.)			C-I (per cent.)			S.D.*	
				Short	Medium	Tall	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Stature	C-I
Radha	1,101	166·4±·18	79·3±·13	14·4	57·7	27·9	20·0	47·5	32·5	5·97	4·32
Varendra	509	166·1±·25	79·3±·18	14·7	62·3	23·0	19·3	49·3	31·4	5·64	4·06
Vanga	2,391	165·9±·12	79·4±·08	15·8	59·5	24·7	18·7	48·4	32·9	5·87	3·91
Chattala	316	165·1±·33	78·4±·23	17·7	61·7	20·6	30·7	41·9	27·4	5·87	4·09
Samatata	3,834	166·4±·09	81·0±·06	12·9	59·0	28·1	8·5	46·3	45·2	5·57	3·72
Calcutta	1,130	167·5±·17	81·3±·12	9·4	57·1	33·5	8·3	39·8	51·9	5·72	4·03
TOTAL	9,281	166·3±·06	80·2±·04	13·6	59·1	27·3	13·8	46·2	40·0	5·78	3·85

*Calculated

CHATTERJEE'S TABLE—B

MEANS AND STANDARD ERRORS

Zone	Brahman			Vaidya			Kayastha			Other Hindus			Moslems		
	No.	Stature	C-I	No.	Stature	C-I	No.	Stature	C-I	No.	Stature	C-I	No.	Stature	C-I
Radha	379	166·7±·30	79·7±·21	45	166·2±·76	80·5±·55	230	166·9±·40	79·8±·25	328	165·9±·33	78·7±·20	119	166·3±·53	78·6±·36
Varendra	178	166·4±·44	80·1±·31	16	166·0±·96	78·3±1·14	82	166·0±·63	79·1±·43	101	166·5±·53	79·3±·37	132	166·4±·46	78·7±·35
Vanga	650	165·9±·23	79·5±·15	395	168·0±·31	79·2±·18	659	165·5±·23	79·3±·14	466	165·0±·29	79·3±·18	221	165·1±·40	79·9±·26
Chattala	37	164·6±·75	77·7±·63	24	164·1±·86	77·2±·68	112	165·1±·59	77·2±·35	67	165·0±·79	79·7±·52	76	165·4±·62	79·7±·47
Samatata	1,515	167·4±·15	81·3±·10	193	166·3±·43	80·2±·31	1,026	166·4±·17	81·1±·12	792	165·3±·20	80·3±·14	308	164·8±·33	80·3±·22
Calcutta	266	168·0±·35	81·0±·24	43	169·2±·84	80·9±·46	395	167·6±·30	81·4±·19	354	167·5±·30	81·6±·22	72	166·0±·70	80·0±·44
TOTAL	3,025	166·9±·11	80·6±·08	716	167·3±·22	79·6±·14	2,504	166·3±·12	80·3±·08	2,108	165·7±·13	80·0±·08	928	165·4± 19	79·7±·13
Standard Deviations		5·89	4·18		6·01	3·86		5·92	3·92		5·91	3·55		5·78	3·96

CHATTERJEE'S TABLE—C

Percentages*

Zone	Brahman						Vaidya						Kayastha					
	Stature			C-I			Stature			C-I			Stature			C-I		
	Short	Medium	Tall	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Short	Medium	Tall	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Short	Medium	Tall	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy
Radha	12·4	58·3	29·3	19·0	43·5	37·5	8·9	60·0	31·1	8·9	42·2	48·9	12·2	59·1	28·7	16·5	50·0	33·5
Varendra	15·7	59·0	25·3	13·5	48·9	37·6	6·3	81·2	12·5	6·3	81·2	12·5	14·6	62·2	23·2	19·5	48·8	31·7
Vanga	13·5	61·4	25·1	19·5	45·3	35·2	10·9	53·1	36·0	20·8	48·3	30·9	16·8	61·5	21·7	27·2	52·0	20·8
Chattala	13·5	75·7	10·8	35·1	43·3	21·6	8·3	83 4	8·3	41·7	41·6	16·7	17·9	59·8	22·3	38·4	43·7	17·9
Samatata	9·6	58·3	32·1	7·3	43·8	48·9	16·1	54·3	29·6	16·1	45·0	38·9	12·2	60·2	27·6	7·4	45·1	47·5
Calcutta	9·4	51·1	39·5	8·3	44·0	47·7	4·7	53·4	41·9	7·0	41·8	51·2	9·6	57·7	32·7	8·6	34·2	57·2

Zone	Other Hindus						Moslem					
	Stature			C-I			Stature			C-I		
	Short	Medium	Tall	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Short	Medium	Tall	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy
Radha	17·7	58·5	23·8	22·0	51·6	26·4	17·6	50·5	31·9	28·6	46·2	25·2
Varendra	11·9	60·4	27·7	20·8	45·5	33·7	16·7	65·9	17·4	24·2	53·1	22·7
Vanga	18·9	61·1	20·0	20·6	47·0	32 4	21·3	56·5	22·2	13·1	50·2	36·7
Chattala	20·9	53·7	25·4	23·9	38·8	37·3	19·7	57·9	22·4	19·7	40·8	39·5
Samatata	16·9	59·5	23·6	9·2	53·1	37·7	19·2	59·7	21·1	11·7	45·8	42·5
Calcutta	8·8	60·7	30·5	7·1	39·8	53 1	13·9	61·1	25·0	13·9	54·2	31·9

*Computed

ANTHROPOMETRIC MEASUREMENTS OF SELECTED CASTES AND TRIBES IN WEST BENGAL

A. ANTHROPOMETRIC MEASUREMENTS COMPILED FROM H. H. RISLEY

Name of Caste : BAGDI

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	..	..	..	..	4	2	1	7	1	1	..	2	5	3	1	9
Mesorrhine . . .	1	..	..	1	22	11	3	36	12	10	4	26	35	21	7	63
Platyrrhine . . .	1	1	..	2	4	..	3	7	12	4	2	18	17	5	5	27
Total . .	2	1	..	3	30	13	7	50	25	15	6	46	57	29	13	99

Name of Caste : BAURI

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cehpalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	1	2
Mesorrhine . . .	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	5	1	..	6	7	1	..	8
Platyrrhine . . .	1	1	..	2	5	..	..	5	2	1	..	3	8	2	..	10
Total .	1	1	..	2	8	..	..	8	7	2	1	10	16	3	1	20

Name of Caste : BRAHMAN (East and West Bengal)

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	1	2	2	5	14	12	11	37	1	2	1	4	16	16	14	46
Mesorrhine . . .	3	2	4	9	12	14	9	35	..	5	3	8	15	21	16	52
Platyrrhine . . .	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2
Total .	4	4	6	14	26	27	21	74	1	7	4	12	31	38	31	100

Name of Caste : CHANDAL (East Bengal)

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	..	..	..	—	2	4	4	10	3	3	3	9	5	7	7	19
Mesorrhine . . .	2	..	..	2	9	11	6	26	7	3	3	13	18	14	9	41
Platyrrhine . . .	..	..	1	1	3	2	..	5	1	..	..	1	4	2	1	7
Total .	2	..	1	3	14	17	10	41	11	6	6	23	27	23	17	67

Name of Caste : GOALA (East Bengal)

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brahcy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	1	3	..	4	6	1	..	7	..	2	1	3	7	6	1	14
Mesorrhine . . .	1	2	..	3	7	11	2	20	2	..	..	2	10	13	2	25
Platyrrhine . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	1	2
Total .	2	5	..	7	13	12	3	28	3	2	1	6	18	19	4	41

Name of Caste : KOIBARTA (Kaibartta)

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	2	..	..	2	5	3	2	10	..	3	1	4	7	6	3	16
Mesorrhine . . .	4	4	1	9	17	11	12	40	11	2	8	21	32	17	21	70
Platyrrhine . . .	1	1	..	2	5	1	2	8	2	1	1	4	8	3	3	14
Total .	7	5	1	13	27	15	16	58	13	6	10	29	47	26	27	100

Name of Caste : KAYASTHA

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	2	1	2	5	12	8	12	32	1	5	4	10	15	14	18	47
Mesorrhine . . .	3	2	1	6	15	4	9	28	8	1	9	18	26	7	19	52
Platyrrhine . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1
Total .	5	3	3	11	27	12	21	60	10	6	13	29	42	21	37	100

Name of Caste : MAHOMEDAN (East Bengal)

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	..	2	1	3	6	6	7	19	1	..	..	1	7	8	8	23
Mesorrhine . . .	6	5	3	14	35	22	24	81	12	14	10	36	53	41	37	131
Platyrrhine . . .	2	2	1	5	11	5	2	18	4	2	2	8	17	9	5	31
Total .	8	9	5	22	52	33	33	118	17	16	12	45	77	58	50	185

Name of Caste* : MAL PAHARI (Malpahariya—in 1951 counted as Scheduled Caste)

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mesorrhine . . .	..	..	..	..	4	1	..	5	4	2	..	6	8	3	..	11
Platyrrhine . . .	2	..	..	2	25	9	2	36	35	12	4	51	62	21	6	89
Total .	2	..	..	2	29	10	2	41	39	14	4	57	70	24	6	100

*Treated as Tribe by Risley

Name of Caste : MUCHI (East Bengal)

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brahcy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	1	1	..	2	3	..	..	3	..	..	2	2	4	1	2	7
Mesorrhine . . .	1	1	..	2	5	2	3	10	3	2	..	5	9	5	3	17
Platyrrhine . . .	2	..	..	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	3
Total .	4	2	..	6	8	2	4	14	3	2	2	7	15	6	6	27

Name of Caste : POD

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	2	2	2	6	3	3	1	7	2	1	3	6	7	6	6	19
Mesorrhine . . .	3	..	2	5	19	15	8	42	9	7	5	21	31	22	15	68
Platyrrhine . . .	1	1	..	2	3	1	1	5	..	1	5	6	4	3	6	13
Total .	6	3	4	13	25	19	10	54	11	9	13	33	42	31	27	100

Name of Caste : RAJBANSI (Rajbanshi)

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	1	..	..	1	7	..	..	7	4	..	1	5	12	..	1	13
Mesorrhine . . .	1	1	..	2	32	9	2	43	23	6	5	34	56	16	7	79
Platyrrhine . . .	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	4	2	2	..	4	5	3	..	8
Total .	2	1	..	3	42	10	2	54	29	8	6	43	73	19	8	100

Name of Caste : SADGOP (Satgope)

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brahcy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	1	1	..	2	4	3	2	9	3	1	..	4	8	5	2	15
Mesorrhine . . .	3	..	1	4	8	9	3	20	2	1	2	5	13	10	6	29
Platyrrhine . . .	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	1	1	..	2	1	2	1	4
Total .	4	1	1	6	12	13	6	31	6	3	2	11	22	17	9	48

Name of Tribe : MUNDA

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—	—	—	—
Mesorrhine . . .	2	..	..	2	6	—	..	6	12	3	..	15	20	3	..	23
Platyrrhine . . .	1	..	..	1	27	6	..	33	35	8	..	43	63	14	..	77
Total .	3	..	..	3	33	6	..	39	47	11	..	58	83	17	..	100

Name of Tribe : ORAON

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	—	—	1
Mesorrhine . . .	1	..	..	1	25	4	3	32	8	7	1	16	34	11	4	49
Platyrrhine . . .	2	..	..	2	21	8	2	31	14	2	1	17	37	10	3	50
Total .	3	..	..	3	47	12	5	64	22	9	2	33	72	21	7	100

Name of Tribe : SANTHAL (Santal)

Nasal Index	Tall				Medium				Short				Total			
	Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index				Cephalic Index			
	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total	Dolicho	Meso	Brachy	Total
Leptorrhine . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mesorrhine . . .	..	..	..	..	13	6	3	22	5	4	..	9	18	10	3	31
Platyrrhine . . .	2	..	..	2	24	10	5	39	17	6	5	28	43	16	10	69
Total .	2	..	..	2	37	16	8	61	22	10	5	37	61	26	13	100

B. RANGES COMPILED FROM H. H. RISLEY

'No.' *below indicates number of persons examined*

Name of Caste : BAGDI

No. 99

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,722	1,434	1,603	288
Head	Length	201	172	182·7	29
	Breadth	153	130	139·5	23
Cephalic Index		83	68	76·3	15
Nose	Length	55	39	46·7	16
	Breadth	45	30	37·6	15
Nasal Index		100	62	80·5	38

Name of Caste : BAURI

No. 40

[This is taken from H. H. Risley's Ethnographic Appendices, 1903]

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,686	1,476	1,585	210
Head	Length	193	165	180·4	28
	Breadth	149	130	139·6	19
Cephalic Index		86	70	77·3	16
Nose	Length	56	38	45·5	18
	Breadth	44	33	38·3	11
Nasal Index		113	68	85·1	45

Name of Caste : BRAHMAN (West Bengal)

No. 32

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,734	1,550	1,670	184
Head	Length	195	171	182·2	24
	Breadth	151	135	142·6	16
Cephalic Index		87	72	78·2	15
Nose	Length	54	40	48·5	14
	Breadth	40	29	34·9	11
Nasal Index		100	58	71·9	42

Name of Caste : CHANDAL (East Bengal)

No. 67

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,734	1,472	1,619	262
Head	Length	201	166	183·2	35
	Breadth	151	131	143·1	20
Cephalic Index		89	70	78·1	19
Nose	Length	56	43	49·6	13
	Breadth	42	30	36·7	12
Nasal Index		89	62	73·9	27

Name of Caste : GOALA (East Bengal)

No. 41

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,746	1,500	1,646	246
Head	Length	198	170	183·8	28
	Breadth	153	131	142·1	22
Cephalic Index		86	71	77·3	15
Nose	Length	58	43	49·0	15
	Breadth	40	31	36·4	9
Nasal Index		87	62	74·2	25

Name of Caste : KOIBARTA (Kaibartta)

No. 100

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,770	1,490	1,629	280
Head	Length	198	166	182·3	32
	Breadth	152	129	141·1	23
Cephalic Index		87	70	77·3	17
Nose	Length	55	37	48·0	18
	Breadth	43	32	36·6	11
Nasal Index		103	63	76·2	40

Name of Caste : KAYASTHA

No. 100

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,810	1,544	1,636	266
Head	Length	195	169	182·4	26
	Breadth	155	129	142·8	26
Cephalic Index		88	70	78·2	18
Nose	Length	58	42	50·2	16
	Breadth	41	29	35·3	12
Nasal Index		89	56	70·3	33

Name of Caste : MAHOMEDAN (East Bengal)

No. 185

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,760	1,500	1,634	260
Head	Length	199	168	182·8	31
	Breadth	156	131	142·7	25
Cephalic Index		89	70	78·0	19
Nose	Length	58	40	49·4	18
	Breadth	45	32	38·3	13
Nasal Index		96	64	77.5	32

Name of Caste* : MAL PAHARI (Malpahariya—in 1951 counted as Scheduled Caste)

No. 100

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,726	1,450	1,577	276
Head	Length	200	169	183·4	31
	Breadth	147	129	139·1	18
Cephalic Index		82	71	75·8	11
Nose	Length	55	36	44·1	19
	Breadth	48	35	41·0	13
Nasal Index		110	71	92·9	39

*Treated as Tribe by Risley.

Name of Caste : MUCHI (East Bengal)

No. 27

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,742	1,536	1,641	206
Head	Length	198	170	182·9	28
	Breadth	151	133	142·0	18
Cephalic Index		86	72	77·6	14
Nose	Length	54	42	49·1	12
	Breadth	43	32	36·8	11
Nasal Index		88	63	74·9	25

Name of Caste : POD

No. 100

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,850	1,490	1,625	360
Head	Length	198	172	183·2	26
	Breadth	155	130	142·4	25
Cephalic Index		85	70	77·7	15
Nose	Length	56	41	49·1	15
	Breadth	43	32	37·4	11
Nasal Index		91	63	76·1	28

Name of Caste : RAJBANSI (Rajbanshi)

No. 100

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,746	1,440	1,607	306
Head	Length	202	166	186·2	36
	Breadth	153	127	140·2	26
Cephalic Index		84	68	75·2	16
Noee	Length	57	44	48·9	13
	Breadth	45	32	37·5	13
Nasal Index		92	61	76·6	31

Name of Caste : SADGOP (Satgope)

No. 48

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,780	1,510	1,633	270
Head	Length	201	168	182·6	33
	Breadth	150	132	142·1	18
Cephalic Index		87	72	77·6	15
Nose	Length	55	42	49·6	13
	Breadth	49	30	36·7	19
Nasal Index		98	55	73·9	43

Name of Tribe : MUNDA

No. 100

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,718	1,446	1,589	272
Head	Length	200	169	185·9	31
	Breadth	150	130	138·6	20
Cephalic Index		81	69	74·5	12
Nose	Length	50	36	44·7	14
	Breadth	50	33	40·2	17
Nasal Index		112	74	89·9	38

Name of Tribe : ORAON

No. 100

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,744	1,480	1,621	264
Head	Length	198	165	184·6	33
	Breadth	158	131	139·3	27
Cephalic Index		87	67	75·4	20
Nose	Length	53	38	46·2	15
	Breadth	47	34	39·8	13
Nasal Index		113	70	86·1	43

Name of Tribe : SANTHAL (Santal)

No. 100

		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Range
Stature		1,770	1,510	1,614	260
Head	Length	201	171	184·8	30
	Breadth	153	131	140·7	22
Cephalic Index		88	69	76·1	19
Nose	Length	53	40	45·7	13
	Breadth	48	35	40·6	13
Nasal Index		110	74	88·8	36

TABLE I

Brahmans, Kayasthas and Pods

(Means and standard deviations according to measurements by Risley and Guha)*

	Means		Standard deviations	
	Risley	Guha	Risley	Guha
BRAHMANS				
Stature	165·6	168·0	50·3	53·9
Head Length	181·8	186·4	6·0	6·0
Head Breadth	143·2	147·0	4·6	5·2
Cephalic Index	78·7	78·9	3·6	3·4
Nasal Height	49·7	54·2	4·1	3·5
Nasal Width	35·0	36·6	2·6	3·1
Nasal Index	70·4	67·7	6·3	6·5
KAYASTHAS				
Stature	163·6	167·1	53·5	57·3
Head Length	182·4	185·3	6·1	6·3
Head Breadth	142·8	149·6	5·0	5·4
Cephalic Index	78·2	80·8	3·8	3·9
Nasal Height	50·2	54·6	3·2	3·1
Nasal Width	35·3	37·1	2·5	2·5
Nasal Index	70·3	68·1	6·4	5·7
PODS				
Stature	162 5	162·8	58·6	48·6
Head Length	183·2	184·1	6·5	6·7
Head Breadth	142·4	141·8	4·7	4·9
Cephalic Index	77·7	77 1	3·4	3·9
Nasal Height	49·1	51 2	3·0	3·0
Nasal Width	37·4	36·7	2·3	2·3
Nasal Index	76·1	71 8	6 5	5·4

*Means are as given by Risley.
Standard Deviations are approximate.

TABLE II

Averages according to Risley and the correct values according to Mahalanobis

(Ref : Sankhya, I. 76-105)

	Character	Nasal Index		Cephalic Index		Nasal Height		Nasal Width		Cephalic Length		Cephalic Breadth	
No.	Caste or Tribe	Risley	M*	Risley	M*	Risley	M*	Risley	M*	Risley	M*	Risley	M*
1	Bagdi	80·5	80·8	76·3	76·4	46·7	46·8	37·6	37·6	182·7	182·8	139·5	139·6
2	Bauri	84·1	84·3	75·0	75·1	46·1	46·1	38·8	38·8	185·0	185·1	138·9	138·9
3	Brahman	70·4	70·8	78·7	78·8	49·7	48·7	35·0	35·1	181·8	181·8	143·2	143·3
4	Chandal	73·9	74·2	78·1	78·1	49·6	49·7	36·7	36·8	183·2	183·3	143·1	143·2
5	Goala	74·2	74·6	77·3	77·3	49·0	49·1	36·4	36·5	183·8	183·9	142·1	142·2
6	Kayastha	70·3	70·7	78·2	78·4	50·2	50·2	35·3	35·4	182·4	182·5	142·8	142·9
7	Koibarta	76·2	76·6	77·3	77·5	48·0	48·1	36·6	36·7	182·3	182·3	141·1	141·1
8	Mahomedan	77·5	77·5	78·0	77·9	49·4	49·4	38·3	38·5	182·8	182·6	142·7	142·7
9	Mal	84·7	85·1	77·2	77·3	47·2	47·2	40·0	40·0	183·0	183·1	141·3	141·3
10	Mal Pahari	92·9	93·6	75·8	75·8	44·1	44·1	41·0	41·1	183·4	183·5	139·1†	138·1
11	Male	94·5	94·7	74·8	74·9	43·9	43·9	41·5	41·6	183·6	183·6	137·5	137·6
12	Pod	76·1	76·4	77·7	77·8	49·1	49·1	37·4	37·5	183·2	183·2	142·4	142·5
13	Rajbansi	76·6	76·9	75·2	75·4	48·9	48·9	37·5	37·6	186·2	186·3	140·2	140·3
14	Sadgop	73·9	74·2	77·6	78·0	49·6	49·7	36·7	36·8	182·6	182·6	142·1†	143·3
15	Muchi	74·9	75·2	77·6	77·6	49·1	49·2	36·8	36·9	182·9	182·9	142·0	142·0

*M=Mahalanobis, in Sankhya, *op cit.*
†Highest discrepancies.

TABLE III

Risley's measurements

'No.' *below indicates number of persons examined*

	Brahman (West Bengal)	Brahman (East Bengal)	Brahman	Kayastha	Koibarta	Sadgop	Goala (East Bengal)	Pod	Mal
	1	2	1+2	3	4	5	6	7	8
No.	32	68	100	100	100	48	41	100	12
STATURE									
Mean	1,670	1,653	1,658	1,636	1,629	1,633	1,646	1,625	1,622
Maximum	1,734	1,792	1,792	1,810	1,770	1,780	1,746	1,850	1,730
Minimum	1,550	1,474	1,474	1,544	1,490	1,510	1,500	1,490	1,520
Range	184	318	318	266	280	270	246	360	210
HEAD BREADTH									
Mean	142·6	143·4	143·1	142·8	141·1	142·1	142·1	142·4	141·3
Maximum	151	151	151	155	152	150	153	155	146
Minimum	135	134	134	129	129	132	131	130	135
Bange	16	17	17	26	23	18	22	25	11
HEAD LENGTH									
Mean	182·2	181·5	181	182·4	182·3	182·6	183·8	183·2	183·0
Maximum	195	195	195	195	198	201	198	198	191
Minimum	171	170	170	169	166	168	170	172	166
Range	24	25	25	26	32	33	28	26	25
NASAL BREADTH									
Mean . . .	34·9	35·1	35·0	35·3	36·6	36·7	36·4	37·4	40·0
Maximum	40	42	42	41	43	49	40	43	46
Minimum	29	28	28	29	32	30	31	32	33
Range	11	14	14	12	11	19	9	11	13
NASAL HEIGHT									
Mean	48·5	49·9	49·5	50·2	48·0	49·6	49·0	49·1	47·2
Maximum	54	59	59	58	55	55	58	56	50
Minimum	40	36	36	42	37	42	43	41	42
Range	14	23	23	16	18	13	15	15	8
CEPHALIC INDEX									
Mean	78·2	79·0	..	78·2	77·3	77·6	77·3	77·7	77·2
Maximum	87	88	88	88	87	87	86	85	88
Minimum	72	70	70	70	70	72	71	70	71
Range	15	18	18	18	17	15	15	15	17
NASAL INDEX									
Mean	71·9	70·3	70·8	70·3	76·2	73·9	74·2	76·1	84·7
Maximum	100	85	100	89	103	98	87	91	100
Minimum	58	56	56	56	63	55	62	63	70
Range	42	29	44	33	40	43	25	28	30

TABLE III—*contd.*

	Chandal (East Bengal)	Bagdi	Bauri	Muchi (East Bengal)	Mahomedan (East Bengal)	Bhumij	Kurmi	Santhal	Munda	Oraon	Male
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
No.	67	99	20	27	185	100	100	100	100	100	100
Stature											
Mean	1,619	1,603	1,603	1,641	1,634	1,592	1,600	1,614	1,589	1,621	1,577
Maximum	1,734	1,722	1,716	1,742	1,760	1,782	1,702	1,770	1,718	1,744	1,708
Minimum	1,472	1,434	1,500	1,536	1,500	1,460	1,500	1,510	1,446	1,480	1,470
Range	262	288	216	206	260	322	202	260	272	264	238
Head Breadth											
Mean	143·1	139·5	138·9	142·0	142·7	139·6	140·5	140·7	138·6	139·3	137·5
Maximum	151	153	144	151	156	150	151	153	150	158	149
Minimum	131	130	129	133	131	130	128	131	130	131	127
Range	20	23	15	18	25	20	23	22	20	27	22
Head Length											
Mean	183·2	182·7	185·0	182·9	182·8	185·9	185·6	184·8	185·9	184·6	183·6
Maximum	201	201	195	198	199	203	202	201	200	198	198
Minimum	166	172	174	170	168	162	167	171	169	165	166
Range	35	29	21	28	31	41	35	30	31	33	32
Nasal Breadth											
Mean	36·7	37·6	38·8	36·8	38·3	40·4	39·0	40·6	40·2	39·8	41·5
Maximum	42	45	44	43	45	47	47	48	50	47	49
Minimum	30	30	31	32	32	35	35	35	33	34	35
Range	12	15	13	11	13	12	12	13	17	13	14
Nasal Height											
Mean	49·6	46·7	46·1	49·1	49·4	46·7	47·2	45·7	44·7	46·2	43·9
Maximum	56	55	51	54	58	53	53	53	50	53	49
Minimum	43	39	40	42	40	40	38	40	36	38	38
Range	13	16	11	12	18	13	15	13	14	15	11
Cephalic Index											
Mean	78·1	76·3	75·0	77·6	78·0	75·0	75·7	76·1	74·5	75·4	74·8
Maximum	89	83	81	86	89	84	83	88	81	87	82
Minimum	70	68	71	72	70	67	66	69	69	67	69
Range	19	15	10	14	19	17	17	19	12	20	13
Nasal Index											
Mean	73·9	80·5	84·1	74·9	77·5	86·5	82·6	88·8	89·9	86·1	94·5
Maximum	89	100	98	88	96	113	98	110	112	113	113
Minimum	62	62	66	63	64	72	69	74	74	70	77
Range	27	38	32	25	32	41	29	36	38	43	36

TABLE III—*concld.*

	Mal Pahari	Koch (Rajbansi)	Koch* (Rajbansi)	Lepcha	Lepcha†	Murmi	Limbu	Tibetan	Chakma	Tipra	Magh
	20	21	21A	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
No.	100	100	88	57	36	65	50	108	100	58	80
STATURE											
Mean	1,577	1,607	1,591	1,570	1,584	1,669	1,603	1,633	1,595	1,611	1,599
Maximum	1,726	1,746	1,695	1,690	1,684	1,760	1,734	1,760	1,696	1,712	1,710
Minimum	1,450	1,440	1,502	1,490	1,449	1,490	1,450	1,520	1,490	1,486	1,522
Range	276	306	193	200	235	270	284	240	206	226	188
HEAD BREADTH											
Mean	139·1	140·2	139·0	146·7	145·0	149·6	153·1	151·4	150·0	146·1	148·5
Maximum	147	153	152	161	157	161	167	168	161	160	161
Minimum	129	127	131	136	133	134	140	141	134	136	136
Range	18	26	21	25	24	27	27	27	27	24	25
HEAD LENGTH											
Mean	183·4	186·2	181·0	185·0	180·0	188·0	181·4	186·9	177·9	181·4	182·1
Maximum	200	202	202	195	193	196	193	207	195	193	198
Minimum	169	166	165	174	167	169	170	172	162	167	170
Range	31	36	37	21	26	27	23	35	33	26	28
NASAL BREADTH											
Mean	41·0	37·5	36·0	34·7	36	37·4	37·2	38·3	39·9	39·9	39·4
Maximum	48	45	49	41	42	43	43	47	46	45	48
Minimum	35	32	30	33	32	32	33	31	30	35	34
Range	13	13	19	8	10	11	10	16	16	10	14
NASAL HEIGHT											
Mean	44·1	48·9	45·0	51·6	46	49·7	50·2	51·8	47·2	47·1	47·5
Maximum	55	57	52	60	51	57	57	59	53	59	55
Minimum	36	44	37	42	40	41	37	38	41	40	38
Range	19	13	15	18	11	16	20	21	12	19	17
CEPHALIC INDEX											
Mean	75·8	75·2	76·7	79·9	80·5	79·5	84·3	81·0	84·3	80·5	81·5
Maximum	82	84	87	90	88	89	94	93	96	92	95
Minimum	71	68	71	73	73	73	76	73	77	74	73
Range	11	16	16	17	15	16	18	20	19	18	22
NASAL INDEX											
Mean	92·9	76·6	80·0	67·2	78·2	75·2	74·1	73·9	84·5	84·7	82.9
Maximum	110	92	109	83	91	100	111	103	105	105	102
Minimum	71	61	67	59	67	63	64	58	70	68	68
Range	39	31	42	24	24	37	47	45	35	37	34

*Waddell.
†Rong Lepcha (Waddell).

Other Mongoloid groups of Nepal measured are—Khambu (32), Kiranti (11), Mangar (35), Gurung (28) and Newar (13).

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